A GENDER ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CLIMATES OF KERALA

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IN

WOMEN'S STUDIES

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled "**A Gender Analysis of Primary and Secondary School Climates of Kerala**" submitted to University of Calicut for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Women's Studies is a record of independent research work done by **Ms. Thasniya.K.T.,** under my guidance and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree/Diploma/ Associateship/Fellowship of any University or Institution. Also certified that the thesis represents an independent work on the part of the scholar.

It is also certified that no changes /modifications are suggested by the adjudicators of the thesis.

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DECLARATION

I, **Thasniya K.T.,** do hereby declare that the thesis entitled "**A Gender Analysis of Primary and Secondary School Climates of Kerala**" submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Women's Studies is an original work done by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Moly Kuruvilla,** Professor and Head, Department of Women's Studies. The thesis has not been previously submitted by me for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Fellowship or any other similar title.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to Research

"Sitting in the same classroom, reading the same textbook, listening to the same teacher, boys and girls receive very different education."

-Sadker and Sadker, 1994

1.1. Education

Education has been evolving to extend its reach and coverage since the dawn of human history. According to the Dictionary of Education (Good, 1973), education is "the aggregate of all the processes by which a person develops abilities, attitudes and other forms of behaviour of practical values in the society in which she/he lives; the social process by which people are subjected to the influence of selected and controlled environment (especially that of the school), so that they may obtain social competence and optimum individual development". It improves sensitivities and perceptions that contribute in developing a balanced personality with a sense of independence and scientific rage. It is a learning in which knowledge, values, beliefs, skills, etc. are acquired and transferred to other people. It promotes the needs and interests of a person as well as leads to the empowerment of an individual.

The basic goal of education is to produce better and fully functional individuals who are responsible citizens and active members of the society. It is only through education that individuals get awareness about their rights, potentials, duties and responsibilities in the right manner and become fully developed. Every country develops its own system of education to express and promote its unique socio-cultural identity and to meet the challenges of the times.

Education is the prime doorway to other opportunities. It has been considered as one of the most important instruments to enhance human development and to promote economic growth. It enhances the capabilities of persons, families and communities, thus plays a key role in national

prosperity and welfare, which equips its citizens with basic knowledge and technical skills essential for work, productivity and economic survival. It is the most important tool for national development and human resource optimisation. Education helps people to develop their personality, fulfill economic, political, social and cultural aspirations and to realize innate potentials and qualities as human beings.

As a major agency of socialization, education plays a remedial role in harmonizing the socio-economic structure of the society as a whole. It is one of the most important equipment in life, because one cannot contribute to national and global development without adequate and proper knowledge, a less educated person contributes lesser to the growth of the nation.

1.2. School Education in India

School is a formal socializing agency where modification of the behavior of children and the development of social and individual values needed for wellbeing of the social system are done. It is the foundation for building a sound personality among children. The growth and development of the nation depend upon the quality of the present educational system. The school educational system in India is divided into Primary, Secondary and Higher Secondary education. When we speak about education, primary education comes first and foremost. This is because the programmes and practices of primary schools contribute in one way or other for laying the foundation for the development of an individual. The goals of primary education are to achieve literacy, numeracy and establish the basic foundations in subjects such as Mathematics, Science and Social-Science. Primary education also helps in the development of character and inborn talents, analytical skills and overall personality of a child. An individual at this impressionable primary school age acquires thought patterns and habits that will affect him/her throughout the life. The foundation for democratic

gender relationships are also provided through primary school education. Thus the individuals' future may depend heavily upon what he/she acquires from the primary school. Secondary education is the stage right after primary education. It is characterized by the transition from primary education to post-secondary or higher education. It is the gateway to the opportunities and benefits of economic and social development. During this period the shaping of the individual identities, aspirations for a career and search for role models get strengthened.

1.3. Gender Socialization in School

Socialization is the process through which the child becomes an individual, capable of respecting his or her environment, laws, norms and customs. Gender socialization is the process through which the individual learns the gender norms of the society and develops one's own gender identity. Through this, different sexes are socialized to their appropriate gender roles and learned to become a male or female. It starts from the birth of a child. Gender is a set of ideas, actions and feelings about what it means to be a boy or a girl in a specific place, culture and time. The idea of gender in society has passed through several phases. Initially, it was concerned with differences between men and women which is in turn was based on biological attributes. The major agencies of gender socialization are family, peer groups, schools, teachers, media, etc. All these agencies reinforce the gender stereotypical roles that widen and deepen the gender differences among individuals.

School plays a major role in gender socialization, where children spend the best time of their life. Schools and classrooms provide the basic framework about the notions and beliefs surrounding femininity and masculinity. Schools hold a major role in promoting gender ideals that are part of the social structure. The social processes that take place daily in school

classrooms like the teacher-student interactions form one of the important realms of the phenomenon of socialization. These reinforce the cultural expectations for both males and females. Classrooms, in primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities are historically, politically and socially constituted institutional structures within which gender is negotiated, produced and reproduced through suitable discourses on gender, self and other. Student and teacher interact within these institutional structures whereby new identities and relationships are shaped up.

Researchers suggest that schools reflect practices in the society. Gender bias and problems are socially and culturally constructed and these societal and cultural practices affect children in schools and play major roles in how children are molded and enabled to differentiate between the powers given to men versus those allocated to women (Kimmel, 2000; Longwe, 1998; Sadkar, 1994).

Socialization in the schools, especially the curriculum is a vital part of schooling through which educational surroundings may introduce changes in social perceptions, or continue to reproduce traditional values and attitudes. This socialization covers a wide range of practices, from administrators' and teachers' attitudes and expectations, textbook messages, peer interactions, and classroom dynamics, to the larger school climate or environment. School reflects the whole culture of society that results from interpretations and relations with individuals and groups as active agents. School culture is dynamic in nature within which students and teachers produces and reproduces gendered cultures.

1.4. Gender Bias in Education

Education is a powerful instrument for individuals to achieve social and economic mobility and status in society. The concept of gender and

gender roles are playing a significant role in determining the access of girls and boys to education and employment opportunities. In the whole world, boys are provided with more or better opportunities for education than girls.

Gender bias in education refers to the difference between the treatment of boys and girls in schools and unequal opportunities of education for girls and boys (Childs, 1990). The pattern of practices that construct various kinds of masculinity and femininity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labour within the institution. The gendered school culture makes a difference in every aspect of school life such as the form of organizational management, the curriculum, disciplinary schemes, interaction and relationships (Connell, 1996) often reflecting the dominant gender relations in the larger society. In addition to this, schools actively produce other gender and heterosexual divisions also (Delamont, 1990; Ghail, 1994).
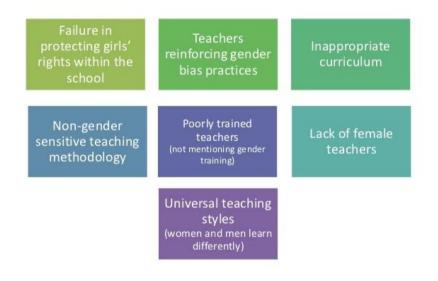
The gender bias in education is a critical issue that women of the whole world face that leads to their inferior position in career opportunities. Women and girls are always marginalized in the educational system. It is prevalent in all areas such as enrolment and retention, overall school climate, perception of parents and teachers, classroom practices, teacher-student interaction, disciplinary practices, play provisions, seating arrangements, assignment of roles and responsibilities etc.

1.4.1. Gender Bias in Enrolment and Retention

Parental perceptions regarding education of their girl children and their role in selecting school, various courses etc. for their sons and daughters are highly significant factors leading to gender bias in enrolment and retention. Women are enroled lesser in mathematics, science and technical areas and more often for disciplines like languages, humanities and domestic sciences.

The argument is that girls tend to opt for specific subjects because of their socialization which relates feminine roles to feminine subjects (Chanana, 2004). Programmes like medicine, business and law have been dominated by men; whereas programmes leading to jobs like social work, teaching etc. are dominated by women. The main reason for low levels of enrolment of women in professional courses is the higher cost of education which is beyond the means of women in a patriarchal society where the male preference plays a dominant role (Thasniya, 2014). There is no seriousness towards women's higher education due to the belief that marriage rather than employment should be prioritised in a girl's life (Raheem, 2012). Social role expectations affect the aspirations of women in other ways too. For example, in the patriarchal social structure, parents are not expected to use the income of their daughters, therefore, even educated daughters are not encouraged to work and if they do so, it is for a short period before marriage. Very often women are sent to arts and humanities because they are cheaper, softer and shorter than the professional courses (Thomas,1990).

When it comes to professional and technical education the gender discrimination becomes more prominent. Boys are readily sent to high fees structured technical and professional colleges while girls are sent to low fee structured traditional courses (Kuruvilla & Valasseri, 2015). This in turn can have serious impact on the life options of girls in all spheres of life (Ramachandran, 2004). Persistent discrimination against girls may mean that parents do not see the same value in educating their daughters as their sons and instead, girls may begin to work within the home at an early age. Domestic responsibilities and the widespread perception of girls merely as future homemakers contribute to the problem of girls withdrawn from the school (NCERT, 2006).

According to Mukhopadhyay (1992) cultural norms as well as family livelihood strategies place girls' education at a greater risk than that of boys. Families provide different academic environments for boys and girls in terms of resources invested in their education, time, space and range of educational experience made available to pursue their studies as well as the nature of support and guidance offered. Thus the direct and opportunity costs of schooling, limited employment opportunities, socio-economic status, parental/family investment behaviour, the economic value of girls, rural/ urban residence, the level of parental education, pregnancy, societal perceptions, insecurity, structural attributes and classroom cultures are the critical factors in female dropouts (Njau & Wamahiu, 1998; Odaga & Heneveld,1995).

The initiatives for bridging gender gap in enrolment and retention in education has led to the improvement of Gender Parity Index (GPI) for GER in primary education from 0.82 in 2000- 01 to 1.03 in 2013-14, while the GPI for GER in upper primary education improved from 0.75 to 1.08 during this period. The GPI for GER in secondary education improved from 0.79 in 2004-05 to 1.0 in 2013-14 while the GPI for GER in higher secondary education improved from 0.80 to 0.98 during this period (NUEPA, 2014). But still the gender gap in enrolment and retention persists in different parts of the country. The decadal trend from 2001-02 to 2010-11 show that compared to 57.39% boys, 60.39% girls' dropout by or before reaching the upper primary level and against 78.40% boys, 81.72% girls' dropout by or before reaching the secondary level (Pandita, 2015). Drop out and discontinuation rates of rural girls are twice as high as that of boys. While regional factors, poverty and the role of the state in providing resources are critical, the impacts of violent communal conflicts as well as of the communalization of education are significant in the retention of girls. While the overall enrolment of girls has increased, the proportional dropout rate of girls from marginalized and

rural sections, especially from the upper primary level upwards is extremely high. Pertek (2012) identifies certain barriers that usually affect the retention of girls in schools.

Fig.1.1. **Barriers Influencing Retention of Girls in Schools**

1.4. 2. Gender Bias in Overall School Culture

School environment plays a major role in the reproduction of gender and culture. There is a culture within schools that encourages girls to accept traditional gender roles. The overall culture of the schools is gendered with regard to the dress code of teachers and students, student-student interactions and the seating arrangement of boys and girls. The school inhabitants especially teachers and students, serve as key infrastructural system through which masculinities and femininities are mediated and lived out as they actively negotiate and reproduce gender identities for themselves and others (Ghail, 1994).

School regulations like separate entry- exit points and separate timings for entry and exit of boys and girls aggravate the gender differentiation existing in the society. While boys are permitted to roam around and leave

school premises for food / prayer / shopping during lunch breaks and other intervals girls are strictly confined to the classrooms (Thasniya&Kuruvilla, 2017). Such double standards also serve to perpetuate the gender inequality and protectionist approach of patriarchal society to girls and women.

Dress plays a crucial role in the sexualisation of girls. In several schools specific dress codes are insisted for women teachers which may be lacking in the case of male teachers. Teachers' dress codes enforce traditional characteristics of gendered notions and reflect gender hierarchies where women are subjected to more regulations than men (Kahn, 2013). Students, parents, and others have a number of concerns about public school dress codes and their impact on female students. One concern is that many dress codes are explicitly gender specific, targeting girls but not boys, or are at least selectively enforced such that they impact female students disproportionately (Li Zhou, 2015). The consequences of being "dress coded" have a negative impact on student learning and participation. Studies suggest that a preoccupation with physical appearance based on sexualized norms disrupts mental capacity and cognitive function (APA, 2007).

1.4.3. Gender Bias in Teacher Perceptions

Teachers' attitudes and beliefs towards gender equality reinforce students' gender roles, often to the disadvantage of girls. Girls' and boys' academic abilities and achievements continue to be differently interpreted by teachers. Recent research suggests that girls' high achievements continue to be undermined by their teachers as the result of 'hard work' or 'natural flair' (Chapman, 2012; Dean, Joldoshalieva and Hussainy, 2007; Scantlebury, 2009) while boys' low achievement do not deter teachers from maintaining their academic potential (Maynard, 2002). Particularly, findings in this respect reflect a widely accepted assumption among teachers that boys are more intelligent than girls and they have greater

potential for academic achievement than girls in general, and in Maths and Science, in particular (Liu, 2006; Maynard, 2002; Renold, 2001; Skelton & Francis, 2003; Warrington &Younger, 2000). Girls are perceived as more timid and shy and no efforts are taken by teachers to change that ((Jha, 2008).

1.4.4. Gender Bias in Text Books

Textbooks have a central and indispensable place in modern education systems. The set of knowledge and values in the textbooks are created within complicated cultural, economic and political processes that make up the social texture prevailing in that period (Apple & Smith, 1991). Since every society has its gender belief system and gender stereotypes i.e. the prevailing images of what men and women are supposed to be like, the same are reflected and portrayed in the textbooks. There is a persistence of gender or sex stereotypes in the portrayal of femininity and masculinity in text books with biased personality traits attached to males and females.

The roles and responsibilities allocated to men and women in textbooks portray under-representation of females, men continue to be the main characters and depicted in higher positions than women (Jha, 2008; Kuruvilla & Thasniya, 2015; Velkoff, 1998), women and girls are perceived as incompetent compared to males, games for boys are shown as adventurous whereas that of girls are shown as passive, or stereotyped like household tasks (playing with doll, tea sets). In social positions, men are the leaders, tough jobs must be done by them while women are shown as inferior beings, a step lower, who hold subordinate jobs, they are represented as down-trodden and weak. These types of gender bias in text books carry a hidden message that women are at a lower position and of less value than men in the minds of students and reproduces hierarchical issues in the status of men and women in our society. This discriminatory approach which reproduces patriarchy is a major problem in all textbooks used in primary and secondary education.

1.4.5. Gender Bias in Student-Teacher Interactions

The issue of gender bias in classroom interaction is considered as significant as it affects the immediate educational and social experience of students, and has consequences for their future life outcomes (Chapman, 2012; Francis, 2004). Teachers have a unique role in the lives of students as they serve as role models and guides to students. In classrooms, teachers are keys in perpetuating gender stereotypism through interactions and instructions given to students. The gender differences in student- teacher interactions are visible from the pre-school setting to the higher education. Research findings have been fairly consistent in highlighting the gendered classroom climate and the gender stereotypes reflected in teachers' interactions with students (Kuruvilla & Najmunnisa, 2011; Scantlebury, 2009). In general, teacher-student interactions tend to facilitate male centeredness in classrooms.

Early feminist research in elementary and secondary school classrooms from the 1980s to the late 1990s and 2000s (Fishers, 1994; Francis, 2000) all illustrate how teachers devote a greater proportion of their time and attention to boys (usually because boys are more often reprimanded and disciplined than girls) and how boys and men (Luke, 1994) dominate classroom talk in whole class discussions (teacher-pupil interactions) and get more teacher attention (Bailey, 1992; Howe, 1997;Jha, 2008; Skelton, 2001).

1.4.6. Gender Bias in Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities

The roles and responsibilities assigned to girls and boys in schools are gender specific. When teachers sort children for different activities, and give roles to them in relation to their gender, the seeds of gender bias are getting deeply planted in young minds. Girls' role in contributing to 'care' work in school and home is viewed as 'just' and 'unavoidable' (Jha, 2008). Girls are usually made responsible for cleaning classrooms and offices, watering the

school garden (Dunneet al., 2005), offering bouquets to guests, singing prayer songs etc while the authoritative supervisory roles like controlling the class in the absence of teachers, school leadership, inviting guests etc are given to boys (Kuruvilla, 2011). The gendered nature of assignment of duties to the teachers and students forms a key structure of the gender regime in schools (Dunne, 2005; Kessler, Ashenden, Connell & Dowself, 1985). Female teachers and students are often expected to do the roles and responsibilities like their domestic counterparts while the male teachers and students act in the position of authority and controlling responsibilities.

1.4.7. Gender Bias in Play Provisions

In the existing socialization pattern clear gender difference is observed in provisions for children's play and games. The play type and play spaces are gendered in schools. The entire area of sports and games are highly gendered in the higher education system also and very few females opt for a career in sports and games. Majority of the physical education teachers are men in schools and colleges. The play appears something restrictive for girls while as an exposure and willingness to experiment for boys. Usually girls play hopscotch, skipping, battledore and shuttlecock which are the quiet and less competitive games while the boys play basketball, football, wrestling and so on. Gender segregation also occurs during group play. The rules and disciplines are enforced in girls play and they are rarely being allowed to violate the rules. But the boys play is more flexible and use physical strength to ensure 'just' participation. When the children assume gender identity, the nature of play also changes based on their gender. This gender identification will adversely affect the whole playing phenomenon whereby children prefer to play more with same sex groups (Fagot, 1994; Fagot & Leve, 1998).In the gendered school climates, girls are not allowed to play football while boys are

not encouraged to take craft works. Choice of sports is usually gendered everywhere and generally seen as male preserve (Jha, 2008)

1.4.8. Gender Bias in Disciplinary Practices

In cases of rewards and punishments also gender bias is exhibited. Teachers more often evaluate boys positively if they are dynamic, aggressive, independent, explorative and competitive, while girls often receive positive feedback for being obedient, kind, gentle, passive and positive to the community (Benokraitis, 2002).

Girl's misbehaviors are often perceived differently from boys' bad behaviors and often invite harsh criticism from the teachers, whereas aggression and violence among boys may be seen as more 'natural' and hence, more understandable (Reay, 2001; Skelton, 2002; Osler & Vincent, 2003; Skelton and Francis, 2003). But a few studies have also reported contradictory findings that boys receive more harsh reprimands for minor offenses (Jha,2008).

1.5. NEED AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Gender is the most pervasive form of inequality, as it operates across all classes, castes and communities. Globalisation and subsequent privatisation of schooling, the declining standards of government schools, communalisation of education and the impact of public and domestic violence pose major challenges in relation to gender inequality in education. According to Maidan (2008) the education of girls is lagging behind that of boys at all levels of education with low enrolment rate and high dropout rate for girls. There are many socio-cultural, economic and educational barriers, which hinder their participation in education.

There is undue pressure on boys and girls to live up to the established "norms" of masculinity and femininity. While girls endure unwarranted social control, discrimination and domination, boys too suffer from the stereotyping that exists in a patriarchal culture. Discouraged from being emotional, gentle or fearful they are thrust in to the role of breadwinners, protectors and warriors. This unequal gender relations stunt the freedom of all individuals to develop their human capacities to their fullest. Schooling reinforces the gendered inequality of socialization across all divides.

India is reputed to have a progressive education policy with regard to the focus on gender. The National Policy on Education, 1986 put specific emphasis on women's education. It states that "Education will use as an agent of basic change the status of women. In order to neutralize accumulated distortions of the past, there will be a well-conceived edge in favour of women. The National Education System will play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women". However, despite over three decades of commitment to gender equality and the universalisation of education, the round realities are still grim, especially in the context of girls from marginalized groups and rural areas.

The aspirations of young girls are unrelated to their actual intellectual and cognitive abilities. Cutting across elite private schools to Government schools, girls perform better than boys, but by the time they reach the end of middle school or secondary school, their educational and occupational aspirations differ markedly from that of boys.

The work of gender sensitization and awareness building has acquired certain complacency but is limited to the issues of enrolment of girls, and to the relative absence of female figures or proliferation of gender stereotypes in textbooks. Such work is clearly inadequate and there is an urgent need for serious inquiry into curricula, content and the gendered construction of

knowledge, as well as a more critical and pro-active approach to the issues of gender bias.

Education is the most potent tool for women empowerment. It enables them to participate and benefit from the development process. According to Mahatma Gandhi, "If you educate a man you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate an entire family". Women's education is essential for the sustainable development of society. It will liberate and equip women to have the ability to take control of her life, fulfill her dreams and enhance her status in the society. Due to the prevailing gender bias in the society women cannot access quality education. Improving girls' access to education, with the goal of attaining gender equality, is also a critical component of promoting development and meeting the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals.

Once girls are given access to schools, the assumption is that as girls and women have entered the public sphere, empowerment will follow implicitly, their life options will expand and they will be in a position to take greater control of their lives. But the complexity lies in the fact that the education system itself creates boundaries that limit possibilities. The school becomes an enclosed space, like the domestic sphere where discriminations and violations are not talked about or questioned. Increase in public and domestic violence, as well as sexual harassment and abuse within educational institutions negatively impacts girls' performance within schools and their ability to access education.

The gender role stereotypes that schools help to reproduce include the notion that girls are caring, nurturing, quiet, helpful, considerate of others, and place others' needs before their own. Gendered behaviours in the school and classroom may lead to low self esteem among girl students and gender segregated mentality among students, which in turn reinforces gender

stereotypes and gender division of labour in the society. It denies the girls' opportunities for utilizing their full potential, the economic growth and social development. Gender bias in the education system has a direct relationship to low socio-economic empowerment of girls today.

Gender inequality from womb to tomb constitutes a serious issue that half the human race is unable to realize their potential and skills. Prejudices regarding women's efficiency, productivity, capacity, skills and suitability are to be wiped out. In several parts of progressive India, hundreds of women are branded witches, humiliated and assaulted, ostracized and even lynched. In spite of the reports and recommendations of various commissions and agencies for women empowerment, gender equality remains a challenge mainly due to the stereotyping of education, curricula and content which needs to be seriously studied and addressed.

In the state of Kerala, its high women development indicators like sex ratio, literacy, educational standards, enrolment and retention rates at all levels of education, physical health, life expectancy etc., when taken up for serious scrutiny, several contradictions are found. The unconventional indicators like political participation, work participation rate, ownership of property and violence against women etc. show that the status of women in Kerala is not as rosy as it is portrayed. Keralite women are the highest consumers of tranquilizers in the country. The Indian Psychological Association makes repeated reports about the low mental health profiles of women in Kerala. There has been increasing case of suicide and unnatural deaths. Most of this is associated with escalating rates of dowry, consumerism, high indebtedness and increasing rate of domestic violence. Women are victims of all forms of violence viz. mental, physical, economic and sexual violence especially within their homes. Belief in the propagation of patriarchal values and reinforcing stereotypes lead to violence (Kuruvilla, 2011). So the mismatch

between its highest educational and health standards in the country on one side and the lowest mental health profiles and comparatively lower work participation rate of women on the other warrants an investigation into the nature of the educational experiences that boys and girls, men and women receive from the schools and colleges in Kerala. Whether the schools and colleges inculcate values of gender justice in the minds of men and women or whether they disseminate patriarchal notions of subordinating, marginalizing and confining women into traditional roles is a matter of serious investigation in the present context.

A vast body of research evidence coexists with continuing and prevalent sexism in the classroom and the school. Studies on the nature of gendered behaviors in schools are very rare in the Kerala context. Most of the research related to gender issues in education are on issues related with school availability, drop out and enrolment rates. Hence the present research on analyzing the school climate through a gender lens focused on the overall school climate, classroom instruction, seating arrangements, dress code, disciplinary practices, teacher-student interactions etc at primary and secondary levels was undertaken.

1.6. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Gender bias and discrimination in the education system pose serious implications to the quality of education that girls receive from the schools. The classrooms as well as the overall school climate play a significant role in developing values of gender justice in the growing minds. Literature documents how gender discrimination in education beginning at the primary level leads to girls becoming more passive, quiet and less assertive due to the effect of the hidden curriculum. It leads to a large gender gap in the educational and occupational paths between males and females. Teachers who are products of the patriarchal society teach students based on their

expectations about gender roles and convictions regarding the need for gender equality. It is high time to assess the quality of education imparted in the schools as to whether it contributes to the development of the attitudes and values in children required for a gender just society.

In this context, the present research is interested in analyzing the following questions:

- Do the schools in Kerala show any kind of discrimination between boys and girls in their overall school climate and the specific classroom practices?
- Does the school environment foster values of gender equality among the growing minds of children?
- Do the teachers in the schools possess proper awareness regarding the gender bias existing in the various spheres of life and the need for ensuring gender equity in the school?
- Do the boys and girls perceive any kind of bias in the approach and behavior of teachers and in the general school environment?

1.7. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Gender Analysis

An analysis of gender relations which provides information on the different conditions of women and men, and the different effects that policies and programmes may have on them.

Gender Analysis helps gain an understanding of the different patterns of participation, involvement, behaviour and activities that women and men in their diversity have in economic, social and legal structures and the implications of these differences.

Gender Analysis provides the answer to how the gender perspective should be addressed/ incorporated, particularly in terms of setting relevant gender equality objectives and indicators, planning concrete actions to reach the objectives, and conducting monitoring and evaluation.

In the present study, the term **Gender Analysis** refers to the approach used to examine the overall environment, classroom practices and experiences that students receive at the schools with a gender perspective.

School Climate

School climate refers to the quality and character of school life as it relates to norms and values, interpersonal relations and social interaction, and oranisational processes and structures. School climate sets the tone for all the learning and teaching done in the school environment and, as research proves, it is predictive of students' ability to learning and develop in healthy ways.

School Climate is based on patterns of students', parents' and school personnel's experience of school life and reflects norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, and organizational structures.

The National School Climate Council (2007) defines school climate as "norms, values, and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally and physically safe". School climate is a product of the interpersonal relationships among students, families, teachers, support staff, and administrators. Positive school climate is fostered through a shared vision of respect and engagement across the educational system. Emphasis is also placed on the collective sense of safety and care for the school's physical environment.

In the present study the term **School Climate** indicates the conditions prevailing in the schools with regard to the general rules and regulations on entry and exit, dress code, seating arrangements, play provisions, student – teacherinteraction, student-student interaction, disciplinary actions, assignment of roles and responsibilities, and student grouping in school especially in a classroom setting.

Primary School:

The term refers to the classes from 1st to 4th standard of recognized schools of Kerala in the government, aided or unaided sector and in the present study the term is represented by the third standard class.

Secondary School:

The term refers to the classes from 8th to 10th standard of recognized schools of Kerala in the government, aided or unaided sector and in the present study the term is represented by the ninth standard class.

1.8. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the present study are the following:

1. To analyse the general rules and regulations of primary and secondary schools with a gender perspective.
2. To explore the nature of classroom practices in primary and secondary schools with a gender perspective.
3. To analyse the perceptions of teachers on gendered practices in primary and secondary schools.
4. To study the perceptions of boys and girls on gendered practices in primary and secondary schools.
5. To formulate some policy suggestions to the Government Education Department for eliminating gender discriminatory practices.

1.9. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Schools engage in extensive gender ideology formation and transmission through classroom practices, teachers' attitudes and expectations. Gender constructions in schools create different notions of what it means to be a man and a woman. Boys continue to dominate classroom in every aspect. This will eventually make girls submissive and will naturalize differences between men and women.

Curriculum plays a major role along with teachers' interaction with students in producing gender notions. Education policies fail to recognize the role of gender socialization in schools. To change these gender ideologies, there is a need to change the culture of schools, to create awareness among teachers, academicians and policy makers about the gender bias in education and to respond to gender issues. Gender discrimination in education systems and schools leads to division among boys and girls and produce false perceptions regarding the roles and responsibilities of men and women in society.

Gender is a major organizational category in schools. It appears to be a major factor influencing all activities in the schools. The school as an institution of learning ought to create equal spaces for overall growth and development of girls and boys. As teachers influence the students in a significant way, promoting gender sensitivity and gender sensitization programs among all teachers, is highly significant. It will help to pay attention in socializing girls and boys in schools to develop a gender sensitive environment in school. Both men and women play an important role in the society and this should be understood and respected. The society should change to promote gender equality, so that men and women can respect each other. The present study plays a significant role in understanding whether there are gendered behaviours and practices in the nature of rules and

regulations, dress code, seating arrangements, classroom practices, disciplinary actions, assignment of roles and responsibilities and teacher interactions in the primary and secondary schools of Kerala.

All the three types of schools viz. government, aided and unaided schools have been included in the study. In order to ensure more generalisation, schools from both urban and rural locales have been included. Based on the findings of the study, appropriate suggestions have been made to eliminate gender bias from the classroom practices of the schools.

Being brought up in a patriarchal world and having internalized the patriarchal values so deeply, the teachers and educational administrators unknowingly perpetuate gender stereotypism and transmit patriarchal values to the students. The findings of the study and the suggestions are expected to make the concerned school authorities and teachers, conscious of the gendering practices and their impacts on growing minds which they follow consciously or unconsciously.

The findings are also expected to be eye openers for the educational administrators and policy makers to evolve gender positive initiatives so as to instill values of gender justice in the growing minds of children.

Schools have the potential of playing a transformative role in changing the prevalent patriarchal notions and unequal gender relations. It does not necessarily happen on its own, and requires specific and targeted interventions in most cases. Based on the findings of the study, the state educational machinery, especially the SCERT is hoped to formulate and disseminate appropriate guidelines and intervention packages to eliminate the gendered practices from the schools.

1.10. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1- Introduction to Research

This chapter gives an overview of the research in terms of the context of the research and why the research is significant. This chapter also discusses in detail about statement of the problem; operational definition of key terms; objectives of the research, the research questions, the scope of the present study and structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2- Review of Related Literature

This chapter discusses the theoretical background of the present study including an overview about gender socialisation, various agencies of socialization, theories of gender identity development and studies related to different forms of gender bias in education.

Chapter 3- Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology used for the conduct of the study is explained. It gives a deeper insight into the research work done by providing the groundwork of the thesis, the detailed research design including the sample, tools used, method of data collection, pilot study undertaken, area of the study, analysis techniques employed and the limitations of the study

Chapter 4 - Analysis and Findings: Gendered School climate and Classroom Practices

This chapter focuses on the analysis of data along with the findings of the study related to gendered rules and regulations and gendered classroom practices in the primary and secondary schools.

Chapter 5 – Analysis and Findigns : Perceptions of students and teachers on gendered school practices

This chapter focuses on the analysis of data along with the findings of the study related to perceptions of students and teachers gendered school practices in the primary and secondary schools.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions, Findings and Suggestions

This is the final chapter of the thesis, which summarises the research, the research findings and discuss about the suggestions and recommendations for eliminating the gender bias from the school climate.

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Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

This chapter focuses on the gender socialization theories and review of the research works related to gender and education. Review of literature helps to understand the research works, methodologies adopted by various scholars and the research gap in the area of the present study. Moreover, it helps the researcher to identify and adopt suitable methodology for conducting research in a scientific manner. This chapter gives an overview of the theories related to the development of gendered identities in children, the literature on how the various socialization agencies contribute to the gendered behaviours and the specific forms of gendering in the educational system. The related literature is presented under the following headings:

1.   Theories on Gender Identity Development
2.   Socialisation Agencies and Gendering
3.   School and Gender
4.   Conclusion

2.1. THEORIES ON GENDER IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

2.1.1. Psychoanalytic Theory on Personality Development

Freud(1856-1939) through his psychoanalytic theory proposed the role of superego in gender socialization. According to him gender development involves interaction between the id, ego, superego and the external environment. Freud argued that during development, a child moves through oral, anal and genital stages. At the genital stage the individual becomes masculine or feminine. The key points about Freud's theory include:

(1) Gender identity and sexuality are psychological (not biological) achievements that take place within the family. These achievements are "difficult, precarious, and full of potential pitfalls."

(2) Gender identity is linked to sexual orientation. Homosexuals have failed to develop properly.

(3) Traditional gender stereotypes prove that development was successful.

If gender identity and sexual orientation were accomplished, not inherent in the individual, then it becomes the parents' fault if things didn't turn out right. The resulting research into how parents could ensure proper development led to the M-F test, which measured masculinity-femininity on a continuum. This forms the foundation of sex role theory. Development of gender in psychoanalytic theory is different for boys and for girls: Boys experience the Oedipus complex and identify with their father and take on a male gender role; girls experience the Electra complex and identify with their mother and take on a female gender role (tutor2u, 2015).

According to Freud, society prohibits us from expressing certain instincts and desires, especially impulses related to sex and aggression, the social order would be impossible without the regulation of these drives. Hence society imposes its will on the individual, suppressing and channeling the drives for socially acceptable outlets, but often doing so in ways that leads to later neuroses and personality disturbances.

2.1.2.Piaget's Stages of Gender Role Development

Piaget (1936) proposed three stages of cognitive development and development of gender roles. At the Preoperational period (from age 2 to age 7), the child's thinking is concrete, not logical, it judges on appearance; uses cues such as dress and hair, change sex if appearance is made different, develops categories associated with sex/gender and identify them as male or female and use stereotypes as rules. At the Concrete Operational period (from age 7 to age 11), the child's thinking is logical, but limited to concrete and the cognitive understanding of permanence of gender develops. During Formal

Operational period (age 11+ - adolescence and adulthood), the child's thinking is scientifically logical, can be applied to abstract concepts and the adolescents become more rigid in sex-typing.

2.1.3. Kohlberg's Concept of Gender Constancy

Kohlberg (1966) opines that children make a cognitive judgment about their gender identity before they select same sex models for sex typed behaviours. According to Kohlberg's Moral Development Theory (1966), there are three stages of gender development i.e, Basic gender identity, Gender stability and Gender consistency through which children make a cognitive judgment about their gender identity before they select same sex models for sex typed behaviours.

Stage 1- Gender Labelling (up to 3 years): Children can identify themselves and other people as girls or boys (mummies or daddies). However, gender is not seen as stable over time or across changes in superficial physical characteristics (e.g. length of hair, clothes).

Stage 2- Gender Stability (3-5 years): Children recognise that gender is stable over time: boys will grow up to be daddies, and girls will grow up to be mummies. However, the unchanging nature of gender – that it remains the same regardless of changes in superficial appearance or activity choice – is not yet appreciated.

Stage 3- Gender Consistency (6 0r 7 years): Children have a full appreciation of the permanence of gender over time and across situations. The child knows that a person encounters changes in their activities and appearances that are appropriate to their gender

According to Kohlberg, gender identity or the self-categorization as a boy or girl is acquired by the age of about 3 years, but the development of the

concept of gender as a constant and interchangeable attribute occurs gradually between 2-7 years of age. Sex differences are also evident in the development of all aspects of gender constancy. Children seem to judge the gender identity of others based on appearance cues (e.g. hair style and clothing). This adoption of gender identity leads to behavioral consequences that pervade all the experiences of a person, including attributes, activity, emotional behavior, interpersonal relationships, dress, sexual behavior, expectancies and gender attitudes.

2.1.4. Social Learning Theory

According to Bandura (1977) "most human behaviour is learned observationally through modeling, from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action". Bandura's (1977), social learning theory rests upon three main concepts. First, the individuals have the ability to learn through observation, second- that mental states are a fundamental part of this process and thirdly, the theory alleges that when something is learned this does not always follow by a change in behaviour. Bandura (1965) found that boys were more likely than girls to act aggressively after viewing an aggressive model.

Bandura's (1977) Social Learning Theory focuses on the learning that occurs within a social context. It considers that people learn from one another, including such concepts as observational learning, imitation, and modelling (Abbott, 2007). Bandura opines that gender differences in any sort of behaviour – including morality – are largely due to learning of appropriate roles from observing the actions of adults and peers. Every society has its own gender role perceptions as a consequence of which men and women are rewarded for what is considered role appropriate behaviour and punished for behaviors that are considered inappropriate (Fleming, 2005).

2.1.5. Gender Schema Theory

The gender schema theory was formally introduced by Bem in 1981 as a cognitive theory to explain how individuals become gendered in society and how sex-linked characteristics are maintained and transmitted to other members of a culture. Bem argues that there are individual differences in the degree to which people hold these gender schemata. These differences are manifested via the degree to which individuals are sex-typed. Bem (1981, 1993) rejected Freudian beliefs of "anatomy is destiny" and proposed that an individual's gender identification emerged from his or her cognitive development and societal influences (Hsiao, 2010).

Based on Bem's research there are three features of gender schematics. Gender schemas develop through an individual's observation of societal classifications of masculinity and femininity, which are evidenced in human anatomy, social roles and characteristics. Males and females cognitively process and categorize new information in their environment based on its maleness or femaleness. Self-authorship is displayed by an individual's categorization of and conformity to the sets of elements that belong to either definition of masculinity or femininity (Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton & Renn, 2010).

According to Bem, in cultures where distinctions between men and women are emphasized, children learn to use gender as a way to process information about the world (Kretchmar, 2009). Two characters of gender schema are particularly noteworthy. Firstly, gender schemas tend to be polarized, so that children believe what is acceptable and appropriate for females is not acceptable or appropriate for males and vice versa. Secondly, gender schemas tend to be andocentric; that is children internalize the message that males and masculinity are the standard norm, and are more highly valued than females and femininity (Wharton, 2005).

2.2. SOCIALISATION AGENCIES AND GENDERING

Socialization is broadly defined as "a process in which an individual acquires the attitudes, behaviors and knowledge needed to successfully participate as an organizational member (Van, & Schein, 1979). During socialization, the individual learns the language of the culture he /she is born as well as the roles he/she is to play in life (O'Neil, 2011). Martin (1998) opines that the social constructions in our society serve to develop gender differences in children at an early age.

Gender socialisation is a more focused form of socialisation, it is how children of different sexes are socialised into their gender roles (Giddens, 1993) and taught what it means to be male or female. Gender roles are reinforced through "countless subtle and not so subtle ways" (Henslin, 1999). It is the process through which individuals take on gendered qualities and characteristics and learn what the society expects of them as males and females (Wharton, 2005).

Family, peers, education system, media and religion are generally considered to be the major agents of gender socialization that have a great influence upon the lives of children. When they grow up these socialization agencies teach them specific personality traits that are desirable for boys and girls. Values, customs, norms, social practices, and rituals that underline the connection between gender socialization and formal process of education at school need to be understood (NCERT, 2006).

2.2.1. Gendering Within the Family

Through a variety of socialisationpractices in the family, the child acquires the earliest knowledge of its role in the society. According to Oakley (1974), the socialization process aids to the maintenance of male dominance and female subservience. The roles learned in childhood days shape adult

behaviour and hence, contribute to the reproduction of differences in the behavior of males and females (Kuruvilla & Nisha, 2015). Kuruvilla and George (2015) conclude that by the time children reach the school at the age of five years they might have imbibed all the patriarchal values from the family itself.

According to Witt (1997) and Berk (2000), children who are exposed to non-stereotyped models, for example, mothers who are employed or fathers who do the household chores, are less traditional in their beliefs and behaviours. These children have been found to have higher self-esteem and higher levels of identity achievement. Girls with career oriented mothers more often engage in typically masculine activities, have higher educational aspirations and hold non-traditional vocational goals (Berk, 2000). The girl children are being socialized from the early childhood to be good wives and mothers, at the same time boy children socialized in extreme opposite manner, that is, to be independent winners in life (Kuruvilla & Valasseri, 2015). According to Kuruvilla (2011) the socialization process at home instills a learned helplessness in girls, which get strengthened and deepened with time by other agencies of socialistaion.

Hartley and Oakley (1974) propose that socialization in the family takes place through four processes namely manipulation, canalization, verbal appellation and activity exposure.

Manipulation: By manipulation or moulding is meant the way you handle a child. It has been noted that boys are treated as strong, autonomous beings right from the beginning. In some cultures mothers fuss with the baby girl's hair and dress her in a feminine fashion. These physical experiences of early childhood are very important in shaping the self-perception of girls and boys.

Canalization: The second process canalization involves directing the attention of male and female children to objects or aspects of objects. For example giving girls, dolls and pots and pans to play with and encouraging boys to play with guns, cars and aeroplanes. Through this kind of differential treatment the interests of girls and boys are channelized differently and they develop different capabilities, attitudes, aspirations and dreams. Familiarity with certain objects also directs them to gender appropriate roles.

Verbal appellations: Verbal appellations are also different for boys and girls. Remarks like "how pretty you look" to a girl and "you are looking big and strong" to a boy serve to construct the self-identity of girls and boys, men and women. Children learn to think of themselves as male or female and to identity with other males or females. Family members constantly transmit aspects of gender roles directly in the way they talk even to very young children and they also convey the importance given to each child.

Activity exposure: Activity exposure is the last process, in which both children are exposed to traditional masculine and feminine activities from their childhood. Girls are asked to help their mothers with household chores, boys to accompany their father outside. In communities, where the sexes are segregated, girls and boys live in two distinct spaces and are exposed to very different activities. It is through these processes that children imbibe the meaning of masculine and feminine, and internalise them almost unconsciously.

Children internalize their parent's message regarding gender at an early age (Witt, 1997), when children reach adolescent age, parents allow greater freedom for boys than girls, permitting boys to roam around individually or with peers while restricting the mobility and interactions of girls with peers and elders of opposite sex (Kuruvilla & George, 2015; Kuruvilla & Nisha, 2015). Parents dress their boy and girl children in different ways and

encourage them to participate in sex typed activities i.e, girls are encouraged to play with dolls and tea sets and boys are encouraged to play with cars and footballs. Thus through a variety of practices and institutions, child acquires the earliest knowledge of its role in the family (Berk , 2000).

Researchers and administrators have also noted the prevalence of discrimination between girls and boys in the choice of course and the school. The expenses of dowry compound the problem and the chances of girls being educated is reduced further (NCERT, 2006). Because of this parents spend less on the schooling of the daughters than sons (Velaskar, 2004). Ramachandran (2004) observes that, boys, particularly of the better off sections, are increasingly being sent to private schools. In some areas, it appears that while in border line families, sons are sent to private aided or unaided schools, daughters are sent to government schools only. When it comes to higher education, majority of parents send their sons to professional education, where as their daughters will be sent to traditional courses in Arts and Science colleges (Kuruvilla & Valasseri, 2015). Similarly, among the poor even where all children are enrolled, a large proportion of the girls are in non-formal centres of education (Ramachandran, 2004).

2.2.2. Gendering in Schools

Schools are the sites for the formation of beliefs about femininity and masculinity (Stromquist, 2007) and the sites for the construction of gendered identities among children (Butler, 1990; Dean, et al., 2007). This socialization covers a wide range of practices, from administrators' and teachers' attitudes and expectations, textbook messages, peer interactions, and classroom dynamics, to the larger school climate or environment (Stromquist, 2007). The teachers and educational administrators who are products of patriarchy are totally unaware of the need for gender equality and they happen to act as agents spreading patriarchal values (Kuruvilla, 2011). School reflects the

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dominant gender ideology of the society around them and actively produces gender and heterosexual divisions (Ghail, 1994). The experiences afforded to girls and boys within schools are known to affect gender differentiation both directly, by providing differential skill practices and reinforcement (Leaper & Bigler, 2011) and indirectly, by providing inputs that lead children to actively socialize themselves along gender-differentiated pathways. Later on in 2013, Bigler, Hayes and Hamilton highlighted teachers and peers as the two primary sources who directly influence this gender differentiation.

As part of co-curricular activities like SUPW, boys will get training in repair of electrical appliances while girls will be taught stitching and embroidery. In schools girls will be asked to sweep the floor and clean the classroom while boys will be sent out to play. Directly and indirectly such practices strengthen the stereotypic roles among girls and boys (Kuruvilla, 2013).

According to Streitmatter (1994), students in environments permeated with sexism tend to develop value systems that are gender differentiated, which in turn help perpetuate gender bias that they will carry with them into the adult world. Hence students' gendered experiences at school and in classrooms contribute to the gender divisions found in later lives that perpetuate gender inequality, such as the choice of occupational sectors, the standing and influence within sectors, and the prioritizing of the occupational relative to the domestic (Howe, 1997).

2.2.3. Gendering Through Media

Mass media is the most powerful agent of socialistaion while carrying out its functions of transmission and transformation of culture. Media is a powerful factor which influences our beliefs, attitudes, values we have, of ourselves, of others, as well as the world around us (Kadambari, 2009).

Children learn the gendered expectations to look and behave like boys or girls, most reproduce and perpetuate their society's version of how the two sexes should be (Lorber 2005).

Studies show that generally the media portray the roles of women and men stereotypically (Das, 2000; Prasad, 2005; Ray,2008; Shelat, 1994; Tefft, 1987;Tomar, 2011). Media portrayal of unequal ways of men and women reveals the social construction of gender and gender difference. In the visual media women are portrayed as irrational beings who own a body that is emotional and erotic and satisfying the patriarchal male gaze (Kuruvilla and George, 2015). The unequal ways in which men and women have been portrayed serve to strengthen the myth of female passivity and frailty by the media (Kadambari, 2009).

2.2.4. Gendering Through Religion

Religion is a strong socialization agency that shapes collective beliefs into collective identity (Erikson, 1977). According to Kadambari (2009) religious customs are primary mechanisms through which social meanings are invested in and social controls are exercised. Culture and tradition operate to limit women's' and to an extent men's behavior.

According to Odimegwu (2005) the teachings of religious institutions are likely to play a critical role in the formation of individual's attitudes, values and decisions. Cultural and religious customs reinforce traditional gender roles, especially those regarding women's responsibilities in the home and family (Kuruvilla & Nisha, 2015). Social science literature has well documented the influence of religion on women's gender role attitudes (Bartkowski, 1999; Bartkowski & Read, 2003; Hardacre, 1997; Hartman & Hartman, 1996; Heaton & Cornwall, 1989; Lehrer, 1995; Mosher, Williams &Johnson, 1992). Kuruvilla (2013) and Kuruvilla and Nisha (2015) through

their empirical studies have found that religion has a very significant role in shaping gender role perceptions among teacher trainees and adolescent girls respectively.

In their study on relationship between women, religion and space, Morine and Guelke (2007) have found that the space which women occupy is significant within the realm of religion such that the space women and men are allowed to worship is often separate for certain religions. Religions also enforce strict limitations on women taking up religious leadership positions. The rituals, ceremonies and beliefs of all religions are gender stereotypic. In particular, religion provides certain rules for different gender roles in a community (Bakombo, 2013; Morine and Guelke, 2007). Some among them are, regulations regarding clothing (Kelly, 2010; Khan, 1997), marriage that is predominantly controlled by caste and religion (Saha & Dey, 2014), the exclusion of women from positions of leadership in the religious community (Kuruvilla, 2012; Sullins, 2006) etc. besides this during menstrual periods generally girls/women have high restrictions in entering places of worship (Gutterman, Mehta & Gibbs, 2013). Son preference is evident in all religions and men are considered as superior and women inferior, impure and sinful.

2.3. SCHOOL AND GENDER

Recent researches consider gender as an organizing principle in all social institutions like academic, workplace and legal systems. Researches on gender and education have burgeoned since the mid-1970s. Inequality in the classroom has been one theme in such research, including the charge that teachers give preferential treatment to boys. Another has been the identification of school processes and practices which convey particular conceptions of and boundaries between masculinity and femininity.

Most of these studies indicate that the gendered school experiences have a negative impact on girls' educational attainment (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Younger & Warrington, 1996). Schools play a significant role in the formulation of gender identities (Dunne, 2007). Jha (2008) based on the study on Gender Equality in Education: The Role of Schools conducted in India, Pakistan, Samoa, Malaysia, Nigeria, Seychelles and Trinidad and Tobago concludes that schools in most cases reinforce the existing gender ideology, stereotypes, norms and expectations everywhere.

Jackson and Moray (2005) conducted a study on the factors influencing parents when choosing a single sex or co-educational independent schools for their children. The study was conducted in three independent schools- a boy's school, a girls' school and a co-educational school. Data was generated via questionnaires (225 responses) and semi-structured interview schedule (15 sets of parents). The findings suggest that the reputation and exam results of schools are the key features guiding parents' school choices. However, whether a school is single or co-educational is an important factor for many parents and the belief that single –sex education has advantages (especially academic) for girls, whilst co-education has advantages (especially social) for boys, still prevails.

Kunjumon (2012) investigated the role of school in constructing gender ideologies in the minds of children. The findings show that, every school has its own culture and has a prominent role in creating gender differences in students. Each school transmits its cultural patterns to students through its rules and norms, in a formal setting. The study also found that the private management is more liberal and permit free mingling of different sexes. Gender differences were found not only among students but among teaching and non-teaching faculties too. The study reveals that gender

differentiation is lesser in CBSE and ICSE syllabus schools when compared to the state syllabus.

2.3.1. Gendered Perceptions and Behaviours of Teachers

The approach and behavior of teachers vary with girls and boys. Teachers also have gendered perceptions regarding the achievement of students. Teachers' gendered interactions with students often reflect different teacher perceptions and expectations of boys and girls. Typically, teachers see boys as good at analytical thinking and girls as good at observing (Shepardson & Pizzini, 1992). Teachers' gendered perceptions of students' ability are also reflected in the type of praise and expectations they have of their students. Liu (2006) points out that teachers often give girls less meaningful and less critical praise than boys. Boys' work is described as unique or brilliant, while girls' work is often undervalued, critically ignored, and praised for its appearance. This aspect of teachers' behavior is particularly detrimental to girls because it means they do not receive feedback on their work that could help them develop deeper understandings of concepts (Liu, 2006).

In the classroom, behaviors that are active, aggressive, energetic, physical, and risk-taking (e.g. bullying, rudeness, and attention seeking) have been seen as masculine; whereas, behaviours that are sensitive, whiny, social, and striving to please others have been seen as feminine (Borg & Falzon, 1993; Hyan, 1998).

Girls' and boys' academic abilities and achievements continue to be differently interpreted. Recent research suggests that girls' high achievements continue to be undermined by their teachers as the result of 'hard work' or 'natural flair' (Renold, 2001), while boys' low achievement do not deter teachers from maintaining their academic potential (Maynard, 2002). Girls also continue to blame themselves and internalize failure in performance, and

hide, downplay or deny rather than celebrate and improve upon their successes (Lucey & Reay, 2002; Renold, 2001). High-achieving girls, are also expected to continue their care-giving role as 'little helpers' and 'settlers' (as mini classroom assistants and pseudo-teachers) as the police boys' (naturally) disruptive behaviors and services their emotional needs and achievements (Francis, 1998; Thorne, 1993).

Studies of classroom cultures in African countries reveal that teachers and students nurture an assumption that girls' primary role and ambition is to be a dutiful wife and mother and strong influence comes from how teachers treat girls (Wamanhiu, 1994).

Teachers also have a part to play in the gender-segregation process, and this seems most evident in the formation of groups for academic activities and the assignment of classroom chores (Skelton & Francis, 2003).

Teachers' gender bias towards students can also extend to their response to students who challenge their authority. Such risk-taking behavior in boys is expected and at times praised, but assertiveness in girls is viewed negatively and labeled unfeminine. Similarly, boys who do not exhibit stereotypical masculine behaviors may be ridiculed (Renold, 2006).

Dean et al. (2007), in their study on the role of schooling in constructing gendered identities carried out in public sector schools in urban and semi-urban areas of Karachi found that the teachers often perceive boys as naturally intelligent whereas girls' success is attributed to hard work. Teachers also believe that boys' IQs are higher than that of girls and therefore they learn much more quickly than girls. The girls themselves attributed boys' excellent academic performance to intelligence while attributing their own ability to the perceived degree of difficulty of the subjects studied.

The study by Dean et al. (2007) on 'The Role of Schooling in Constructing Gendered Identities' reveals that teachers characterized girls and young boys as obedient and docile and older boys as disobedient and uncontrollable. Disobedience was waived as implying "mischievousness" or "naughtiness". The teachers perceive boys as disobedient by nature, in the mood of fun and games, short tempered, speaking loudly and uncontrollable while girls are perceived as obedient, docile, obeying school's rules and easily controllable.

Jha (2008) reports teachers as perceiving girls as more responsible and hard-working while boys as indifferent and aggressive. Also teacher give greater attention to boys in terms of providing them more opportunities.

Berekashvili's (2012) study on the impact of gender-biased perceptions on teacher-student interaction revealed that in spite of better school results, girls' skills and talents are underestimated, expectations towards them are low and their behavior is restricted to stereotyped feminine roles. The majority of those surveyed supported the idea that sex determines different abilities and different learning skills with regard to school subjects. While girls, in teachers' opinion, insignificantly exceed boys in the humanities, boys entirely outdo girls in natural sciences and mathematics and totally deny the girls' abilities in sports. At the same time, most teachers are hardly aware of being gender-biased themselves.

Amsterdan (2012), conducted a study on how Dutch Physical Education teachers discursively construct body differences between students related to gender, (dis)ability and health. The results show that the boys were described as strong, active, physically capable and naturally endowed with the capacities to perform well in sports. Girls' bodies were placed in a category that was seen as the polar opposite, they were described as passive and failing to meet the standards. Related to the above-mentioned view about girls and

boys is the widely shared assumption among Chinese teachers and parents that girls tend to do better at primary school because of their relatively peaceful nature and greater commitment to school work whereas they tend to fall behind boys as they progress through school (Ross, 1993). In these teachers' view, strengths and weaknesses are gender related and biologically fixed, with strength defined by male characteristics. In common with research conducted around the world (Burton, 1995; Boaler, 1997; Harding, 1996; Warrington & Younger, 2000), another widespread assumption found among Chinese teachers and parents is that girls are innately less likely to succeed in mathematics and sciences, whereas they show more talent in language and other arts subjects. Young people themselves also tend to internalize such notions, believing that males are naturally suited to science and mathematics.

2.3.2. School and the Gendered Identities of Boys and Girls

According to Mac and Ghail (1994) the school inhabitants, especially teachers and students, serve as key 'infrastructural mechanisms', through which masculinities and femininities are mediated and lived out as they actively negotiate and reproduce gender identities for themselves and others.

Brutsaert (1999) conducted a study on 'Co-education and Gender Identity Formation: A Comparative Analysis of Secondary Schools in Belgium'. This analysis focuses on the way girls and boys perceive their gender identity in mixed or single-sex schools. The results show that co-educational school girls not only tend to identify themselves more strongly in terms of feminine traits than single-sex school girls, but also in terms of masculine traits, even though their classroom behavior appears to be much more inhibited. The results presented generally imply that, for girls, the specific form of gender identity development is indeed not merely the product of early socialization, but is, to a certain extent, also dependent upon the sex composition of the school attended.

A study conducted in Burkina Faso (UNESCO, Countdown, 1997) has yielded similar findings. The different forms of gender segregation in schools may have serious consequences for children's evolving identities, and hence for their adult lives. Research conducted in classrooms suggests that, in general boys get more attention from the teacher both in student- initiated and teacher- initiated interactions.

Liu (2006) points out that the gendered classroom environment like the overall gendered school culture, may have important implications on evolving identities and future lives of students. Ideologies that shape female and male identities in Indian society are mutually reinforcing across institutions, such as the family, workplace, and community (Kabeer & Subrahmanian, 1999) leading to vicious cycles of under-investment in females.

Kamwendo's (2010) study draws on construction of gender and achievement generated through surveying 59 boys and 103 girls from four secondary schools, as well as interviewing 40 of the girls in order to contribute to the understanding of identity construction in an African context. The study shows that the majority of boys and girls support dominant gender norms, but there is some indication of fluidity. The findings also lead to an emerging explanation of gender differences, and links back to theoretical perspective that the differences are not biological, but shaped by social attitudes and practices, which in turn affect schools.

Chan (2011) concludes that male principals may engender feminizing and masculinising processes through narrative strategies and further reinforce and promote gender inequalities through their hiring and job allocation practices, and this in turn will have a sound effect on the school workplace and leadership.

2.3.7. Seating Arrangements

The furniture in schools is arranged in particular ways that bespeak the kind of teaching that goes on there (Walkerdine, 1990), as single, in pairs, or joined up for group work. Children are often deprived of the choice of where to sit but are given a space or refused permission to sit in another space. Thus bodies are controlled and this regulation often occurs in gendered and sexualized ways (Gordon, Holland & Lahelma, 2000).

Girls and boys tend to sit separately, unless organized differently by the teacher, and usually form friendships within same-sex groups. The study of Kuruvilla and Najmunnisa (2011) on 'Gendered Behaviors in the Primary School Classrooms', revealed that gendered behaviors exist even among primary school children. Students were seated separately in majority of the schools and the classroom interaction between boys and girls was very poor.

2.3.10. Bias in Text Books

Textbooks that constitute the most significant components of the curriculum have a significant role in educating children. They are not only sources of knowledge and information but also serve as instrumental in developing appropriate values and gender role perceptions. Rudman (2013) opines that textbooks reflect societal attitudes, limit choices and maintain discrimination in the mindsets of children. Nischol (1976) conducted a study about 'The Invisible Women: Images of Women and Girls in School Textbooks'. The study on selected English language textbooks used in Indian schools examined the images of women and girls in textual material and illustrations. Females portrayed were found to be "invisible" having no names and playing a few (largely familial) roles. Girls are portrayed as relatively passive, lacking intellectual interests and resourcefulness and are mentioned less frequently than boys.

The study conducted by UNESCO (2004) indicates that the textbooks in the fourth to seventh grades contain discriminatory attitudes towards girls and women. The study also reveals that boys appear in frequent illustrations and in selected examples. The subject matter prejudice was also clearly visible in favour of boys. In science subjects there were far more pictures of males than of females for both the lower and upper secondary schools.

As per the World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995 Platform for Action, Chapter IV, Section B, paras. 69-79, in particular paragraph 74:) "Curricula and teaching materials remain gender-biased to a large degree, and are rarely sensitive to the specific needs of girls and women. This reinforces traditional female and male roles that deny women opportunities for full and equal partnership in society. Lack of gender awareness of educators at all levels strengthens existing inequities between males and females by reinforcing discriminatory tendencies and undermining girls' self-esteem" (UNESCO, 2009). As per the World Federation of Teachers Union (1983) and Evans and Davies (2000), textbooks reflect the prevailing ideology and illustrate the general atmosphere of sexism at all levels of schooling.

Rao and Gayathri (1999) conducted a study on 'Gender Bias and Socialization through the Primary School Curriculum in Karnataka'. The study was based on a content analysis of the textbooks of standard 1-5 from a gender perspective. The sample included primary level textbooks in the subject areas of regional languages, social studies, science and mathematics. The process of reviewing the content was carried out from two broad parameters, i.e, the administrative and academic. The findings of the review of the textbooks from the administrative angle revealed the prevalence of extensive gender bias in terms of the number of females invited to be involved in text preparation or to be on the scrutiny committee of text books. The illustrations presented in primary school textbooks of Karnataka

represented a male bias in all subjects. These illustrations similarly influence a teacher's attitude and reinforce the existing belief system. The results also show that in the textbooks a large number of occupations are assigned exclusively to the male characters when compared to women. The women are concerned only when the roles of wife and mother pop up. It basically confirms the stereotypic sex roles for males and females.

In text books too, visibility of women is very low when compared to that of men. Women and men are identified with stereotypical attributes. In case of students' aspirations and perceptions males carry a strong rooted belief that they will be the main breadwinners everywhere and so they look upon girls as "weaker" and in need of protection (Jha, 2008).

According to Rudman (2009), books for children have reflected societal attitudes in limiting choices and maintaining discrimination. The illustrations also have conventionally placed females in passive observer roles, while males have been pictured as active. Several studies have come up with similar findings (Kuruvilla & Thasniya, 2015; Tsao, 2009).

According to Sadker and Zittleman (2007) students spend as much as 80 to 90 percent of classroom time using text books and teachers take a majority of their instructional decisions based on the textbook. Rao and Gayathri (1999) found that in the textbooks, a large number of occupations are assigned exclusively to the male characters as compared to women; women are depicted only in the roles of wife and mother. It basically confirms the stereotyped sex roles for males and females. A later study by Hamdan (2010) reveals that textbooks reflect the culturally prevalent gender bias wherein males practice a variety of jobs and are portrayed as effective and dominant characters in the labour market, while females are projected as teachers and nurses.

The gender images in text books provide a great deal in engendering the curricula. For example the doctors in text books are male, nurses are females, active and productive roles are depicted as male roles etc. The curriculum is a key piece of national legislation which raises questions about rights, particularly who defines what is -wise, the presence of women in decision making bodies at National and local government level will have an extremely beneficial effect on shaping a curriculum that is responsive to diverse needs. Curriculum that stresses the importance of critical self-awareness amongst learners indicates the potential for curriculum documents to be centrally concerned with equality issues. Gender bias in textbooks proves to be more widespread geographically than the remaining gender gap priority (Blumberg, 2007).

The position paper on Gender issues published by NCERT (2006) depicts how children get incidental learning from which they realise how their texbooks provide false and distorted images about men and women. The cogitation is as follows:

> "In my textbooks I learned that only men
> are the kings and soldiers.
> Till I read a book in which famous,
> queens ruled and fought against enemies.
>
> In my textbooks I learned that
> only men are doctors.
> When I went to a doctor I saw that
> she was a woman.
>
> In my textbooks I learned that only men
> do farming in my country,

<div align="center">Until, on a train journey I saw</div>

<div align="center">Women working in the fields".</div>

(Pooja, Ramya, Anju and Utkarsh - Students of class VII, Baroda)

Kuruvilla and Thasniya (2015) conducted a content analysis of the pictures portrayed in the English and Malayalam language text books of primary classes to assess the extent of gender bias and stereotypism projected through them. The results of the study show that there is an under-representation of females, denigration of women's roles and innate strengths, the devaluation of the very persona of woman, male centeredness, the gendering of skills and spaces and private public dichotomization in the pictures of these text books. A few illustrations highlighted by the authors are given in Figure 2.1.

Malayalam Text Book (Std.4)　　　　**Malayalam Text Book** (Std. 1)

English text book (Std. 4)

Fig 2.1 :Depiction of Gender Division of Work among Men and Women in the Primary School Textbooks of Kerala

2.3.8. Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities

The assumptions of teachers and students reflect in the patterns of task assignment found in many schools. When classroom responsibilities are assigned, girls assume the greater share of the work load. This is true especially for responsibilities closely related to domestic or clerical tasks such as sweeping the floor, cleaning the board or latrines, picking up garbage or handing out papers or supplies. In contrast, teachers more frequently assign works to boys which carry a measure of authority or control such as monitoring the classroom during teacher's absence, taking messages to the principal or head teachers, serving as class leaders and assisting with the roll calling (Wamanhiu, 1994).

Bassi (2003) found that the 'gender code' and hidden curriculum of the school inhibits girls from crossing gender boundaries reinforced by school practices and processes as well as the children were segregated in both formal and informal spaces on the basis of gender. The results also show that when distinct tasks are assigned to girls and boys, teachers consider boys to be more effective than girls in managing the classroom and in the co-curricular sphere.

Dunne, et al. (2005) paper focused on how processes of school life influence gender identities in Botswana and Ghana reveals that general school duties were also gender specific. Girls were usually responsible for cleaning classrooms and offices, and also for fetching water. Boys did weeding, picked up papers, cleaned windows and performed heavier duties like tree cutting. They were rarely observed using brooms or mops and also tended to have a supervisory role like inspecting the plots rather than cleaning them. In some duties like raking and bagging weeds for boys to carry to the dump, the girls helped boys but the boys did not reciprocate. Usually they reluctantly complete their own duties and sit down.

In schools, the teachers' and the students' performance of duties are highly gendered (Kessler, Ashenden, Connell & Dowsett, 1985). Dunne et al. (2005) opine s that gender differentiation of school duties gets reflected in the duties of staff as female teachers tend to fulfill social tasks such as greeting visitors and offering seats whereas male teachers take responsibility of sports, corporal punishment, school ground, sanitation and tasks that require physical exertion.

2.3.4. Gender and Subject Areas

According to Shakhashiri (1990) women are under-represented in science, mathematics and technology workforce. Women scientists are underutilized in the work force compared to their male counterparts. Among scientifically trained women in 1986, 25% of the women, compared with 14% of the men, were employed in work unrelated to science. A majority of females were not elected to pursue careers in science oriented professions (National Science Foundation, 1988). Only 10% of the girls compared with 25% of the boys express interest in the natural science. By the end of high school, about one-fifth of the boys but only one-twentieth of the girls continue to indicate a potential career interest in these fields.

The gendered behavior of teachers is evident in certain subject areas. Prouty's (1991) research on women and education in Central Africa revealed that teachers commonly call on the least capable girl student to the board in front of the class to solve mathematics problems. When the girl fail to complete the task successfully, the teacher asks one of the most capable boys in class to assist the girl. As the girl struggles with the problem, the male teacher and boy students taunt them, suggesting that the girls were lazy and stupid. Two studies financed by UNESCO in Burkina Faso and Niger confirm that boys receive the most attention and encouragement during arithmetic and reading. They were perceived by teachers as superior in Maths and Sciences

compared to girls. Girls were discouraged from taking Maths and Sciences as these were considered unsuitable for females (UNESCO Countdown, 1997).

Schleicher (2007) also observes boys to perform slightly better than girls, but were much more confident and less anxious learning mathematics. Kaiser (2012) conducted a study on 'Gender role stereotypes in the perception of Mathematics: An Empirical study with Secondary students in Germany', to study the students view of gender role stereotyping in mathematics. The study clearly shows that as they grow up, boys as well as girls in contemporary Germany still have doubts concerning the equal mathematical performances of girls and boys, and internalize gender stereotypes of girls being less talented and interested in mathematics, influenced by gender role stereotypes within society, where mathematics is still described as a male domain.

Study by Costes, Patel and Wood(2010) on 'Academic Gender Stereotypes and academic self- concept of Indian Adolescents' reveals that 10th grade girls and boys do not differ in perceptions of their own abilities, but students of both genders view themselves as more competent in verbal domains than in Maths and Science. This study suggests that forces outside the classroom shape adolescents' beliefs about gender differences in academic performance. The results also show that no gender differences emerged in self-concept, but both boys and girls reported lower self- concept in Mathematics and Science than in Gujarati.

2.3.3 Student Teacher Interactions

Most of the research works on school and gender show that teacher-student interaction exhibits gender bias. Renold (2006) proposes classroom as a key social and cultural space for the production of a range of gendered performances and relations and, in doing so, illustrated the productivity of

methodological approaches which situate gendered classroom experiences within other sites and spaces within and beyond the school gates.

Spender (1982) confesses that her classroom interactions were gender biased. She was spending a minimum of 58 per cent and maximum of 42 per cent of her classroom time interacting with boys and an average 38 percent of time interacting with girls. Boys benefited from better quality teaching than girls. Also in many classrooms, as teachers persistently spend more time with the boys they accord more value to male experience. The way the boys get more privileged treatment as named individuals and identities, exposes the pattern of making females marginal which gets relentlessly reinforced.

Stake and Jonathan (1982) conducted a study on 'Teacher-pupil Relationships in an elementary school classroom: Teacher- gender and pupil-gender differences' revealed that, boys receive more reprimands than girls, and female teachers were more positive than male teachers in their attitudes and behaviours towards their pupils. At the same time, unlike boys, girls are often told to lower their voices, not to run and complain etc.

Teacher's interaction not only verbal cues, but non- verbal cues too like eye contact, gestures, tone, teachers' posture of attentiveness tend to exclude girls during classroom interaction. The girls who constantly experience lack of encouragement when compared to boys, were actively discouraged whereas boys being on the better part of the whole scenario have high expectations of a bright future. (Becker,1981; Hall & Sandler,1984). Kelly (1988) argues that teachers interact more with boys than girls both in teacher and student initiated interactions. Teachers ask more questions and give more response opportunities to boys and also pay more attention to boys than girls in classroom.

Studies of classrooms ranging from kindergarten through graduate school (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Sadker, 1986) have shown that teachers are more likely to (1) call on male students, even when female students raise their hands or when no one does, (2) wait longer for male than for female students to respond to questions, (3) give male students more eye contact following questions (thus inviting response), (4) remember and use the names of male students, (5) ask male students more questions that call for "higher order" critical thinking as opposed to "lower order" recounting of facts, (6) coach male students to develop their thoughts by giving them more extended and more specific feedback on the quality of their ideas, (7) give male students specific information on how to complete projects themselves, rather than doing it for them. Studies of the gendered nature of student talk with the teacher have mostly found that male students tend to talk more to the teacher than do female students (Sadker & Sadker, 1985).

Hall and Sandler (1984) provide a list of teacher behaviours that discourage participation by women i.e. (1) calling on male students most of the time, (2) asking female students easy questions; asking male students more difficult questions that require higher-order thinking , (3) looking at male students to answer questions before females (or males) even can raise their hands, (4) referring only to male contributions to science, (5) calling women by their first names; calling men "Mister", (6) utilization of whole class lectures as the dominant teaching strategy, (7) the use of competitive reward structures, (8) presentation of abstract subject matter largely devoid of practical applications (e.g., abstract science "factoids" with no applications or relevance to society and its problems. Teachers reinforce boys more for general responses than they do for girls. Similar findings were confirmed by other researchers also (Sadker & Sadker, 1994).

Teacher's gender plays a significant role while determining gendered classroom practices with regard to attitudes, interactions and other behaviours towards male and female students (Canada & Pringle, 1995; Duffy, Warren & Walsh, 2001; Hopf & Hatzichristoo, 1999). Pandey (2006) noted that the behaviour of teachers within the classroom has been criticized for perpetuating gender stereotypes, with boys being favoured in many classroom activities. Mahajan (2004) in her essay on "The Hidden picture" opines that "in a lesson on simple and complex machines, the questions about sewing machines were addressed to the girls, while the boys were questioned on the operation of ceiling fan and machines used to mow grass". Periodi (2004) observes that in one instance the teacher had her back to the girls and was always addressing boys. She particularly explains the growth of plants to the boys and when the girls stood up to ask questions, the teacher did not respond. According to Jandhyala (2004), teachers tended to stand closer to the boys. Rathnam (2004) observes that a teacher made better performing girl to knock the boys head and commented "aren't you ashamed to be knocked by a girl?".

Report of USAID (2008) shows that tests, examinations and assessment measures tell students what matters and to the extent that these mechanisms reflect a gender bias, they transmit messages to students that can discourage their interest in school or in particular subjects. Results from classroom tests, national examinations, and internal assessments can influence boys' and girls' confidence levels and their perceptions of their abilities and what is expected of them and also impact what is taught in the classroom and how content is delivered.

Sadker (1994) noticed that over the course of time, the uneven distribution of teacher time, energy, attention and talent in favour of boys will have its negative impacts on girls. Teachers call male students first because they feel that the male students will not wait patiently, therefore they will

become disorderly. Special services in education appear to be applied more liberally to boys than to girls. Research shows that boys are referred for tests on gifted programs twice as often as girls (Orenstein, 1994).

Duffy et al. (2002) in their observational study investigated the effects of gender of teacher, gender of the student and classroom subject (Mathematics, vs. English literature/ language) on teacher- student interactions. It was found that female mathematics teachers, male literature/language teachers tended to interact somewhat more with male students than with female students. The results also show that teachers were more likely to comment on the academic responses of male students than female students. Stake and Jonathan (1982) conducted a study which suggests that, boys receive more reprimands than girls, and female teachers were more positive than male teachers in their attitudes and behaviours towards their pupils. Einarsson and Granstrom's (2002) observations revealed that boys in general are given more attention than girls. However, male teachers increase the attention paid to girls when the pupils get older, while female teachers always give more attention to boys. The results indicate that teachers as well as other professionals working with clients, could be involved in unconscious gender-related processes of an aggressive as well as libidinous nature. Ifegbesan's (2010) study which also indicated that most of the teachers directly or indirectly promoted gender-stereotypes in classroom practices.

Teachers' interactions tend to make male centeredness in the classroom. Francis (2004) opines that boys are engaged more in classroom interaction than girls and argue that teachers may interact more with male students than female students, because male students respond more and show more initiative with their teachers than female students in all classroom activities (Meece, 1987). More recent studies conducted in the West demonstrate that male students continue to dominate classroom space and

teacher attention (Francis, 2000; Skelton, 2001; Skelton & Francis, 2003; Warrington & Younger, 2000). Two main reasons are identified for boy's dominance of the classroom. One reason may have to do with the tendency found among teachers to perceive boys to be more rewarding to teach, although more difficult to control than girls (Skelton & Francis, 2003; Warrington & Younger, 2000;). But it may also be because teachers often have to direct more attention to boys who tend to be more demanding and restless than girls in class, in an attempt to engage boys in work and/or discipline them so as to retain class control (Skelton, 2001; Younger, Warrinton & Williams, 1999).

Kelly (1988 &1986) revealed that boys got more teacher interaction. Teachers interact an average of 44% of their time with girls and 56% of their time with the boys. Girls on an average participated in 44% of classroom interactions, although they were as likely as boys to volunteer to answer teacher questions. Male teachers gave less attention to girls than did female teachers. Girls got less criticism, but also less instruction; boys received more academic and more behavioural criticism. Girls' share of instruction was smaller among the oldest age groups and in mathematics, but generally subject differences were minor. Teachers maintained more eye contact frequently with male students than female students and involved male students more frequently in all activities than female students (Sadker & Sadker, 1992; Thorne, 1979). Male and female teachers give more time to male students as interaction time than female students and also initiated more contact with boy students than girl students (Sadker & Sadker, 1992). Chapman (2003) observed that school girls are encouraged to be neat, quiet and calm, while boys are encouraged to think independently, be active and to articulate their opinions quite boldly. Rashidi and Rad (2010) found that boys were more likely to interact than girls with their teachers in the classroom,

moreover, male students tended to volunteer to answer questions even though they do not know the right answer.

In a comprehensive review of research on classroom interaction done in Australia, the USA, and the UK between the early 1970s and the early 1990s, Howe (1997) concludes that with the exception of a few minor inconsistencies, the studies show that the boys participate more than girls in the whole-class interaction and that they receive more feedback from teachers on their contributions. This is true despite being conducted in three distinct parts of the world, with a wide age range, and across twenty years. This confirms the findings by the American Association of University Women (1992), which concludes that whether 'one is looking at preschool classrooms or University lecture halls.... research spanning the past twenty years consistently reveals that males receive more teacher attention than do females'.

Teacher attention allocated to boys and girls is found to be in a more balanced way in class led by teachers who are dedicated to gender-neutral interactions aimed at gender equity. Furthermore, in spite of the general trend for boys to be more demanding, some girls can be equally-or even more, demanding and unruly (Francis, 2000; Osler & Vincent, 2003). Warrington and Younger's (2000) research with Year 11 students and school teachers in the UK also indicates that girls' work is frequently and seriously undervalued. In lines with this, teachers tend to ask boys more challenging questions compared to those put forward to girls, and wait longer for boys to answer. They urge boys to try harder, constantly telling the boys that they can do it (Gordon, 1996; Sadker, 1994).

Girls often do not receive substantive comments or criticism from teachers from which they could improve their ability to learn. During the many hours spent in classrooms, girls receive less time and attention from

teachers than their male peers. Teachers usually ask girls easier questions than they ask boys. Typically, girls receive fewer opportunities to engage in classroom discourse, use equipment and assert their knowledge in classrooms. Teachers' unconscious gender biases can produce stereotypical expectations for students' success and participation in the classroom. Teachers view male students' domination of the classroom and their time as the typical masculine behavior. Teachers' unconscious stereotyped gender bias that boys are smarter than girls, especially in mathematics and the sciences, clearly states that they were willing to work with boys to reach the answer because they perceived boys as capable of achieving that goal but thought of girls as opposite (Scantlebury, 2009). Kumar's (1992) study of male teachers' behavior in mixed classrooms in Delhi schools concluded that the girls were given far less attention, encouragement and opportunities for responsible action than boys. According to Chen (2007) girls tend to receive more positive responses from the teacher than boys. Also boys tend to be more active in the early class timings while girls become active and receive more attention from their teacher in the later period of class.

Research on teachers' criticism of student work shows that teachers tend to attribute students' success or failure factors based on their perceptions of students' gender based academic capacity. In particular, it seems to reflect a widespread tendency among parents and teachers to their innate talent (Jussim & Eccles, 1992; Liu, 2006; Mynard, 2000; Renold, 2001;Siegle& Reis, 1998; Skelton and Francis, 2003; Tiedemann, 2000; Warrington & Younger, 2000). Likewise, research on classroom interaction conducted in some African countries has revealed that women and men teachers share the view of boys as more academically competent (Prouty, 1991). Their expectations of female students reflect the negative stereotypes held in the wider society of girls as lazy, gossipy and indecisive, and lacking ambition (Davidson & Kanyuka, 1990; Prouty, 1991).

Early feminist research in elementary (Evans, 1988; French and French, 1984) and secondary school classrooms from the 1980s to the late 1990s and 2000s (Fisher, 1994; Francis, 1998, 2000) all illustrate how teachers devote a greater proportion of their time and attention to boys (usually because boys are more often reprimanded and disciplined than girls) and how boys and men (Luke, 1994) dominate classroom talk both in whole-class discussions (teacher-pupil interactions) and mixed gender small group works (pupil-pupil interactions).

Classroom based research conducted by Robinson (1992) to explore the gendered interactions and cultures of boys and girls highlights they are differently positioned and position themselves as 'pupils' within the classroom. The work has focused upon exploring and explaining gender differences emfebedded in teacher-pupil interactions, particularly in relation to disciplinary and controlling interactions. According to Alloway (1995) teachers tend to interact more with boys when the academic topic is one that traditionally has been considered 'masculine' and more with the girls when the topic is a traditionally 'feminine' one. Again such stereotypical approaches reinforce the gendered division of labor in society.

Rashidi and Naderi's (2012) study on 'the effect of gender on the patterns of classroom interaction', found that although males and females shared same features, the patterns of teacher-student interactions were gender related. The study also revealed that the patterns of student - teacher talk were also affected by the gender of students. Male students initiated more exchanges with their teachers, female students preferred to be addressed by their teachers and male students made more humour and gave more feedback to their teachers.

2.3.5. Student-Student Interactions

Gender bias can impact students' attitudes towards learning and their engagement with the subject. If affected by gender bias, girls will tend to believe that any success they have is due to hard work rather than their very own innate talent or intelligence. Boys may be encouraged to believe that success in science and mathematics should come easily to them because of their gender (Scantlebury, 2009).

Perceptions of boys as 'naturally more able' are found to persist in spite of the absence of evidence and despite the trend towards concern with boys' apparent underachievement. Teachers' different perceptions of boys and girls concerning their academic ability and potentials are often reflected in their praise and criticism of students' work. Parsons, Kaczala & Meece (1982) found that teachers' praise of the girls was less enthusiastic and less meaningful than that given to boys. Similarl Elwood and Comber (1996) found that words like 'brilliant', 'flair', 'sparkle' and 'unique' often characterize the descriptions of a good A-level performance by boys, while girls receive few similar comments. Eccles, Done, Frome, Jacobs and Yoon (2000) in their research has shown that pre-school children often actively create and maintain gender stereotypes in their own behaviors and their peer's behavior. When children agree with a gender stereotype they often change their behavior to match it. Fisher (1994) noted how boys conversed mainly with each other when placed in mixed-gender groups and talked over and silenced girls' ideas by ignoring or overriding them.

Chapman (2012), found that although, as a group, boys verbally dominated the majority of the secondary school classes, in a couple of classes girls 'out-voiced' the boys, showing that such non-stereotypical behavior do occur. Gender bias can impact students' attitudes towards learning and their engagement with the subject. If affected by gender bias, girls will tend to

believe that any success they have is due to hard work rather than any innate talent or intelligence. Boys may be encouraged to believe that success in science and mathematics should come easily to them because of their gender. Girls are often depicted in passive roles with boys as active participants. Teachers have lower expectations for girls' academic success compared to boys, and their attitudes are shown through the type and quality of the student-teacher interaction (Scantlebury, 2009).

2.3.9. Play Provisions

Playgrounds are exciting worlds where children develop both their social and developmental skills relatively free from adult intervention and the playground activity is highly gendered (Francis, 2004). As in the classroom, boys dominate the playground space and tend to police girls and less 'macho' boys resulting in the sexual harassment of girls and homophobic and racist harassment of those boys who are not judged as sufficiently 'masculine'(Chapman, 2012; Francis, 2004).

At primary school, it is not so much that girls see themselves as lacking interest in sports, but that sports is claimed so strongly as a male domain that it is difficult for girls to participate fully (Reay, 2001). Football is regarded as a game through which boys dominate the primary and secondary school playground space (Francis, 2004) and it is the major site for the making of masculinity (Fitzclarence & Hickey, 2001). Skelton (2001) notes that male teachers exclusively talk and banter about sports to exclude girls through an 'othering' process. The muscular body is seen as explicitly unfeminine and thus avoided by many girls through resistance to physical education in multiple ways (Paechter, 2012). Dance is perceived to be a feminine activity, and the girls do not get equal opportunity to play certain games like lawn tennis, boys and girls play games like kho-kho separately

(Bassi, 2003).Research also reveals that girls and boys use playtime and the playground for very different activities (Connolly, 2003).

2.3.6. Disciplinary Practices

Research (Connolly, 1998; Reay, 2001) continues to demonstrate that when girls do behave badly, they are penalized more heavily than boys and are less tolerant of the girls who fail to fulfill the 'good pupil' role. Teachers may reinforce some of the gender stereotypes in the classroom. Boys often get more attention from the teacher in class, but receive harsher punishment than girls for the same offense and boys get asked more complex questions in the classroom. Although it seems that the boys have an advantage in the classroom because more time is used for their instruction, there is some evidence that boys are falling behind girls in academic performance. Girls are socialized to be feminine, being assertive as a female is not encouraged or is rather seen as disruptive in the classroom (Moton, 2006).

The enduring image of the 'good pupil' as hard working, rule-following, cooperative, conscientious and academically able is highly gendered one. Teachers continue to identify these traits as the characteristics of typical 'girl pupils' (MacNaughton, 2001). In contrast, the characteristics of typical 'boy pupils' are identified as dominant, disruptive, underperforming and generally challenging (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Skelton, 2001). Research has also suggested that while teachers encourage and accept the embodiment of the 'good pupil', girls who work hard to achieve and perfect such 'goody-goody' behaviors are not necessarily thanked or perceived positively (Francis,1998; Renold, 2001). Boys exhibiting challenging behaviours, on the other hand, continue to be viewed as ultimately more rewarding to teach (Belotti, 1975; Reay, 2001). Indeed, research has consistently shown how girls displaying assertiveness or ambition (i.e. traditionally masculine traits) can be denigrated by their teachers as

'aggressive', 'pushy', 'spiteful', little madams' (Francis, 1998; Reay, 2001;Walkerdine, 1990) and by their peers as 'bossy', 'boy-ish' and 'loud' (Renold, 2001). In contrast, some disruptive behavior, such as boisterousness and competitiveness in boys are praised (Ghail, 1994; Skelton, 2001). Recent refocusing on school-based masculinities has also illustrated how boys who stray from typical boy-pupil behavior (by being studious, quiet and settled) are rarely pathologised by their class teachers, and strongly pathologised by their peers as 'geeks', as 'girly', and as 'gay' (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Renold, 2001; Skelton, 2001; Swain, 2003). It is also not uncommon for teachers to draw upon children's own construction of 'boys' and 'girls' as polarized opposites as strategy for classroom management and discipline (Threatening to sit children 'boy-girl-boy-girl' if they do not' quieten down' or 'get on with their work').

Teachers often use girls as a civilizing influence on male students. Disruptive boys are reassigned to sit near or with girls. Rather than expecting boys to exhibit self-control and regulation, when teachers use this practice it reinforces the stereotype that boys are undisciplined, whereas girls are cooperative and orderly. It also implies that boys need to look after, and the girls are cast in a maternal role to do just that (Scantlebury, 2009). Assertive behaviour for girls is often seen as disruptive and viewed negatively by adults, which reinforces the notion that girls' misbehaviour is looked upon as a character defect, whereas boys' misbehaviour is viewed as a desire to assert themselves (Reay, 2001).

2.3.11. Conclusion

The above review of socialization theories and different studies related to gender and education reveals that family and school, especially the classrooms have a significant role in developing gender identity among students. The above review also revealed that the analyses of school

environment through a gender prism are very rare in the Kerala context. To fill the gaps in research and bring forth the gender bias in the schools of Kerala to the limelight, studies of the present type are highly essential. Despite its favourable women development indicators, the Kerala society is accorded to have a highly patriarchal structure. The highest literacy rates and enrolment at all levels of education have not contributed to change the traditional mindsets of Kerala people. The education system needs an examination on how far the school climate and classroom experiences are related to the ideologies prevalent in the society.

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Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Research methodology is the way to solve the research problem systematically and address steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying the research problem along with the logic behind them (Kothari, 2004). Kothari (2004) states that "when we talk of research methodology we are not only talking of the research methods, but also consider the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique and why we are not using others so that the research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher or by others". The present study was aimed at analysing the school climate, especially, the general rules and regulations and classroom practices of the primary and secondary schools of Kerala with a gender perspective. The study also assessed the perceptions of teachers and students on gendered practices experienced in the school climate. This chapter gives details of research design of the present study such as sample, tools, data collection procedure, area of the study, limitations and the analysis techniques used for attaining the objectives.

3.2. PILOT STUDY

The investigator conducted the pilot study at a government school in Malappuram district. An observation checklist was employed to record the gendered practices in the school. Besides, an unstructured interview was used to collect information from teachers and an inventory to collect data regarding the perceptions of students on gendered practices.

The respondents were generally interested in providing the necessary information. A few teachers however seemed to be unaware or reluctant to discuss gender issues and offering remarks on gendered practices in schools. Being a government school, not much discrimination was observed in the

general rules and regulations, dress code, student interaction with opposite sex and assignment of roles and responsibilities. But mixed seating, mixed student grouping or mixed play were lacking in the school. Also discriminations were observed in the nature of student teacher interactions in favour of boys. However the experiences of the pilot study were useful in gaining more insights to modify the tools.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is understood as a conceptual structure within which research is conducted (Kothari, 2004). It is a logical structure for the inquiry of research problems. A research design has to be in agreement with the problem to be researched. The exploratory research design was adopted due to the nature of the study. Exploratory research provides insights into and comprehension of an issue or situation. Exploratory research is a type of research conducted because a problem has not been clearly defined. Exploratory research helps to determine the best research design, data collection method and selection of subjects. Thus the above research design was adopted for the present study as it is important to explore whether gender discriminatory practices exist in the school climate of Kerala, specifically with regard to the general rules and regulations, entry and exit, dress code, seating arrangements, play provisions, teacher– student interaction, student-student interaction, disciplinary actions, assignment of roles and responsibilities, and student grouping in a the classroom setting.

3.4. MIXED METHOD DESIGN

The present study has used both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection due to the complexity of the research problem and with the goal of providing stronger evidence for the research findings. According to Greene, Caracelli & Graham (1989) mixed method design is defined as

designs that include at least one quantitative method (designed to collect numbers) and one qualitative method (designed to collect words) where neither type of method is inherently linked to any particular inquiry paradigm. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) give a more comprehensive definition of mixed method approach, "Mixed method research is the type of research in which a researcher or a team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative view points, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration". Methodological eclecticism goes beyond simply combining qualitative and quantitative methods; it involves selecting and integrating the most appropriate techniques from qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods in order to investigate a phenomenon of interest more thoroughly (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011).

3.4.1 Triangulation

Triangulation refers to the designed use of multiple methods, with offsetting or counteracting biases, in investigations of the same phenomenon in order to strengthen the validity of inquiry results (Greene, et.al., 1989). Greene, et al., (1989) elaborate that triangulation in mixed research method is based on the "logic of convergence embedded in the classic conceptualization of triangulation. This logic requires that the quantitative and qualitative methods be different from one another with respect to their inherent strengths and limitations/biases and that both method types be used to assess the same phenomenon (Greene, et. al,. 1989).

Thus, mixed method was used with the rationale of increasing the interpretability, meaningfulness and validity of constructs and inquiry results by capitalizing on the strength and counteracting the biases in the various methods (Greene, et. al,. 1989). The present research was driven mainly by a

qualitative dominant approach, thus methods used for data collection were mainly qualitative, and some quantitative data were also collected to obtain a comprehensive picture of the research problem. The analysis and interference is undertaken with the objective of qualitizing the quantitative data so as to narrate the quantitative data and add dimensions to the qualitative data collected.

3.4.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: The present study was mainly focused to analyse the gendered practices in the school climate. The nature and depth of the present study need an in-depth evaluation of the research problem and that may not be sufficient through quantitative methods alone. Eventhough the research was mainly qualitative in nature, there were some data, such as the frequency of gendered behaviours occurred during observation, which had to be collected and analysed numerically and converted in to qualitative data while addressing the research problem. Similrly the perceptions of boys and girls on gendered behaviours in school, had to be collected and subjected to simple percentage analysis. Using mixed methods in research, give more clarity to the research problem that is studied.

3.5. AREA OF THE STUDY

Malappuram and Thrissur districts of Kerala were selected as the area of the study. Malappuram is an educationally backward district and the single Muslim majority district of Kerala where Muslims constitute 68.53% of the total population, followed by the Hindu (29.17%) and Christian (2.22%) communities (Census, 2011). Thrissur or Thrissivaperoor is known as the 'cultural capital of Kerala''. Thrissur has traditionally been a centre of learning. According to 2011 Census, the population of Thrissur district has 58.42% Hindus who comprises the majority community followed by Christians (24.27%) and Muslims (17.07%). The demographic profile of Malappuram and Thrissur districts are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Demographic Profile of Malappuram and Thrissur Districts:

: Panchayat Level Statistics -2011

Profile	Malappuram	Thrissur
Total Area	355446	186944
Total Population Male Female	4112920 1960328 2152592	3121200 1480763 1640437
Sex Ratio	1096	1109
Child Population (0-6 years) Male Female	574041 292132 281909	303950 155862 148088
Child sex ratio	960	948
Literacy rate Male Female	93.55 95.78 91.55	95.32 96.98 93.85
Total workers Male Female	1064424 898152 164267	10957227 789511 306216

Source: Department of Economics &Statistics, Kerala (December 2013)

Table 3.2

Student Enrollment in Elementary and Secondary Schools:

A Gender Statistics, 2015-16

Type of Management	Malappuram	Thrissur
GOVERNMENT		
Boys	121613	33027
Girls	119991	27359
% of girls enrolment rate	49.66	45.31
AIDED		
Boys	199644	106652
Girls	193480	116346
% of girls enrolment rate	49.22	52.17
UNAIDED		
Boys	47529	22168
Girls	42544	17321
% of girls enrolment rate	47.23	43.86

Source: Department of Economics & Statistics Government of Kerala ,2017

3.6. SOURCES OF DATA

3.6.1. Primary Data: Primary data consists of the data collected by observation of the school climate, interview and focus group discussion with teachers, and the data collected from students using the inventory on gendered practices in schools.

3.6.2. Secondary Data: The secondary data used for the study includes Census reports on population, literacy rate, sex ratio, list of schools and the demographic profiles of Malappuram and Thrissur Districts of Kerala state.

3.7. SAMPLE DESIGN

The sample consisted of 12 primary and 12 secondary school classes belonging to Thrissur and Malappuram districts selected using stratified

random sampling method. The type of school as to government, aided and unaided was taken into consideration while selecting the sample. The nature of school experiences are likely to be different in government and management schools as government schools have to strictly follow the secular nature of curricular experiences unlike the management schools. Since religion is considered as a major socialization agent, due representation was given to the type of management of the school as to Christian, Hindu and Muslim management in the case of aided and unaided schools.

The curricular and cocurricular experiences are also more likely to be dissimilar in urban and rural areas. The expectations and perceptions of parents and teachers of urban and rural locales will also have its impact on gender socialization of children and the discriminatory tendencies of school experiences. For instance as opined by several teachers, mixed seating arrangement was strongly opposed by parents from rural locales and that belonging to certain specific communities. Hence special care was taken to include schools from both urban and rural locales.

The aided and unaided schools in Malappuram district were mostly Muslim management schools whereas they were mostly Christian management in Thrissur District. Because of this the investigator selected two Muslim Management schools from Malappuram District and two of Christian Management schools from Thrissur district to be included as sample.

Thus six primary and six secondary schools were selected from each district. Though there are SCERT, ICSE and CBSE syllabi based schools, the majority of schools of Kerala follow SCERT syllabus. Because of this, the present study is focused only on the schools that follow SCERT syllabus.

The sample frame of the schools included in the study is given in Tables3.3 and 3.4.

Table 3.3

**Distribution of Schools based on
District and Type of Management of Schools**

| District | Level | Type of Management | | | | | Govt. | Total |
| | | Unaided | | Aided | | | | |
		Musl-im	Christi-an	Hindu	Muslim	Christian		
Thrissur	Primary		1	1	1	1	2	6
	Secondary		1	1	1	1	2	6
Malappuram	Primary	1		1	1	1	2	6
	Secondary	1		1	1	1	2	6
Total		2	2	4	4	4	8	24

Table 3.4

Distribution of Schools based on Locality

| District | School | Locality | | Total |
		Urban	Rural	
Thrissur	Primary	3	3	6
	Secondary	3	3	6
Malappuram	Primary	3	3	6
	Secondary	3	3	6
Total		12	2	24

Data was also collected from 48 teachers, i.e. 2 teachers from each primary and 2 from each secondary school by using the convenient sampling method. Teachers were selected by directly meeting them in the staff room, whoever were available and willing to share their perceptions and attitudes towards gender issues and experiences. Out of the total number of 48, 15 were males and 33 were females. The sample frame of teachers in the study is given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

**Distribution of Teachers based on District and
Type of Management**

District	Level	Type of Management					Govt.	Total
		Unaided		Aided				
		Muslim	Christian	Hindu	Muslim	Christian		
Thrissur	Primary	2		2	2	2	4	12
	Secondary	2		2	2	2	4	12
Malappuram	Primary		2	2	2	2	4	12
	Secondary		2	2	2	2	4	12
Total		4	4	8	8	8	16	48

The student respondents were 480 in number, selected randomly (240 boys and 240 girls) i.e. 10 boys and 10 girls each from the six primary and six secondary schools. The distribution of the student sample of the present study is shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6

**Distribution of Girls and Boys based on
District and Type of Management**

District			Malappuram				Thrissur				Total
School			Primary		Secondary		Primary		Secondary		
Students			Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	
Type of Management	Aided	Christian					10	10	10	10	80
		Muslim	10	10	10	10					
	Unaided	Christian	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	240
		Muslim	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
		Hindu	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
	Govt.	Urban	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	160
		Rural	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	
Total			60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	480

3.8. TOOLS USED

In the present study, the researcher has used several tools for collecting the primary data. Observation was the major tool used for collecting information for making a gender analysis of the school climates of primary and secondary schools of Kerala. Along with this, interview (for teachers) and inventory (for students) on the perceptions regarding gendered behaviours in the school were also employed. A focus group discussion was also conducted as a pre research tool. The present study also employed role plays as a research tool to understand the gendered identities and perceptions on gender role differentiation of girls and boys in the 12 primary schools.

3.8.1. Observation

Observation in qualitative research, usually consists of detailed recording of and analysis of behaviours, events and the contexts, surrounding the research topic, that occurs during a specific period of time. 'The ethos of the school and the social practices outside formal lessons, for example in the play ground, during meals times or in extra curricular activities have a bearing on the nature of what is learnt.Commitments to gender equality in the curriculum and class room might be undermined by practices in the wider school experience (giving big play grounds to boys and smaller to girls: giving spacious dining halls to boys and girls sharing workplace/kitchen of the school for dining etc.) which teachers do not necessarily scrutinise. Hence taking in to account the role of gender in the dynamics of the learning process in formal and informal situations, observation of events in and outside the classrooms was undertaken.

Structured observation using a checklist was used to ensure more validity to the data collected on gendered behaviors in schools. To enhance

the reliability of the data, observation was made during three contexts, which are furnished below:

1. **In classroom situation:** Observation in the classroom was focused on the extend of gender differentiation or preferences in the classroom practices of teachers with regard to grouping of students for group activities, assigning roles and responsibilities to students, seating arrangements for boys and girls, disciplinary practices employed, teacher student interactions, eye contacts with students and attention given to students. In addition, the students participation and interaction in the classroom were also observed.

1. **During break and lunch time:** Observation checklist focused on the gendered behaviours of students related to interaction and mingling with opposite sex up, sharing of things like food items, books etc between boys and girls and the roles and responsibilities taken up.

2. **During play time**: Observation was made on the behavioural patterns of girls and boys, type of play and space of play, interaction and mingling with opposite sex etc.

Copies of the Observation Checklists used for recording teacher and student behaviours are presented as Appendix I and II.

3.8.2. Inventory on Student Perceptions Regarding School Practices

The Inventory on Student Perceptions Regarding School Practices was used to collect data regarding perceptions of boys and girls with regard to the gendered behaviours in schools. The inventory was directly distributed among how students in the secondary school classrooms to be filled up by themselves. From them 10 boys and 10 girls were selected from each classroom using random sampling method. The responses were filled up by

the investigator after reading out the statements to 10 boys and 10 girls each from every primary school classrooms. The children were selected using purpose sampling method. The 28 statements included in the inventory were related to roles and responsibilities assigned by teachers, play provisions, interaction between opposite sex, seating arrangement, student grouping, interaction and attention from teachers, general rules and regulations of the school etc. A copy of the Inventory in English and Malayalam are given as AppendixIV(A) and IV (B).

3.7.3. Unstructured Interview

An unstructured interview guide was used to collect data regarding perceptions of teachers regarding practices followed in schools, specifically with regard to the general rules and regulations of the school, roles and responsibilities assigned, play provisions, interaction of students with the opposite sex, seating arrangement, dress code, student grouping and achievement of students. A copy of the Interview Schedule is given as Appendix III.

3.7.4. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion was employed as a pre-research tool to generate ideas on the role of schools as gendering agencies and to record the perceptions of teachers about the gendered practices followed in schools. For this, 20 teachers-both male and female, from a government high school in Malappuram district were selected as participants. The discussion was planned and the venue and time were fixed in consultation with the teachers well in advance. The school teachers were happy to share their perceptions, beliefs and assumptions on the gender issues and problems of students. An unstructured questionnaire was prepared to ensure validity and reliability of the data collected. The questions were related to the roles and responsibilities

assigned, interaction between opposite sex, mixed seating arrangement, mixed student grouping, dress code and academic assessment and performance of boys and girls in cocurricular activities. The main focus of the discussion was on how the school becomes a gender socialization agency in developing gender identities among children. The discussion lasted for an hour. The discussion was recorded using a digital voice recorder with prior permission of teachers.

The research scholar and the supervising teacher facilitated the focus group discussion. Two other members were also deputed to concentrate on noting down the discussion points in order to ensure effective and complete recording of the minute details. The teachers were very friendly and cooperative in conveying their assumptions, apprehensions and opinions regarding gender related issues in and around school.

3.9. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The data related to gender analysis of school climate was collected from 12 primary and 12 secondary schools of Malappuram and Thrissur districts of Kerala. The schools were selected randomly, but the investigator had to face non-cooperation from a few management schools on the claims that there are no gender issues in the school and things are all fair in the practices followed. A few of them seemed offended for their regulations and activities being observed. In such cases the investigator had to include other schools where the school authorities extended their cooperation.

The investigator conducted the observation of classrooms after securing prior permission of school authorities. The frequency of gendered behaviours shown by both the teachers and students in primary and secondary classrooms during various situations was noted down then and there with the help of a checklist. The inventory on Perceptions on Gendered Practices in

School was distributed during intervals/break time among students, which was filled up by secondary students themselves, whereas the statements were asked directly to the primary school children and responses filled by the researcher herself. The investigator met the teachers at the staffroom and took their interviews to collect information on how they perceive the gendered practices of the school.

3.10. ANALYSIS

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were done for attaining the objectives of the study. The data regarding teacher perceptions on gendered practices collected using unstructured interview, that on overall school climate and classroom practices collected by observation and that from focus group discussion on gender and school were subjected to qualitative anlaysis. Quantitative analysis was used for analysing the data regarding student perceptions on gendered practices that was collected using inventory.

3.11. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The investigator identifies certain limitations also in the present study.

- Since observation is a tedious and time consuming method of data collection, the sample had to be limited to 12 primary and 12 secondary schools only, in order to make it more precise and focused.

- Upper primary and higher secondary schools were not taken even though gendering processes continue there also. Primary education is the most crucial phase of identity formation and this phase establishes the development of personality. Secondary education lays the foundation of career, enrichment of skills and the establishment of a future life. Since these two phases are of utmost importance, these levels were included in the sample.

- The samples were taken from only two districts of the state, instead of a statewide sample of all 14 districts of the state, due to constraints in time, in-depth nature of the study and the nature of tools used.

- Majority of the sample of teachers included in the study were females, because of the comparatively limited number of male teachers at the primary and secondary levels. This is a general trend all over the state, owing to the traditional outlook which considers teaching as a feminine job, especially at the primary and secondary levels.

3.12. CONCLUSION

This chapter provides details of the research design used for the present study. The details of research methodology, sources of data, instrumentation employed for data collection, relevance of mixed methods used, and the limitations of the study are discussed.

3.13. REFERENCES

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Chapter 4

Analysis & Findings:

Gendered School Climate and Classroom Practices

The present study deals with a gender analysis of the primary and secondary school climates of Kerala. For this 12 primary and 12 secondary schools of Malappuram and Thrissur Districts of Kerala were selected as the sample.The analysis of the data would lead to attainment of the objectives of the study.The discussion and interpretation of the data that would explain the findings, answering "why" questions, attaching significance to particular results, and putting pattern to analytic frame work is also attempted in this chapter. The specific objectives include examining the school climatewith regard to the general rules and regulations and the classroom practices with a gender perspective and analyzing the perceptions of the teachers and students on the gendered behaviours if any existing in the schools. The results of analysis of the data and the discussion that follows is presented in this chapter under the following headings:

1.   Gendered Rules and Regulations in Primary and Secondary Schools

2.   Gendered Classroom Practices in Primary and Secondary Schools

4.1.   GENDERED RULES AND REGULATIONS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The observations in the present study revealed that there are gendered behavioural practices in the general rules and regulations of primary and secondary schools of Malappuram and Thrissur districts. The extend of gendering with regard to the rules and regulations on entry and exit, seating arrangement, dress code, play provisions, permission to move around the school are found to be varied depending upon the type of management of schools.

4.1.1 Entry and Exit

There are considerable variations among schools with regard to the restrictions imposed on entry-exit time and space for boys and girls. Unlike the government schools which have same entry - exit time and same gate for boys and girls, the management schools are found to have differential regulations for the entry and exit of boys and girls. Such restrictions vary from separate queues, separate staircases and separate gates to separate timings for boys and girls. Separate corridors for boys and girls with cameras installed on the way of boys are also found in some schools. There are schools that even use long bells indicating boys to move first during lunch time and school dispersal time. Two of the Muslim management schools have separate staircases for boys and girls to exit from the school. The toilet and wash facilities were found to be at extreme ends in almost all management schools. This type of grouping, lining and timing based on gender during school leaving time of students were observed in most of the secondary schools.

However, such a strict polarization is not seen in the case of primary schools. In some management schools, separate wash facilities and separate queues for boys and girls were seen in primary schools also.
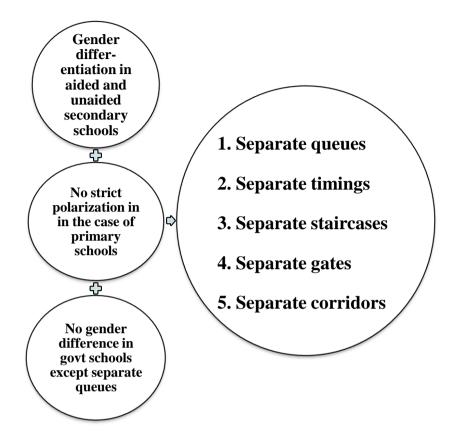
Fig.4.1. **Entry and exit points in Primary and Secondary School**

4.1.2. Seating Arrangements

When it comes to the seating, all the schools follow gender segregation in the seating arrangements of boys and girls at the secondary level. All the secondary schools follow two sided or front-back sided seating arrangements. If there are more girls than boys then the girls become seated at the back of boys and when there are more boys than girls then the girls are seated in front. Most of the boys and girls were found to prefer sitting with same sex only and they showed a reluctance/ inhibition to sit near the opposite sex and not willing even to look at the opposite sex. The quarrels between boys and girls were very rare.

Fig. 4.2.**Seating Arrangements in Primary and Secondary School**

Out of the total sample only six schools- two Hindu, three Christian management and one government school follow mixed seating arrangements at primary level. The students in the primary schools that follow mixed seating are found to have no shyness or inhibition to mingle with children of the opposite sex. The quarrels between boys and girls are common, playing together, making friendships, sharing study materials and sometimes food items are found in such classrooms. But this is very rare in secondary schools that follow separate seating for boys and girls.

4.1.3. Dress Code of Teachers and Students

The dress code of the students and teachers is significant for analyzing gendered behaviours in schools. The present analysis reveals that there are strong regulations on the dress code of girls and female teachers than boys and male teachers. Boys wear pants and shirts while girls have to wear Churidar with the shawl compulsorily pinned on the Churidar. Churidar without slits and shaping is a common dress code for girls in all schools, whereas full sleeves along with pinned head scarf for Muslim girls was compulsory in both aided and unaided Muslim Management Schools. All girls irrespective of their community are insisted to have full sleeves for their

churidars in muslim management schools. Majority of management schools insisted a coat instead of shawl for girls.

At the primary level the schools have no gendered dress code like secondary level. Boys have to wear pants/trousers and shirts while girls have to wear Churidar with shawl or skirt with shirt. In Muslim management schools some of the girl students use scarf, but it is not compulsory.

In the case of teachers, 8 out of 12 unaided schools and one aided school, insisted female teachers to wear a coat over their Saree/Churidar. But it is surprising that this is not applicable for male teachers. Because of the strict dress code, girls and female teachers were found to be unusually conscious about their dress and their bodies. Such a dress code was not seen in the case of female teachers of government schools. The data in this regard is summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Management Schools with Dress Code for Teachers

	Hindu	**Muslim**	**Christian**
Primary	0 (2)	2 (3)	3(3)
Secondary	0 (2)	2(3)	2(3)

4.1.4. Permission to Move In and Around the School

The present study reveals that there are gendered practices in the regulations regarding the permission given for boys and girls to move about in and around the school. Most of the primary and secondary schools included in the study do not allow the students to go outside the school without the permission and consent of teachers during school hours and this is very strict in the case of girls. All schools insisted the girl students to bring their lunch or

have it from the school itself without going out or buying anything from outside. All schools except unaided schools provide lunch at school. But in the case of boys, they are allowed to go outside the school to mosque, shops and for lunch. It is interesting to note that in one of the Muslim management schools, girls are not even allowed to go the school canteen. If they need food it will be brought into the classroom by the Peon. But the girls in this school do enjoy freedom of movement within the school on Fridays when boys go to Masjid for prayer. Interestingly in the absence of boys, girls were found to be talkative, smart and more louder.

In one of the Christian management schools, both boys and girls were not allowed to move out of the school during school time. Girls should sit inside the classroom except for going to the toilets. All schools insisted parents to come and take their wards if they need to take them home during school time. One Hindu management school keeps movement register in the school. If the students, whether boy or girl, want to go outside, they need to sign in the movement register with time and reason along with taking permission from the class teacher. The restrictions and regulations in general are found to be affecting the freedom of movement of girls than that of boys.

Boys and girls in all primary schools, whether government or management, were not allowed to move out of school either for having lunch or buying things from shops. Teachers are found to be more caring and protecting at the primary level than at the secondary level.

4.2.5. Student Mingling with Opposite Sex

The type of restrictions between boys and girls are not observed in the primary schools of Malappuram and Thrissur districts. The results of the observations conducted in 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 8.

Table 4.2
**Results of the Observation on Student-Student Interaction in
Primary School Classrooms**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Students talk freely with their opposite sex	12	14	13	39
Students prefer to sit with their group only	12	13	12	37
Boys and girls quarrel with each other	15	13	12	39
Boys mingle with opposite sex during intervals	16	10	15	41
Girls mingle with opposite sex during intervals	16	9	15	40
Boys move around freely throughout the class during intervals	12	12	12	36
Girls move around freely throughout the class during intervals	12	12	12	36
Discourage mingling between girls and boys	0	0	0	0

In primary schools also girls seem to prefer mingling more with same sex than with boys. They quarrel with each other and mingle freely with boys and run around in classrooms wherever mixed seating arrangements are followed.

In matters related to mingling of students with their opposite sex, four secondary schools were found to impose strict restrictions. Most of the teachers discourage mingling between boys and girls. In one of the unaided Muslim management schools, teachers were found to restrict the interaction and minglingof boys and girls even though they belonged to the same class. Teachers scold and blame the girls for interacting with the boys. In the other eight schools, students were found to mingle with each other inside the

classroom and that too with their classmates only. In one of the Muslim aided schools in Malappuram, the Head Master or a teacher watches the students during intervals, free time and lunch time, and if girls and boys are found to mingle outside the class, they are scolded for it. In an aided school at Thrissur, during the break time girls are not allowed to enter the corridor or Veranda but it is not applicable to boys. During this time girls must sit inside the classroom and cannot go outside except to the toilet, staff room, etc.

Even if there is not much restrictions from the part of school managements an inhibition is detected in the interaction with opposite sex and they prefered to interact with the members of the same sex. They always keep some distance while talking to members of the opposite sex. It is mostly observed in Muslim management schools of both districts.

The results of the 36 observations conducted in 12 secondary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3
Results of the Observation on Student-Student Interaction in Secondary School Classrooms

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Students talk freely with their opposite sex	8	6	6	20
Students prefer to sit with their group only	7	9	9	25
Boys and girls quarrel with each other	5	3	6	14
Boys mingle with opposite sex during intervals	10	11	12	33
Girls mingle with opposite sex during intervals	10	9	12	31
Boys move around freely throughout the class during intervals	12	12	12	36
Girls move around freely throughout the class during intervals	10	8	7	25
Discourage mingling between girls and boys	1	1	1	3

4.1.6. Play Provisions

The present study reveals that gendered practices are followed in the play provisions for boys and girls in primary and secondary schools. The play area, play item and play space boundaries are provided based on the gender of students. In both primary and secondary levels, boys were seen playing football, and sometimes badminton and girls were seen playing chiefly badminton, skipping, ring throw, etc. However, in the primary level, boys were also seen playing *Odikkali*(Running-around) and *Thottukali*(Touch and run) in addition to the above mentioned games. Girls at the primary level were also seen playing the above mentioned games (except football), though they were physically less active compared to boys. When it comes to secondary levels, girls were seen even more confined, physically passive, and they got involved in plays that warranted fewer bodily activity.

In majority of the primary schools, during drill hour, the teachers were seen bringing the students to the playground and lining them up based on their gender for an exercise /activity. After this, teacher supplies the play items to them, and students select the play items they liked, i.e, boys mostly select football, whereas girls choose ring throws, badminton and skipping rope. Most of the girls do not get sufficient space because the play area is dominated by boys. Boys use more space for playing football in the playground. Most of the girls sit under a random tree or stay in and around the corridor playing games like *anthakshari* (a spoken parlour game wherein a participant sings a movie song that begins with a letter/consonant on which the previous participant's song had ended) *thottukalli,* (touch and run play wherein a selected participant chases others and whoever gets touched becomes the next runner) *kaikottikali,* (Clapping hands in rhythmic patterns) etc. that demands very few to no physical activity and spatial utilization. Teachers were seen seldom concerned about this and most of the teachers did

not encourage mixed play. Only a few of the primary schools had their girls and boys play the badminton and skipping, together. Majority of the boys and girls seemed to prefer playing with members of the same gender only.

Primary School

- Boys: football, badminton,*Odikkali & Thottukali*
  Girls: *Thottukali, kaikottikali &* badminton, ring throws, skipping

- Boys: louder and move freely throughout the playground & use more space

- Girls : louder, move freely through out the play ground, but physically less active than boys & use limited space

Secondary School

- Boys: football &badminton
  Girls: Badminton, ring throw, skipping

- Boys: louder and move freely throughout the playground & use more space

- Girls : calm and silent, more confined, physically passive & use limited space

Fig. 4.3 .**Play Provisions in Primary and Secondary Schools**

When it comes to secondary level, the play provisions were same as those at the primary level. Boys were engaged in football while girls played badminton, skipping and some of the girls did their homework in the classroom. Boys spoke louder and moved freely throughout the playground, but girls were calm and silent and they engaged in loose talk or walked freely in the playground. Most of the time, teachers were highly focused and give more attention to boys' play as if boys should play and girls need not.

4.2. GENDERED CLASSROOM PRACTICES IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The observation of the classroom practices in the present study revealed that there are gendered practices in the primary and secondary

schools happening through teacher-student verbal interaction, teacher eye contact and attention, grouping of students, assigning roles and responsibilities and disciplinary practices. These are discussed below:.

4.2.1. Teacher-Student Verbal Interaction

The present observations showed that teacher-student interaction facilitates gender stereotypes and male centeredness in the primary and secondary classrooms. Teacherswere found to interact more with boys than girls and it is 10 to 14 times more than that of girls. Body language of teachers always favoured boys than girls i.e., teachers are more close and most of the time near to the boys' side.

The results of the 36 observations conducted in 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Results of Observation on Teacher –Student Verbal Interaction in Primary Schools

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Gendered examples given	0	1	1	2
Teachers interact more with girls than boys	3	4	5	12
Teachers interact more with boys than girls	5	7	8	20
Teachers interact with boys when the topic is 'masculine'*	1	0	1	2
Teachers interact with girls when the topic is 'feminine'*	0	1	1	2
Calling on male students more often	6	7	8	21
Calling on female students more often	4	2	5	11

* Popular notions on what is masculine and feminine

The results of the 36 observations conducted in 12 secondary classrooms on three different dayseach are summarized in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5
Results of Observation on Teacher –Student
Verbal Interaction in Secondary Schools

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	1	2	3	36
Gendered examples given	1	1	0	2
Teachers interact more with girls than boys	5	6	4	15
Teachers interact more with boys than girls	7	8	6	21
Teachers interact with boys when the topic is'masculine'*	1	1	0	2
Teachers interact with girls when the topic is'feminine'*	1	0	1	2
Calling on male students most of the time than female students	6	4	4	14
Calling on female students most of the time than male students	3	2	2	7

* Popular notions on what is masculine and feminine

Teachers give all the instructions related to textbooks, writing, and homework focusing and looking at the boys than girls. Teachers call male students most of the time than girls and ask questions, or depute some responsibilities to them or have classroom discussion with them and it is 10 to17 times more than calling female students. Majority of the schools follow roll number to call the students but most of the times it is boys who are called upon. Observation also reveals that boys are dominant in both teacher and student initiated interactions.

While providing learning experiences it was found that the teachers use gendered examples for explaining the topics. In one primary classroom while

providing an assignment related to the concept of 'nutrition', the teacher asked the students to list out the nutritional contents in the meals that their mothers cook at homes during the next two days. In one of the classrooms at secondary level, the language teacher explained the word '*lajhha*' (shyness) as the shyness on the face of a bride and her eye contacts were focussed on the girls. In another classroom, during the period of drill, the teacher's discussion about sports was directed on boys.

Calling male students most of the time than girls

Boys are dominant in classroom discussion

Teacher Interact more with boys than girls

Gendered examples given
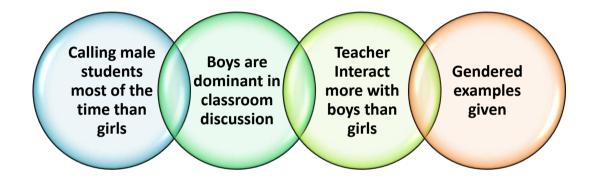
Fig. 4.4. Teacher-Student Verbal Interaction in Primary and Secondary Classrooms

4.2.2. Teachers' Eye Contact and Attention

The study observes that boys get more eye contact and attention during teaching periods, especially while asking questions and it is four times more to boys when compared to girls. The results of the 36 observations conducted in 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6
**Results of Observation on Teachers' Eye Contact
and Attention at Primary Level**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Teacher attention focused more on girls	6	7	6	19
Teacher attention focused more on boys	8	9	6	23
Boys get more eye contact when the topic is masculine*	1	0	1	2
Girls get more eye contact when the topic is feminine*	0	1	1	2
Boys get more eye contact while asking questions	4	3	1	8
Girls get more eye contact while asking questions	3	2	1	6
Male students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	2	4	2	8
Female students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	1	2	1	4

* Popular notions on what is masculine and feminine

The results of the observations conducted in 12 secondary classrooms are summarized in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

**Results of Observation on Teachers Eye Contact
and Attention at Secondary Level**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Teacher attention focused more on girls	4	6	3	13
Teacher attention focused more on boys	11	10	8	29
Boys get more eye contact when the topic is masculine*	1	1	0	2
Girls get more eye contact when the topic is feminine*	1	0	1	2
Boys get more eye contact while asking questions	2	4	3	9
Girls get more eye contact while asking questions	1	2	2	5
Male students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	5	6	8	19
Female students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	3	4	4	11

* Popular notions on what is masculine and feminine

Teachers' eye contacts are different while dealing with topics of gendered nature. It is observed that the girls get more eye contact when the academic topic considered is feminine and if the topic is a masculine one, the eye contact is more on male students. In one of the secondary classroomsit was obseved that when the teacher discussed about sports, the eye contact and related questions were focussed on boys alone. Girls get less attention because it is considered as a masculine topic. But when the topic is related to beauty, home or preparing food, the eye contact is on girls than on boys. Such gendered differences are frequently observed in the secondary classrooms than at primary level.
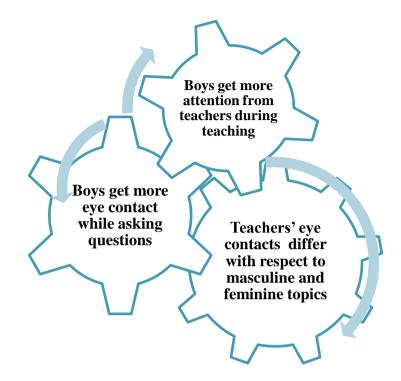
Fig.4.5. **Gendered Eye Contact and Attention of Teachers in Primary and Secondary Classrooms**

4.2.3. Classroom Participation of Boys and Girls

Classroom observations also revealed that there are some differences in the classroom participation of boys and girls in primary and secondary classrooms. At primary level, both boys and girls actively engage in the classroom activities. It is observed that the girls speak louder, are bubbly and talkative, clarified doubts with the teacher than boys.

The results of the 36 observations conducted in 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8
**Results of Observation on ClassroomParticipation of
Boys and Girls in Primary Schools**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Boys are louder and talkative in the class	12	12	12	36
Girls are louder and talkative in the class	12	12	12	36
Boys participate more actively in classroom activities than girls	6	7	9	22
Girls participate more actively in classroom activities than boys	8	6	6	20
Boys actively engaged in clarifying doubts and answering questions than girls	6	8	7	21
Girls are actively engaged in clarifying doubts and answering questions	6	5	8	19

But at the secondary level, boys participate more in all the classroom activities when compared to girls. While the boys clarify doubts, actively engage in classroom discussion and raise their opinions in a louder manner, girls sit most of the time calm and quiet and do and learn whatever the teacher asked them in the classroom.

In two of the secondary classes, when teachers ask some questions to the students the boys were found to respond immediately, even when they are not confident whether the answer is right or wrong. In between the girls also tried to answer the questions in low voices which the teacher did not notice at all and the girls did not try again and assert their answer to bring this to the notice of the teachers.The results of the observations conducted in secondary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9
**Results of Observation on Classroom Participation of
Boys and Girls in Secondary Schools**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Boys are louder and talkative in the class	12	12	12	36
Girls are louder and talkative in the class	8	6	5	19
Boys are participate more in all the classroom activities than girls	12	12	12	36
Girls participate more in all the classroom activities than boys	5	5	3	13
Boys actively engage in clarifying doubts and answering questions	2	5	1	8
Girls are actively engaged in clarifying doubts, asking questions	3	1	1	4

Primary

- **Both boys and girls actively engaged in all classroom activities**
  •
- **Girls speak louder, are bubbly and talkative, clarified doubts with the teacher than boys**

Secondary

- **Boys participate more in all the classroom activities when compared to girls**
- **Boys actively engaged in clarifying doubts, answering questions**
- **Girls sit most of the time calm and quiet**

Fig.4.6 **Classroom Participation of Boys and Girls in the Primary and Secondary Schools**

4.2.4. Grouping of Students

Grouping of students for classroom activities is significant, because it will help to the sharing of knowledge and ideas as well as the improvement in the skills of girls and boys, especially while it is mixed grouping. But the observations of the present study reveal that mixed grouping was mostly followed in the primary classrooms than in secondary. The study also reveals that the nature of grouping of students as to same sex or mixed vary with the type of management of schools. Out of the 12 primary classrooms studied, all except the three Muslim management schools follow mixed grouping of students during classroom activities.

However at the secondary level, 11 schools follow separate or bench wise method for grouping of students in classroom activities. Only one school (Government) follow mixed grouping for the classroom activities. Teachers grouped students based on their roll number and the mixed group activities are very rare in secondary school classrooms than at primary level.

The results of the observations conducted in 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10
Results of Observation of Group Activities in Primary Classrooms

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	**II**	**III**	**36**
Grouping students into same sex groups during group activities	4	5	3	12
Grouping students into mixed groups during classroom activities	6	7	6	19
Girls show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	3	2	4	9
Boys show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	4	5	2	11

The results of the observations conducted in 12 secondary classrooms are summarized in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11

Results of Observation of Group Activities in Secondary Classrooms

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Grouping students into same sex groups during group activities	1	2	4	7
Grouping students into mixed groups during classroom activities	0	0	3	3
Girls show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	0	0	0	0
Boys show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	0	0	0	0
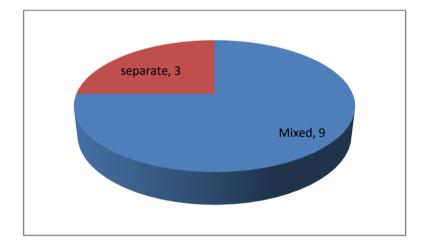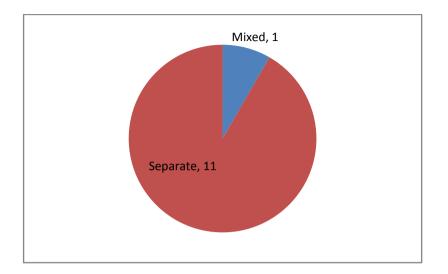
Fig. 4.7 **Grouping of Students for Classroom Activities in Primary Schools**

Fig.4.8 **Grouping of Students for Activities in Secondary Classroom**

4.2.5. Assignment of Responsibilities

Gendered practices are observed in the roles and responsibilities assigned by teachers to the boys and girls. Most of the time teachers assigned responsibilities like leadership or controlling of the students in the classroom to the boys than the girls whereas girls are entrusted with assisting or helping boys. In two of the schools, boys were assigned the role of controlling the classroom in the absence of teachers. The specific feature noted here was the fact that the actual class leaders were present but they were girls. Boys are also deputed to read the lessons, do maths problems on the blackboard or to other students during teaching. Majority of the schools deputed the girls to bring teaching aids like book, register, charts etc. from the staff room to the classroom.

In most of the aided and government schools, girls and boys were assigned the responsibility of classroom cleaning, with boys to clean their side only and girls cleaning their side. Few of the primary schools assign mixed group for cleaning responsibility. The girls clean the class and the boys help them to replace the benches and desks. In some schools the girls only were found to do their duty seriously and clean the classroom alone while the boys

run and jump around throughout the classroom. In government and aided primary school classrooms where free midday meals are supplied to students, the responsibilities of bringing lunch from the school kitchen to the classroom and supplying it to the students were assigned to boys and a few girls were deputed to assist them.

The results of the observations conducted in the 12 primary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12
Results of Observation on Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities in Primary Classrooms

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Girls deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	3	2	1	6
Boys deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	4	1	1	6
Boys entrusted with classroom cleaning	1	1	1	3
Girls entrusted with classroom cleaning	1	1	1	3
Boys assigned classroom leadership	1	2	1	4
Girls assigned classroom leadership	0	1	1	2
Boys deputed to read the lessons	2	1	2	5
Girls deputed to read the lessons	1	1	1	3
Boys deputed to control the class in the absence of teacher	2	2	3	7
Girls deputed to control the class in the absence of teacher	1	2	0	3

In all the secondary schools the boys and girls were grouped separately while assigning responsibilities of classroom cleaning.. Since unaided schools at secondary levels also have sweepers for cleaning the classrooms, such a responsibility was not found to be assigned to students. In most of the government and aided schools, the boys' side of the classroom was to be cleaned by the boys and girls' side by the girls themselves. The girls seemed to accept the cleaning of the classroom as their responsibility but the boys seemed not bothered about this. After lunch, the girl groups immediately clean their side neatly, but the boys did not seem to take this seriously and sometimes they fail to clean their side of the classroom. In one classroom at secondary level, the teacher was found scolding the girls for keeping the classroom unclean. When the teacher came to the class, some paper pieces were found on the ground, then the teacher scolded the girls, "why haven't you cleaned the class?" Immediately the girls picked up the waste papers from the floor and dumped them into the waste basket while the boys seemed not at all bothered about this.

The results of the 36 observations conducted in the 12 secondary classrooms are summarized in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13
Results of Observation on Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities in Secondary Classrooms

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total 36
	I	II	III	
Girls deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	1	2	2	5
Boys deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	1	1	1	3
Boys entrusted with classroom cleaning	1	1	1	3
Girls entrusted with classroom cleaning	1	1	1	3
Boys assigned classroom leadership	0	0	0	0
Girls assigned classroom leadership	1	1	1	3
Boys deputed to read the lessons	1	0	1	2
Girls deputed to read the lessons	0	0	1	1
Boys deputed to control the class in the absence of teacher	1	0	2	3
Girls depended to control the class in the absences of teacher	1	1	0	2

4.2.6. Disciplinary Practices

Because of the strict government rules and regulations regarding disciplinary practices, no strict punishments are given to students in Kerala schools. Beating, scolding, shouting, making to stand in the corner of the class, calling parents, giving impositions are the main punishments usually given by teachers to their students. In the present study it was observed that most of the teachers are doing gendered disciplinary practices in the primary and secondary classrooms. The teachers were found to scold boys four times more than girls in the classroom. This is mainly because the boys are largely undisciplined and often misbehave than girls in the classroom during teaching hours while girls most of the time sit very silent, calm and quiet and due to

this the need to scold them does not arise.But whenever girls are found fault with, gender differences were found in the nature of scolding showered upon boys and girls. For instance in a secondary school classroom when the class teacher came inside, she found both boys and girls making noise and creating disturbance. The teacher ignored the boys and scolded the girls with statements like, "girls have no discipline, how come girls make more noise than boys,it is quite unfair". In general not much difference was observed between the primary and secondary schools with regard to the disciplinary practices followed.

The results of observations conducted in primary school classrooms are summarized in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14
**Results of Observation on Disciplinary Practices in
Primary School Classrooms**

Statements	Frequency of Behaviour			Total
	I	II	III	36
Boys are scolded for misbehavior	12	13	12	37
Girls are scolded for misbehavior	10	7	5	22
Double standards in perceiving misbehavior of girls and boys	0	0	0	0
Teacher ignores girls' indiscipline	0	0	0	0
Teacher ignores boys's indiscipline	0	0	0	0
Seating the student with the opposite sex as a classroom management strategy	0	0	0	0

The results of the 36 observations conducted in the 12 secondary classrooms on three different days each are summarized in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15
Results of Observation on Disciplinary Practices in Secondary Classrooms

Statements	Secondary (Frequency)			Total
	I	II	III	36
Boys are scolded for misbehavior	12	12	15	39
Girls are scolded for misbehavior	4	4	3	11
Double standards in perceiving misbehavior of girls and boys	0	0	0	0
Teacher ignores girls' indiscipline	0	0	0	0
Teacher ignores boys's indiscipline	1	0	2	3
Seating the student with the opposite sex as a classroom management strategy	0	0	0	0

Beating, scolding, shouting, order to stand in the corner of the class, call parents, give imposition are the major disciplinary practices

Teachers scolded boys more than girls in the classroom setting

Boys are more indisciplined than girls in the classroom

Fig. 4. 9 **Disciplinary Practices in Primary and Secondary School Classrooms**

4.3. CONCLUSION

The present study mainly focused on a gender analysis of the primary and secondary school climates of Kerala with regard to the general rules and regulations and the classroom practices. For this 12 primary and 12 secondary

schools belonging to Malappuram and Thrissur districts are selected as sample and the data was collected by using observation method. Analysis of the observed facts reveals that the overall environment of the schools at primary and secondary levels follows strong and persistent gender segregation in their practices. The results also showed that the total ambience and the very air surrounding the schools is gendered in almost all general regulations, in the dress code of teachers and students, classroom practices, play provisions for boys and girls, teachers' eye contact and attention, teacher-student interactions, allocation of roles and duties, disciplinary practices, grouping of students and the seating arrangement of boys and girls. The aided and unaided schools follow more gendered practices than government schools. Among these, Muslim schools seem to practise even more strict regulations in the entry- exit points and timings, dress code of female students and tutors, seating arrangements and interactions between boys and girls when compared to Hindu, Christian and Government schools.

Certain rules and policies are enforced and practiced by all schools in order to provide a more safe and sound environment for girls by putting unwanted restrictions upon the boy-girl interaction at secondary level. Majority of schools which control the opportunity for mingling of boys and girls, concentrate more on girls' movements in schools. Teachers are seen always scrutinizing each and every activity of girls inside as well as outside the classroom. Most of the schools have separate washroom and freshen up rooms, even different entry-exit for boys and girls. Boys and girls exit the school at different time intervals. Most of the schools adopt 'girl first' approach for getting pupils to leave a class room in an orderly fashion, which does nothing to develop the sense of self-discipline, but merely reinforce the 'polite to ladies' and 'frail female' attitude and is often time consuming. As a result, the students will not get an opportunity to mingle freely with their classmates of opposite sex. These practices are also reflected in the students'

interactions. The students generally prefer to sit and play with children of same sex only; they do not even like to look at the students of opposite sex and this is more stronger at secondary level. Through such practices schools develop and reinforce gender segregation, stereotypes, even discrimination, which exaggerates negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world. The gender ideology of the society is found to influence such rules and regulations in schools as schools are constituted by the society. Thus a reciprocative influence is seen between what happens within the schools and what is considered ideal by the society. The findings of the present study are in agreement with the opinion of Ghaill (1994) that the school reflects the dominant gender ideology of the society around them and actively produces gender and heterosexual divisions. Gender discrimination in the education system leads to deep-rooted disparities in society.

Majority of the schools have seated and grouped boys and girls in accordance with their gender. The overall gender segregation in the society and the gendered school environment has watered and nurtured the preference for same sex groups among boys and girls at both the primary and secondary school levels. Similar findings were obtained by Kuruvilla and Najumunnisa (2011) in their study in six primary schools of Malappuram district. Wherever a mixed seating arrangement was seen in classrooms, children are more willing to mingle freely with members of the opposite sex. This further indicates that a positive reformation on the part of the school would enable and encourage children to overcome the gendered segregation imposed upon them by other biased socialisation agencies. The findings of the present study are in agreement with the observations of Kunjumon (2012) that, every school has its own culture and has a prominent role in creating the gender differences in students. Each school tries to transmit their cultural patterns towards their students through their rules and norms, in a formal setting. There are schools where mixed seating scenario gets changed as per the demand of parents. The

teachers in the schools, especially at the secondary level seemed to be anxious of the consequences of mixed seating arrangements in classrooms. They are not confident of encouraging the interactions and closer mingling of students because they carry an immense fear that it may lead to 'unhealthy and out of way' relationships among them which in turn would affect the learning outcomes of the students. This way, the teachers and school authorities in general are unknowingly practicing gendered behaviours and are unaware of the consequences of such discrimination in the schools.

The schools impose certain instructions related to dressing and freedom of movement on girls than boys. On the occasion of data collection, few girls from secondary level opined that the teacher scolded them severely for mingling with the boys even if they are classmates. The specific dress codes in schools would in turn strengthen the roots of the very basic body consciousness of girls and women and it would in turn strengthen the patriarchal notion that women are mere bodies rather than soulful human beings. Restrictions in general are found to be severe in the case of adolescent girls at the secondary level which is a clear extension of what is happening at home and in the society. As opined by Kuruvilla and Nisha (2015) with the onset of puberty, restrictions are put upon the mobility and activities of girls while their counterparts enjoy more freedom and privileges. Attraction towards opposite sex and maintaining healthy friendship are always been an issue of adolescents. The teachers and all other school authorities express their inability in maintaining a healthy balance over the same and instead they put more and more restrictions on girls at the secondary level schools.

The findings of the present study are supported by the study on religion and gender role perception conducted by Kuruvilla and Nisha (2015) 600 among adolescent girls from 15 higher secondary schools of Malappuram district. According to them there are schools in Kerala which impose biased

practices like assigning specific dress codes to the girls and the lady teachers, separate timings and gates for boys and girls to enter and exit the school, compulsory veiling for girls, etc. which in turn create strong roots of gender segregation in young minds. Such practices strengthen the gender role perceptions which also highlight the differences between the genders and the purity and vulnerability of the female body. As observed by Kahn (2013) teachers' dress codes enforce traditional characteristics of gendered notions under the guise of professional attire and these ideologies reflect gender hierarchies where women are subjected to more regulations than men.

With regard to play space and provisions, all the schools exhibit gendered nature. Boys are frequently engaged in the physical activities than girls inside or outside the classroom and also in the playground. The analysis shows that the play items are gender segregated, either the school authority imposes it or the students themselves accept such segregation. Similar findings were obtained by Connolly, (2003) and Francis (2004) that the boys frequently kicked balls around, walked or ran about the classroom, pushed, slapped or hit each other, or threw things across the class whereas the girls walked about here and there, but less frequently than boys, and they rarely get engaged in the other physical activities.

Fitzclarence & Hickey (2001) opine that football is one of the most obvious ways through which boys dominate the primary and secondary school playground space and it is the major site for the making of masculinity. The observations of the present study again reassure that football is the significant play item in all primary and secondary schools of Kerala. Boys may use football to enforce a masculinity hierarchy by excluding girls and less athletic boys from games. There is a common assumption that biological sex differences of girls and boys are programmed to enable them to behave in different ways and it also followed in different play areas.

The observations also agree with the opinion of Skelton (2001) that male teachers exclusively talk and banter about sports to exclude girls through an 'othering' process. The girls were always excluded in the play provisions and the teachers were not giving importance to girls' sport. At the time of data collection, few girls conveyed that they are interested in playing football but teachers ignored it and were not ready to support them.

Physical domination of the classroom and playground space by boys has been well documented. The present findings are in agreement with Chapman (2012) who reports that in the classroom, boys tend to take up more space than girls as they sprawl more, move about in the class more, and they invade the available. Though girls at primary level were found to move around within and outside the classroom as free and as loud as boys, when they reach high schools the girls seem less mobile and silent. The restrictions imposed upon by the family, religion, media and the school together might have developed a sense of silence and docility among adolescent girls which make them meek, gentle and submissive. Thus schooling turns out to be a gendering agent that transmits and reproduces the patriarchal norms and values of the society. Though education is expected to facilitate social change, the present system of education serves only to sustain the traditions of gender bias and discrimination.

Teachers are also taking a part in promoting gender segregation process among students through classroom practices. The findings of the present study are also in accordance with the opinion of Bassi (2003) and UNICEF (2009) that gender bias is clearly visible in the classroom and playground, even in the minds of the teachers and administrators. The findings showed that boys get more eye contact, attention and interactions with teachers than girls in the same classroom. The argument of Kelly (1988) that the teachers interact more with boys than girls both in teacher and student

initiated interactions, teachers ask more questions and give more response opportunities to boys and also pay more attention to the boys than the girls in classroom seems true as such in the schools of Kerala also. The findings of the present study that boys get more eye contact and attention from teachers are supported by the observations of Becker (1981), Hall and Sandler (1986), Sadker & Sadker (1992), Spender (1982), and Thorne (1979). What Jandhyala (2004) opined about teachers is found to be true in the present study also. Teachers stand nearer and closer to boys than the girls in the classroom while teaching and asking questions.

The observations of the present study expose the gendered school climate in Kerala. The organizational structure of schools creates boundaries between the interaction of boys and girls. Both boys and girls suffer from these; they fail to establish sound relationships with members of opposite sex but the sad part is that it affects the girls more negatively than the boys. Sadker and Sadker (1994) pointed out that the boys and the girls sitting in the same classroom, reading the same textbook, listening to the same teacher receive different education. The findings of the present study also substantiates that the boys and the girls receive different experiences and opportunities in the same classroom and in the same school climate.

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Chapter 5

Analysis &Findings :

Perceptions of Students and Teachers on Gendered School Practices

Gendered behaviours and practices are being followed in the primary and secondary schools. It is important to examine how the inhabitants of the school, especially the students and teachers perceive these practices. For this data was collected from 480 students and 48 teachers. The randomly selected student sample consisted of 240 boys and 240 girls, i.e. 10 boys and 10 girls each from the six primary and six secondary schools. An inventory was used for collecting data from the students. Two teachers from each primary and two from each secondary school, selected through convenient sampling formed the teacher sample. An unstructured interview guide facilitated the data collection. The focus group discussion with 20 teachers-both male and female, from a government school in Malappuram district helped in deciding the dimensions of the interview guide.

The results of analysis of the data regarding perceptions of students and teachers on gendered practices in schools are presented under the following headings.

1. Perceptions of Girls and Boys on Gendered Practices in Primary and Secondary Schools

2. Perceptions of Teachers on Gendered Practices in Primary and Secondary Schools.

5.1. PERCEPTIONS OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON GENDERED PRACTICES IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

An inventory developed by the researcher was used to collect data from students regarding their perceptions on gendered practices in schools. The results revealed that the boys and girls perceived gender bias with regard to dress code, roles and responsibilities, interaction with opposite sex, play

provisions, disciplinary practices, seating arrangements etc. The data and results are presented under the following headings.

5.1.1. Student Perceptions on Student Movement In and Around School Compound

Majority of boys and girls at the primary and secondary levels agree that there is no problem if boys move around freely within the classroom or around the school compound. At the same time they expressed disagreement with girls moving around school compound. Such a biased judgement of boys and girls indirectly convey their support and agreement with the school regulations that restrict the mobility of girls and permit the free movement of boys of the same age. The students were agree with the perception of boys and girls movement in and around school compound are given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Student Perceptions on Student Movement Inand Around School Compound

Statement	Agree			
	Primary		**Secondary**	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
There is no problem while boys are moving around the classroom and the school compound	58%	48%	61%	19%
There is no problem while girls are moving around the classroom and the school compound	23%	32%	18%	13%

The protectionist approach towards girls practised by the society is internalised by the children even at the primary level itself. Girls are socialised to approve the restrictions on their mobility whereby they also agree with the gendered regulations of the school regarding student movement in and around the school.

5.1.2. Student Perceptions on Dress Code

Majority of boys and girls both in primary and secondary schools opined that dressing style of girls need more restrictions. 91% of girls at the secondary level and 89% of girls at the primary level have agreed with the above opinion and 87% of boys at secondary and 69% of boys at primary level have the same opinion. But the percentage of boys and girls supporting the need for a specific dress code for boys was found to be very low.

Table 5.2

Student Perceptions on Dress Code

Specific Dress code for girls is essential	**Agree**	
	Primary	**Secondary**
Boys	69%	87%
Girls	89%	91%

There is specific dress code for girls in almost all schools, especially at the secondary level. Majority of boys and girls agree with the need for such a dress code as if there is something special about the girl's body which needs to be covered and kept secret. The students do not seem to be aware of the gender issues involved though they accept the dress code prima facie.

5.1.3. Student Perceptions on Seating Arrangements

Perceptions of students regarding mixed seating arrangement is highly varied at the primary and secondary levels. Majority of boys (56%) and girls (63%) agree with the mixed seating arrangement in primary classrooms and only 35% and 31% of boys and girls respectively disagree with this. Findings from observation have revealed that mixed seating is being followed in 50% of the primary schools. Only 38% of boys and 23% of girls at the secondary

level agree with the mixed seating and the rest of the boys and girls prefer same sex seating. The findings of the perceptions of students regarding mixed seating arrangement are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Student Perceptions on Seating Arrangements

Mixed seating arrangement is good	**Agree**	
	Primary	**Secondary**
Boys	56%	38%
Girls	63%	23%

It was found that in 6 out of 12 primary schools studied, six of them follow mixed seating. In other schools, the stiff resistance from parents was mentioned as the reason for separate seating. Another point to be noted is the opinion of boys and girls, in that much more number of them agree to have mixed seating at primary level but disagree with it at secondary level. Students themselves find it as problematic to sit together when they grow up as adolescents. The bias they bear in mind serves to aggravate the gender difference and dichotomy between men and women.

5.1.4. Student Perceptions on Grouping of Students

More than 80% of boys and girls in primary and secondary schools accept and agree with mixed grouping in classroom activities.

Table 5.4

Student Perceptions on Grouping of Students

Mixed grouping is good for classroom activities	Agree	
	Primary	**Secondary**
Boys	73%	94%
Girls	76%	88%

The observation on classroom practices revealed that mixed grouping was mostly followed in the primary classrooms than in secondary. It was found that out of the 12 secondary schools studied, only one of them followed mixed grouping for classroom activities. In other schools, the stiff resistance from PTA was mentioned as the reason for same sex grouping. The present findings serve to confirm the restrictions enforced by school authorities on mixed grouping at secondary level than in primary schools

Students who did not show much preference for mixed seating arrangements, seemed to prefer mixed grouping in classroom activities. Mixed grouping occurs only at intervals and that too in presence of the teacher for a classroom discussion or a similar activity. So the data reveals that students do not prefer sitting with the opposite sex throughout the class time but prefer an occasional mingling and sharing of ideas as part of classroom activity.

The specific aspect to be noted here is that in presence of teachers, while they are in the classroom or in the playground, girls and boys seem to prefer same sex groups as almost all of them, especially at the secondary level, chat, play and move around with the same sex groups. This might be due to the need for obeying the school regulations and not as per their actual preferences. The data also reveals a higher percentage of boys and girls at secondary level showing their preference with mixed grouping than those at

primary level. As they grow up perhaps the adolescents might have the curiosity and eagerness to know each other and share their views with the opposite sex, even if it is the classroom topics they are dealing with.

5.1.5. Student Perceptions on Teacher-Student Interaction

Majority of the boys and girls both at primary and secondary levels opined that there is no difference in the interactions of teachers based on student gender. But 38% of boys and 13% of girls at the secondary level and 20% of boys and 9% of girls at primary level opined that there are gender differences in teachers' interactions. 10% of boys and 15% of girls at primary level and 40% of boys and 51% girls at secondary level conveyed that teachers pay more attention to boys. Five percent of boys and 11% of girls at primary level and 21% of boys and 18% of girls at secondary level opined that teachers give more attention to girls. However such discrimination is higher at secondary level when compared to the primary schools. Data from interview with the teachers support the opinion that they give more attention and eye contact to boys on the grounds of ensuring their classroom participation and disciplined behaviour. The results are presented in Table 26.

It was also found that comparatively higher percentage of boys and girls both at primary and secondary levels support the loud talk of boys in the class while their percentage declines while favouring the loud talk of girls. The number of boys is almost double that of girls in supporting loud talk in the class, whether of boys or of girls at primary and secondary levels.

Table 5.5
Student Perceptions on Teacher-Student Interaction

Statements	Agree			
	Primary		Secondary	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Difference in the interaction of teachers to students based on students gender	20%	9%	38%	13%
Teachers give more attention to boys	10%	15%	40%	51%
Teachers give more attention to girls	5%	11%	21%	18%
There is no problem for girls talking loudly in the classroom	28%	21%	21%	25%
There is no problem for boys talking loudly in the classroom	53%	24%	58%	23%

These findings support the feminist argument that the girls are socialised to become calm, quiet and respecting others while boys are socialised to become more loud, powerful and uncontrollable as they grow up. Teachers were of the opinion that they have to pay more attention to boys, for ensuring their classroom participation and make them sit silent in the class. Girls naturally were found to be calm and silent whereby chances of their interaction with teachers are overruled by the boys. The findings are supported by a multitude of research (Becker, 1981; Hall and Sandler, 1986; Sadker & Sadker, 1992; Spender, 1982; Thorne, 1979) that has documented how teachers pay more attention, have more interaction and maintain eye contact with boys than with girls.

5.1.6. Student Perceptions on Student-Student Interaction

For a gender friendly school environment the interactions between boys and girls are important. But the present study shows that majority of the boys (65%) and girls (64%) at primary level and 68% boys and 61% girls at

secondary level expressed their agreement with the mingling of boys and girls. The results are summarized in the Table 5.6.

Table 5.6

Student Perceptions on Student-Student Interaction

Statements	Primary		Secondary	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Mingling between boys and girls is good	65%	64%	68%	61%
It is good to share the things like books, pencil and food items between boys and girls	72%	69%	70%	68%
Friendship between boys and girls is good	75%	76%	73%	72%

With regard to sharing things majority of students irrespective of gender and level of classroom conveyed that it is good to share the things like books, pencil and food items between boys and girls.

Eventhough students wish for friendship with opposite sex, the school regulations often restrict their mingling and sharing. Findings from observation reveal how girl students are scolded for talking with their peers of opposite sex during intervals. There is a fear among teachers and school management that unfair and unhealthy relations that impede with their studies may spring up once free mingling and interaction is permitted between boys and girls.

5.1.7. Student Perceptions on Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities

Students' perceptions on the assignment of roles and responsibilities are significant while analyzing gendered practices in school. The findings from the analysis reveal that girls and boys not only perceive gender bias with regard to the assignment of roles and responsibilities at school but their perceptions were also gendered.

The analysis shows that above 76% of boys and 89% of girls in primary and 83% of boys and 98% of girls in secondary schools agree that both boys and girls are equally capable of taking up the responsibilities of a school leader/class leader. Boys both at primary and secondary levels were of the opinion that boys are more good than girls at controlling the classroom in the absence of teacher. At the same time girls both at primary and secondary levels were of the opinion that girls are more good at controlling the class than boys.

Regarding the responsibility of sweeping the floor, majority of the girls at secondary level (82%) have the opinion that boys and girls are equally responsible for sweeping the floor, whereas only 57% of boys agree with this opinion. At primary level, it is 44% and 38% of girls and boys respectively who agree with considering classroom cleaning as an equal responsibility of girls and boys. The results are given in the Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Student Perceptions on Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities

Statements	Agree			
	Primary		**Secondary**	
	Boys	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Both boys and girls are equally capable of taking up the responsibilities of a school leader/class leader	76%	89%	83%	98%
Boys are more good than girls at controlling the classroom in the absence of teacher	51%	40%	55%	39%
Girls are more good than girls at controlling the classroom in the absence of teacher	30%	60%	43%	69%
Boys and girls are equally responsible for sweeping the floor	57%	82%	44%	38%
Girls as more good for chanting the prayer and national anthem	72%	80%	62%	69%
Boys as more good for chanting the prayer and national anthem	20%	19%	25%	21%

Regarding saying prayers and singing national anthem or reciting the pledge, more than 75% of boys and girls at primary level and more than 60% students at secondary level consider girls as more good than boys for chanting the prayer and national anthem.

It is found that the patriarchal gender role perceptions are imbibed by boys and girls even at the primary school level whereby cleaning and saying prayers are attributed as women's responsibilities while controlling the class was considered as men's responsibility. However it is notable that a considerable percentage of girls at primary and secondary levels were confident that girls are capable of controlling the class. Just as Kuruvilla and George (2015) opined, children might have imbibed all the patriarchal values from the family itself before they reach school. Otherwise the primary school children wouldn't have conveyed gendered opinions regarding responsibilities of boys and girls.

5.1.8. Student Perceptions on Play provisions

The analysis showed that students do not perceive much gender bias in the play provisions for boys and girls in the schools. The gendered play followed in schools is considered as natural by the students. At the same time their perceptions regarding different play items and games were found to be gendered. The analysis shows that, 93% of boys and 78% of girls at primary and 60% of boys and 48% of girls at secondary level responded that football is a game appropriate for boys. At the same time all the boys both at primary and secondary level disagreed that football is an appropriate game for girls, whereas 30% of the girls in primary and 61% of girls in secondary schools supported that girls can also play football.

Skipping was considered as a play item for girls by almost the whole sample of boys and girls in primary and secondary schools. At the same time

a few of them have the opinion that skipping is appropriate for boys also. Similarly almost equal number of boys and girls at primary and secondary levels consider badminton as a game equally appropriate for boys and girls. Games like *odikkali (*running-around) was opined to be appropriate for boys than girls. But children in primary schools consider it as a play for girls and boys. The results are summarized in the Table 5.8 and 5.9.

Table 5.8

Student Perceptions on Play Provisions at Primary Level

Play items	**Girls**		**Boys**	
	Appropriate for Boys	**Appropriate for Girls**	**Appropriate for Boys**	**Appropriate for Girls**
Football	78%	30%	93%	0
Skipping	34%	48%	19%	46%
Odikkali	52%	55%	61%	56%
Badminton	64%	67%	66%	69%

Table 5.9

Student Perceptions on Play Provisions at Secondary Level

Play items	**Girls**		**Boys**	
	Appropriate for Boys	**Appropriate for Girls**	**Appropriate for Boys**	**Appropriate for Girls**
Football	48%	61%	60%	0
Skipping	30%	57%	23%	54%
Oodikkali	62%	22%	70%	26%
Badminton	74%	85%	71%	75%

The perceptions of students regarding mixed play was also analysed. Almost 50% of boys and girls in the primary and secondary schools agree

with the idea of mixed play. But 30 % of them disagree with the mixed play concept. During observation of school practices mixed play of boys and girls was found only in a few primary schools and the boys and girls in general seemed to prefer playing with the same sex only. The results are given in Table 5.10..

Table 5.10

Student Perceptions on Mixed Play

Mixed play of boys and girls are good	Agree	
	Primary	**Secondary**
Boys	58%	51%
Girls	56%	53%

The analysis reveals that the school climate favours gendered play provisions and the children have accepted them as natural and unproblematic. Findings from observation substantiate how girls were totally excluded from playing football, the most popular game of the region. Such differentiation with regard to play can have far reaching consequences whereby gendered notions get deep rooted in the growing minds.

5.1.9. Student Perceptions on Disciplinary Practices

Majority of students at primary level do not perceive any gender difference in the disciplinary practices adopted by teachers. When it comes to the secondary level, 65% of the boys and only 23% of the girls opined that teachers punished boys and girls differently. The results of the analysis is summarised in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11

Student Perceptions on Disciplinary Practices

Teachers punished boys and girls differently	Agree	
	Primary	**Secondary**
Boys	29%	17%
Girls	65%	23%

The findings from observation also showed that teachers were more concerned with ensuring discipline of boys and scolded them four times than that of girls at the secondary level. But at the primary level the gender difference seems low when compared to that of secondary level. Teachers themselves have reported that girls are more obedient, calm and quite than boys and hence the need to punish them usually does not arise.

Here once again the impact of socialisation is seen whereby boys as they grow up are encouraged to be boisterous and loud whereas girls are trained to be silent and obedient as they grow up into adolescents.

5.2. PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS ON GENDERED BEHAVIOURS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS

The data collected from interviews of the teachers was subjected to qualitative analysis. Teachers are of the opinion that there are gendered practices with regard to the dress code, assignment of roles and responsibilities, seating arrangements, disciplinary practices, student grouping, play provisions, academic assessment of students and teacher-student interaction. The analysis also revealed that the perceptions of teachers are gendered with traditional concepts regarding gender roles of men and

women and subject choices of girls and boys. The results of analysis are discussed in detail below:

5.2.1. Teacher Perceptions on Dress code

There are strong instructions regarding the dress code of girls than the boys. All the teachers in both primary and secondary classes opined that the girls need to care more about their dressing pattern because dressing style is the main cause for violence against women. Girls should avoid wearing of tight dresses, which would invite unwanted attention and trouble. About 50% of the teachers opined that the overcoat is good instead of shawl because it reduces the exposure of body parts. The results are presented in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12

Teacher Perceptions on Dress Code

Teacher Perceptions on Dress Code	Agree
Girls need to care more about their dressing pattern	100%
Dressing style is the main cause for violence against women	100%
Girls should avoid wearing of tight dresses, which would invite unwanted attention and trouble	100%

Teachers in general were found to support dress code, specifically of girl students even when it is not there in their schools. Majority of them share the popular patriarchal notion that dressing style of girls provoke men and it may lead to sexual harassment and violence against them. Two of the teachers from Muslim management schools opined that girls may enter any field or any job but they must strictly follow the religious instructions on dressing.

5.2.2.Teacher Perceptions on Seating Arrangements

The present analysis shows that there is gender bias in teachers' perceptions regarding seating arrangements in the classrooms. 44% of the teachers, from both primary and secondary classes opined that they do not agree with the mixed seating in the classroom. According to them mixed seating is not good as it is not in our culture, girls reach maturity earlier than the boys and the touch and intimate contacts between boys and girls may lead to unwanted consequences at this tender age. But 39% of them agreed that it is good to follow mixed seating at primary level only. Some of the teachers said that mixed seating is good at secondary classes if the students are used to mixed seating in their primary classes. 17% of the teachers support mixed seating both at primary and secondary levels but they are not following this in their classroom because of the PTA instructions. The results of analysis is summarized in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13

Teacher Perceptions on Seating Arrangements

Teacher Perceptions on Seating Arrangements	Agree
Mixed seating is good to be followed at primary level only	39%
Mixed seating is good, because it reduces segregation or difference among boys and girls	17%
It facilitates classroom management	15%
Mixed seating is not good as it may lead to unfair relations among boys and girls.	44%

Teachers, who agreed with mixed seating conveyed that this system would help to reduce gender segregation or difference between boys and girls and also would reduce the shyness of girls and promotes mingling between

the opposite sex. All the teachers at the secondary level follow separate seating in their classrooms.

When it comes to the primary level all the teachers except those in Muslim management and government schools follow mixed seating in their classrooms. 15% of the teachers responded that mixed seating is an effective method as a classroom management strategy. According to them this may reduce the unnecessary chats and talks among students during class time. Every time students are seated or lined up by gender, teachers are affirming that girls and boys should be treated differently.

5.2.3. Teacher Perceptions on Grouping of Students

Majority of teachers, both at primary (92%) and secondary (71%) levels except teachers of Muslim management schools in Malappuram district accept and agree with the mixed grouping in classroom activities. Most of the teachers do not follow the mixed grouping system because of the resistance from the PTA. Only 8% of teachers at primary and 29% at secondary level opined that mixed grouping is not good and they will not encourage it as at this immature age the close contacts will have more negative effects than its positive implications. The results are summurised in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14

Teacher Perceptions on Grouping of Students

Teacher Perceptions on Grouping of Students	**Primary**	**Secondary**
Mixed grouping is good	92%	71%
Mixed grouping is not good and not encouraged	8%	29%

5.2.4. Teacher Perceptions on Teacher-Student Interactions

The majority of teachers at secondary level responded that both boys and girls are interactive in the classroom and some of them opined that boys are more interactive than girls in the classroom discussions. 96% of teachers at secondary level responded that boys are more interactive in general matters while girls more in academic matters. But 55% of teachers at primary level opined that there is no difference in the interaction of boys and girls in the classroom and cannot say whether boys or girls are more or less interactive.

Regarding the attention given to students 62% of teachers of secondary schools opined that they give more attention to boys in the classroom as boys are more restless than girls. To ensure that they are attentive in the class and as a classroom management strategy they need to have more eye contacts with boys than with girls. The rest of the teachers at secondary level conveyed that they do not show any difference in the attention given to boys and girls. 76% of teachers of primary classrooms responded to give similar attention to boys and girls while 24% were of the opinion that boys are boisterous than girls and need more attention than girls. No difference was seen in the teacher –student interaction patterns in government, aided and unaided schools both at primary and secondary levels.

5.2.5. Teacher Perceptions on Interaction Between Boys and Girls

55% of the teachers responded that they accept and agree with the need for boys and girls' interaction to a certain extent. Healthy academic interactions are acceptable but children must have boundaries in their interpersonal relationship. But 10% teachers opined that the interaction between boys and girls is not good. Teachers of unaided primary schools and both aided and unaided secondary schools of Muslim management of Malappuram district conveyed that some restrictions are followed in their

schools upon interaction of students with their opposite sex and they do not encourage free mingling. Similarly teachers of aided Christian management schools in Thrissur district also agreed that their schools follow some restrictions on the interaction between boys and girls and there is a leader in each class to watch the mingling of boys and girls of other classes during break time. The results are given in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15

Teacher Perceptions on Interaction BetweenBoys and Girls

Interaction between boys and girls is not good	10%
Accept interaction between boys and girls to a certain extent and stress the need for a limit	55%
Boys and girls must mingle freely	35%

Majority of teachers, both males and females were not in support of free mingling of adolescents with their opposite sex. According to them despite all the restrictions imposed they come across lots of issues including unfair relations and love affairs on a daily basis and the parents and teachers remain helpless in some cases. The influence of TV and misuse of mobiles and internet were also specified by majority of those who disagreed with too close interactions and contacts between adolescents of opposite sex. Only 35% of the teachers said that it is good that boys and girls become interactive, if restrictions are imposed on it, students may misuse it and this would lead to lots of issues in the schools as well as in their societal relations. They also opined that through these interactions girls may acquire will power and social skills along with reducing the gender difference and fear of mingling with boys at a later stage.

Media influence on adolescents is well studied. Instead of teaching them judicious use of media, whether it be watching TV or interacting in the

social media, teachers argue about the fragility and vulnerability of adolescent boys and girls. Healthy interpersonal relationships need to be promoted with the vision of a gender just society where boys and girls , men and women of all ages, coexist with mutual respect. Teachers seemed to be ineffective in meeting adolescent needs and handling their issues.

5.2.6. Teacher Perceptions on Assignment of Roles and Responsibilities

Above 65% of the teachers in the primary and secondary levels responded that they employ voting system for selecting the class leader and school leader. The rest of the teachers select class leaders based on the students' performance in the classroom. 30% of teachers at the secondary level opined that girls are reluctant to come forward to the leadership positions, but the teachers at primary level responded that there is no such difference at the primary level. All the teachers, both at the primary and secondary level opined that the girls are actively engaged in all the responsibilities assigned to them.

In assigning the responsibilities of classroom cleaning, 89% of teachers conveyed that they group the students separately dividing the responsibilities equally for boys and girls – to clean the girls' side by the girls and the boys' side by the boys. They also responded that majority of boys do not give seriousness to the cleaning responsibilities while girls do it with utmost sincerity.

But it was also found that majority of teachers despite dividing roles and responsibilities including that of classroom cleaning equally among boys and girls, still hold traditional gender role perceptions.

5.2.7. Teacher Perceptions on Play Provisions

Teachers' perceptions on the play provisions of boys and girls were found to be different at primary and secondary levels. All teachers at the primary and secondary level responded that the boys are highly engaged in playing football while the girls are playing shuttle, skipping, ring throws etc. Among this 5% at the primary and 23% at the secondary level opined that football is not appropriate for girls.

Teachers in the aided and government schools at primary level responded that there is no separate staff for a drill hour and hence the class teachers take the initiative in allocating the play provisions for students. 45% of teachers at primary and 77% at the secondary level opined that they do not encourage or support mixed play as it may lead to negative consequences of either extremes from chances of bullying on one end and unfair relations on the other. They also conveyed that even when they are interested in letting mixed play, the management and PTA are against this. 55% of teachers at primary and 23% at the secondary level responded that they accept mixed play. the results are given in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16

Teacher Perceptions on Play Provisions

Teacher Perceptions on Play Provisions	Primary	Secondary
Teachers do not support mixed play	45%	77%
Teachers favoured mixed play	55%	23%
Football, the mostly played game is not appropriate for girls	5%	23%

A few teachers of the total sample seemed to be progressive enough to let students have mixed play but in practice they are scared of doing so as expressed by teachers themselves, the PTA may feel offended.

5.2.8. Teacher Perceptions on Disciplinary Practices

71% of the teachers at secondary level responded that boys are more undisciplined than girls inside the classroom. 63% opined that girls are obedient than boys and do not misbehave continously. 29% of the teachers said that girls are also undisciplined in the class along with boys, but it is not so visible while misbehaviours of boys are most visible and most of the time they remain restless in the classroom. Because of this the boys are reprimanded more than girls in the classroom.the results are given in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17

Teacher Perceptions on Disciplinary Practices

Boys are more undisciplined than girls	71%
Girls are more obedient than boys	63%
Both boys and girls are undisciplined	29%

All the teachers responded that because of the strict government rules, schools cannot follow strict punishment. Teachers of secondary level followed scolding, order to stand in the corner of the class, call parents, give imposition etc. as the disciplinary practices and the primary level teachers followed scolding, shouting and giving imposition as punishments. Two male teachers at secondary level said that sometimes they beat the boys with a stick, but not girls, because it may invite public attention and become a serious issue. One of them also said that, now a days girls misuse the privilege

that male teachers will not beat them and they turn out to be more naughty than boys. One of the male teachers at primary level responded that seating misbehaving boys near the girls is used as a disciplinary strategy by him, but it is not followed in the case of girls because that may lead to complicated issues.

Regarding the handling of issues of boys and girls, all the teachers, both in primary and secondary schools responded that they try to understand students empathetically and insist them not to repeat the mistake again. In the case of serious issues they will inform the concerned authority and the Head Mistress and the PTA. All the teachers at secondary school responded that issues related to love affairs and misuse of mobile phones are common among both boys and girls. But such types of issues are not seen in the primary schools. Four teachers of secondary schools opined that girls try to attract boys by their gestures and specific styles. On such issues teachers call the students and make them understand first, then scold and warn them. Two teachers conveyed that girls often complain about the misbehaviours from the part of boys but they advise girls to accept it as natural and silly and treat it as an age problem and hence better to ignore it.

When different behaviors are tolerated for boys than for girls in accordance with the popular notion that 'boys will be boys', schools are perpetuating the oppression of females. Similar findings were obtained in the study of Dean et al. (2007) in their study on 'Role of Schooling in Constructing Gendered Identities' conducted in Karachi. Majority of teachers perceived that girls are obedient and docile, easily controllable while boys are disobedient, uncontrollable and more indisciplined in the classroom.

5.2.9. Teacher Perceptions on Academic Achievement and Student Performance

In the case of academic assessment, 54% of teachers, responded that the boys achieved academically more due to their talent and that the boys are more talented in the subjects like maths and science than girls and 48% opined that the academic achievements of girls is due to their hard work only. 17% opined that girls are bookish and learn only what the teacher taught in the class. Only 31% of teachers opined that both boys and girls are talented, hardworking and intelligent and did not opine whether boys or girls is more talented or intelligent. Even though most of the teachers opined that girls give more seriousness to studies than boys.the results are summirised in Table 5.18.

Table 5.18

**Teachers Perceptions on Academic Achievement
and Student Performance**

Boys achieve more academically due to their talent and are good at maths and science than girls	54%
Girls' academic achievements are due to their hard work only	48%
Girls are bookish and learn what the teacher teaches in the class	17%
Courses leading to teaching, and nursing are better for girls than boys	21%
Both boys and girls are equally talented, hardworking and intelligent	31%

Most of the teachers at the primary and secondary level responded that the boys and girls can choose whatever subjects they desire and there is no difference in this and that they give all the support for them. Even then 21%

of the teachers opined that subjects like teaching, nursing etc. are better for girls than the boys because these subjects generated jobs that provide safety and security. They can do their household duties and responsibilities and have no tensions as in technical jobs. In technical jobs one may have to travel long or do night duty and this is difficult in the case of women.

The findings of the present study are in agreement with the opinion of Renold (2001) that teachers have gendered perceptions and expectations regarding academic achievement of boys and girls and their academic abilities and achievements continue to be differently interpreted. Gender segregated mentality on students' academic performance and characteristics render boys and girls as polar opposites and encourage the construction of masculine and feminine identities. Similar findings were also obtained in the studies of Jha (2008), Dean et al. (2007) and Berekashvili (2012) according to whom the skills and talents of girls are underestimated, expectations about them are low and their behavior is restricted to stereotyped feminine roles.

5.2.10. Teacher Perceptions on Gender Roles

There was much similarity found in the perceptions regarding gender roles of teachers of primary and secondary schools belonging to different districts and types of management. 46% of the teachers responded that men and women are different in their physique, thought patterns, intelligence, abilities and the duties to be performed. 55% of them said that equality of men and women can never be attained. Both men and women live based on their roles and responsibilities in the society. 29% of the teachers opind that whatever we speak about women's development, women will remain women and never can be equal to men and that women must choose careers appropriate to their gender. When women fail to do their duties in their families it will create more problems. Four percent of the teachers opined that men are good in decision-making and handling of financial matters, while

women are good at cooking and caring. 17% of teachers were of the opinion that unlike boys, girls need to know the household chores and should study only after fulfilling their household duties. Women-men equality, not possible, we should follow our culture. 24% responded that women should be obedient, docile, and respectful. Out of the 48 teachers only 20% opined that men and women are equal beings, there is no difference at all and should take up duties and responsibilities on an equal footing. The results are summrised in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19
Teacher Perceptions on Gender Roles

Attributes/Roles	% of Agreement
Men and women are different in thinking, intelligence, roles and responsibilities	46%
Women are not equal to men and must choose careers appropriate to their gender.	29%
Men are good at decision-making and handling of financial matters	4%
Girls need to know household chores and must pursue studies after fulfilling their household duties	17%
Men and women are equally capable in every activity and can take up any role they desire for	20%
Women should be obedient, docile, and respectful	24%

5.3. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the perceptions of students and teachers reveals that both students and teachers are aware of the gendered practices existing in the primary and secondary schools with regard to the rules and regulations on dress code, seating arrangement, student grouping, play provisions,

assignment of roles and responsibilities, student-teacher interactions etc. But the problems associated with gendering or even the concept of gender is unknown to the students. What they experience at school is taken for granted as the norms and standards to be learned and upheld.

Students who have already imbibed patriarchal values from their families are further exposed to gender segregation and develop deep rooted gendered notions through different school practices.

Teacher gendered notions implemented through various forms of direct and indirect discriminatory practices strengthen the dichotomy between 'masculinity' and 'femininity' among students. Studies of Chapman (2012) and Skelton and Francis (2003) support findings of the present study that teachers also have a part in the gender-segregation process which is most evident in the formation of groups for academic activities and the assignment of roles and responsibilities.

Most of the teachers readily accepted and agree with the traditional gender stereotypes of men and women with regard to decision-making, dressing, duties and responsibilities in the household, education and career opportunities etc. This will reinforce the notion that marriage, motherhood and the household responsibilities are more important for girls than education and career opportunities compared to boys. Majority of the teachers responded that women and men are different in all means and it is good to choose the career according to their gender.

Students, both boys and girls were seemed to have no objections with the gendered practices they experience at school, as according to them, what the school teaches and trains them are the things to be internalised as such. The notions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' norms were found to be so rigid and deep rooted in the tender minds of children that they start influencing

their ideas and preferences in peer relations and interactions. Thus at secondary level girls and boys were found to prefer same sex groups while in classroom activities and play. The element of fear also might be a factor as schools impose restrictions on mixed play and mixed groupings.

The findings again endorses the significant role of school authorities in shaping gender segregation among students. The results of the study are in agreement with the opinion of Howe (1997), Leaper and Bigler, (2006, 2011) and Streitmatter (1994) that the gender segregated mentality from school sustains the gender differentiations found in later lives such as in the choice of educational and career opportunities, which in turn helps to perpetuate gender bias that they carry with them into the adult world.

While the researcher administered the interview schedule with teachers, a general question asked was, 'if a girl student is harassed inside or outside the school, as a teacher what action will you probably take? All the teachers opined that if it is in inside the school they would intervene and enquire on the issue and inform the school authority for necessary action. But if it is outside/ public space, they will inform the concerned authority/police and only 35% of the teachers opined that they will intervene and enquire on such issues then and there. The rest of them seemed to be scared of societal blame and in their on words, "why invite unwanted consequences".

The investigator had to face certain difficulties at the time of data collection. While distributing the inventory to the students some of the teachers crossed the investigator that the questions included in the inventory are related to feminism. This clearly indicates how some of the teachers, both men and women, still hold onto their rigid traditional views about the roles of men and women in the society. Such teachers and school managements are responsible for the perpetuation of patriarchal values in the society. Still a

majority of the school authorities and teachers were very cooperative and appreciated the researcher for the present work.

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Chapter 6

Conclusions, Findings and Suggestions

This chapter summarizes the research design, major research findings, insights or suggestions for further research and suggestions for eliminating gender discriminatory practices from the educational system. The present study helped not only to understand the background and impacts of gendered practices in the school climate of Kerala but also to realize the gendered perceptions of teachers and students about the practices followed in the primary and secondary schools.

6.1. Summarizing and Discussing the Research Questions

The main focus of the present research was to explore the gendered practices if any in the primary and secondary schools of Kerala that are enforced by the school authorities and implemented by the teachers. To address this issue the various rules and regulations of the school and the classroom practices were examined through a gender lens. In order to understand whether the students and teachers are aware of these gendered practices, their pereceptions were also anlysed. The research also suggests recommendations on how to eliminate the existing gendered practices in the school climates of Kerala and make the schools actual agencies of social change. Based on the conclusions arrived from analysis, the answers to the research questions are to be sought.

Do the schools in Kerala show any kind of discrimination between boys and girls in their overall school climate and the specific classroom practices?

The first research question was to find out whether any kind of discriminatory practice exist in the overall school climate and specific classroom practices of the primary and secondary schools of Kerala. To analyse this, observation was used as the method of data collection. The conclusion from the findings of analysis reveal that there are gendered practices prevalent in the primary and secondary schools of Kerala. The

findings also show that the rules and regulations of the schools themselves are gendered with regard to the dress code of girl students and women teachers, the entry -exit gates and timings of girls and boys, classroom practices, play provisions for boys and girls, teachers' eye contact and attention, teacher-student interactions, allocation of roles and responsibilities to students, disciplinary practices, grouping of students and the seating arrangement of boys and girls. Discriminatory rules and policies are enforced and practiced by all schools in the pretext of providing a more safe and sound environment for girls. But without knowing the consequences most of these protective measures are effected by putting unwanted restrictions upon girls and boy-girl interactions at secondary level. Majority of schools which control the mingling of boys and girls, focus more on girls' movements and their dressing.

When compared to primary schools, secondary schools follow more strict regulations for girls and boys as the adolescents are viewed as a vulnerable group by the teachers and school managements. They fear about the unfair relations that may spring up when boys and girls interact closely. This is in tune with the do's and don'ts enforced on girls in the popular culture when they reach the adolescent stage. It was also found that girls at primary are more smart and active than those at secondary stage who seemed to be more silent and passive even within the classrooms.

The overall gender segregation in the society and the gendered school environment has watered and nurtured the preference for same sex groups among boys and girls at both the primary and secondary levels. Majority of the schools have seated and grouped boys and girls in accordance with their gender except a few primary schools. With regard to play space and provisions, all the schools exhibit gendered nature. Boys are frequently engaged in the physical activities than girls inside or outside the classroom

and also in the playground. The classroom interactions of teachers were also discriminatory by focusing more on boys than girls. The findings showed that boys get more eye contact, attention and interactions with teachers than girls in the same classroom.

The findings also reveal that religion is a major factor influencing the formulation of rules and regulations of the aided and unaided schools. Muslim and Christian management schools were found to have more restrictions on girls and girl – boy interactions when compared to Hindu schools. Government schools in general were found to be more egalitarian but except one school, they also followed same sex seating and separate grouping in classroom activities. The protectionist approach followed by the aided and unaided schools need to be corrected as an empowering approach where girls will be enabled to discover their identities and boys will be enabled to accept girls as equals an d respect their individualities.

Do the boys and girls perceive any kind of bias in the approach and behavior of teachers and in the general school environment?

The second research question focuses on how the students perceive the practices in the school and the behaviour of teachers. The findings reveal that the concept of gender is unknown to the students. They imbibe what they experience at school and accept them as the norms and standards to be learned and upheld. With regard to the dress code, all the students, both boys and girls conveyed that the dressing style of girls need more restrictions. School climate favours gendered play provisions and the children have accepted them as natural and unproblematic. The analysis reveals that majority of students perceived football as a game appropriate for boys than girls. Just like that majority of boys opined sweeping and cleaning the classroom as a work appropriate for girls than boys. Majority of boys and girls agree with the idea of mixed play and seating but they obey the rules and regulations as such

without expressing their likes or interests. Thus the boys and girls though well aware of the differential standards and experiences they receive on being a boy or a girl, they accept them as natural and normal and totally ignorant about the concept of gender and its implications on their lives.

Do the teachers in the schools perceive any kind of bias in the overall school climate?

The third research question is to find out whether the teachers perceive gendered practices in the overall school climate. The findings of the present study revealed that the perceptions of teachers are gendered with traditional concepts regarding gender roles of men and women and subject choices of girls and boys. While assigning responsibilities, majority of teachers divide them equally among boys and girls, but a few of them still hold traditional gender role perceptions. A good proportion of teachers share the popular patriarchal notion that dressing style of girls provokes men and it may lead to sexual harassment and violence against them. Teachers perceived gender segregated mentality on students' academic performance and characteristics that encourage the construction of masculine and feminine identities. Most of the teachers opined that girls academic achievement are due to their hardworking while boys natural talented especially in the subjects like maths and science.

Teachers who are born and brought up in the patriarchal culture are also taking part in promoting gender segregation process among students through classroom practices. Teachers though following the gendered practices do so without realizing that their behaviours are gendered. Those few who have belief in gender equality confessed that they fail to promote it or take up any gender positive initiatives as they feel intimidated by the PTA. In general the youngsters among the teaching community seemed to have more progressive outlooks than their counterparts.

It was found that a few of the teachers share the patriarchal notion that girls need to care more about their dressing and must obey religious instructions regarding the same. Some of them opined that dressing style is a reason for the increasing violence against girls and women. The element of women blaming that is popular in the society is internalized by the teachers also. The perceptions of teachers get reflected in the curricular and co curricular experiences provided by them. The behaviours, practices and interactions of such teachers would serve to sustain the gender bias and discriminations in the society. Gender equality according to a few teachers is only an utopian idea and some of them have even declared 'men are men and women are only women'. Such statements highlight the extent to which they have internalized the notion of men as the norm and women as the inferior other. As opined by Sadker and Sadker (1986), most of the teachers are unaware that they treat boys and girls differently in the classroom and only when they become aware of the problem they can change their behavior.

Does the school environment foster values of gender equality among the growing minds of children?

School authorities who are products of a gendered culture reproduce the same culture in their institutions. Naturally gender segregation and discrimination is replicated rather than fostering values of gender equality. A few schools which tried to follow mixed seating had to withdraw the initiative as per the objections raised by the school PTAs. The school managements and administrators are sustaining gendered practices without being conscious of its impacts.

The socialization of gender within our schools assures that girls are made aware of their unequal status when compared to the boys at a younger age itself. Every time students are seated or lined up by gender, teachers are affirming that girls and boys should be treated differently. When different

behaviors are tolerated for boys than for girls because 'boys will be boys', schools are perpetuating the oppression of females. Gender bias in education is a severe hazardous problem that causes very few people to stand up and take notice. The victims of this bias have been trained through years of schooling to remain silent and passive, and so are unwilling to stand up and voice out the injustices meted onto them or about the unfair treatment they often receive.

The gender socialization or gender segregation process begins within the home itself and gets reaffirmed within the school through different classroom practices. The study also reveals that students have no awareness regarding the gendered practices and they perceived them as important factors in their life. Children assume that the females have lesser value or see them as lesser being compared to men, and that they should be subordinate and obedient to menfolk. Traditional gender identities, norms, ideals and gender role perceptions cannot be transformed all of a sudden and put onto bright progressive paths as they fail to break away from the stereotypic notions; which should change and this change should begin from our families and schools which are the primary centres of learning.

6.2. SUGGESTIONS FOR ELIMINATING GENDERED BEHAVIOURS FROM PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Across the world, schooling has not always fulfilled its potential as a change agent capable of challenging existing gender inequalities. However, in schools gender equality is central to achieving rights of not only access but participation, recognition and valuing of all children. It is also integral to improving the quality of education bringing in democracy in the classroom as democratic learning is based on gender equality and quality education. However, assumptions about what is appropriate for boys and girls to learn

often undermine aspirations for equality in pedagogy. Historical and geographical contexts play a crucial role in shaping these assumptions and creating the conditions in which an agenda for gender equality does or does not develop. All socialization agencies need to take up the responsibility and enhance their respective efforts to wipe away the unequal gender relations and gender division of labour that still persist in the Indian society and sustain the secondary status of women. In this regard the teachers, the parents, the school management, the state and other socialization agencies all have their respective roles to play.

6.2.1. Role of Teachers

The teacher is the heart of the classroom, the one who moulds and enhances the quality and the rich lifelong experience of learning. The teacher has the key role to provide a safe and gender friendly space for boys and girls to express themselves and simultaneously build gender disaggregated notions among students.

• Teachers should encourage mixed group activities in the classroom and structure the activities so that boys and girls get opportunities to cooperate and mingle with each other.

• Teachers should reduce the gender-role stereotyping through their own behaviours, classroom practices and language, especially when communicating with children.

• The interactions and communications in the classroom should be in such a way that ensures the breaking down of gendered hierarchies and power that exclude girls and women and increase the ability to challenge age old conceptions, prejudices and practices which have a negative toll on the empowerment of girls and women.

- Within classrooms, teachers can involve children in developing strategies for gender equality through changed pedagogies. Specific approaches focusing on particular topics, for example, helping children to understand sexual maturation without shame and discuss histories of feminism in different countries help dispel some of the ignorance that sustains gender inequality.

- Expectations about teachers to become effective change agents for gender equality – inside reformers – will not be met unless teachers are supported and empowered to do this through the coordinated efforts of pre-service training institutions, providers of in-service training and ongoing professional development.

- There is a striking lack of documentation with regard to gender equality strategies currently in use in classrooms. Teachers need to be made aware of how their pedagogies can sustain gender inequalities and have severe consequences for girls' and boys' learning. 'Gender sensitization' is not enough to empower teachers to develop gender responsive teaching methodologies and pedagogies that go beyond recognising gender stereotypes and questioning stereotypical expectations of boys and girls. Gender differences pervade the choice of learning style, assessment, students' ability to express their voice and use space, as well as how reforms geared to developing 'independent learners' are expressed and implemented.

- Teacher education courses should take it seriously and device special strategies to make prospective teachers engage in and understand the particular nuances of including local issues and involving problems based on these issues in the curriculum and pedagogy. For realising this it is essential to:

- Ensure that training staff are trained and have the capacity to provide strong examples of gender equitable pedagogies in all their teaching, as well as develop modules to be taught as part of all pre-service and in-service courses,

- Develop teachers' capacities to design and deliver gender equitable life-skills in the curriculum, as well as support them in their training (pre – and in-service) to live by the same principles and understandings.

- Strategies need to be explored for storing the knowledge about gender equitable pedagogies at schools and training centers, so that future teachers can learn and become motivated and the expensive start-up costs for developing programmes do not have to be repeated endlessly.

- Use resources that reflect the current and evolving roles of women and men in the society

- Incorporate diverse grouping for projects and activities.

- Encourage gender-fair language in all class room interactions.

- Ensure that students of both genders have comparable time and access to equipment and resources including the teachers, time and attention.

- Seek and ensure a balance of female and male representatives of historical and contemporary concepts, issues and events.

6.2.2 Role of the School Management

- The school environment should be made gender neutral to promote gender friendly and safe environment for children. It is the responsibility of the schools to create an educational environment free of gender bias.

- Provide gender sensitive education to students through gender sensitive teaching and learning materials.

- Take measures to change the curriculum and the classroom organisation which allow increased participation of girls and boys.

- Educational system needs to be gender sensitive and gender friendly by providing equal opportunities in sports, games and other cocurricular activities for girls and boys.

- A gender responsive school environment should be seriously practised through the interactions, communications and management of academic processes by addressing the specific needs of both girls and boys.

- The PTA needs to be strengthened to identify and address gender issues in homes and in educational institutions.

- Gender awareness must be provided to parents, teachers, office staff, administrators and other officials of school management.

6.2.3. Role of the State

- Through appropriate policies like scholarships, incentives and reservations, the government must ensure that all girls gain equal access to quality education and must take serious steps to provide equal opportunities of education free from gender discrimination.

- Take measures to implement the National Policy on Education effectively.

- Provide gender sensitization of the educators and policy makers, teachers and parents so as to make them aware of the existence of

gendered practices and their impacts on growing minds whereby such practices could be eliminated from the school system

• Gender sensitivity training must become part of PTA activities and pre service and in service teacher training.

• Curriculum planners and text book writers must be gender sensitized in its true spirit.

• The contents of textbooks require inputs from those who have struggled to bring women's voices, narratives, experiences and world views in to the academic mainstream.

• Handbooks and resource materials for teachers need to be developed in a gender sensitive manner. Thus gender roles and expectations reflected through textbooks should be gender sensitive to promote the concept of gender equality among students.

• Integrate inputs of Women's Studies Research in Textbooks, Syllabi and TeacherTraining.

• Government can lead campaigns and take initiatives to eradicate gender bias from curriculum, educational materials, text books and school practices through gender equity programmes in schools.

6.2.4. Role of Society

Family

• Notions of egalitarian relationships between men and women are to be nurtured by parents among children

• Ensure equal treatment of children and make them aware of the fact that sex of the child should never be a basis for discrimination.

- Since children learn much lessons on egalitarian men -women relationships from their parents through observational learning, parents should be role models to children.

Media

- Make timely modifications in their approaches and policies in tune with the gender mainstreaming efforts and avoid the gender stereotyping.

- Since media constantly reinforce the traditional stereotypes of women and men, it needs to undergo drastic changes in addressing gender issues by viewing things through a gender lens..

- The media should cover and telecast positive portrayal of women. Programmes should include real female heroes who have fought hard to reach great heights, who have excelled in leadership, science, social work etc. All this would be a source of inspiration to the young girls who are the women of tomorrow.

Religion

- Religious leaders must take a proactive role in changing the mindsets of men and women to dispense with the gendered traditions.

- Religious leaders should take initiatives to change the wrong traditions in our age old culture to foster and undergo timely modifications in their approaches.

- Each community must take initiatives to educate their girl children and take needy steps for further improvement. Early marriage and adolescent pregnancy which form barriers to education of girls must be discouraged. Religion is the most potent agent to bring about positive

changes in this regard. The protectionist approach needs to be modified into an empowering approach based on respectful behaviour.

•   Religions must also play a proactive role in changing the focus of attention from dress code of women to enhancing their mental horizons and enabling men to accept the bodily integrity of girls and women.

Complete elimination of gender bias in school climate is not possible as long as the society remains male dominated. Hence it should be the responsibility of all concerned - the government, policy makers, educationalists, administrators, teachers, parents, pupils and the community to ensure that education is free of gender bias.

6.2.5. Further Research

In educational research, gender bias is an important area of research which is multidimensional in nature and like any other research it is an unending phenomenon. The findings of the present study identify the scope of further research on several aspects in the education system. The present study was focussed on gendered practices in the school climate and explored the perceptions of students and teachers on them. School management has a significant role in perpetuating gendered practices in the school climate and detailed studies are required to analyse how the school management perceived the gendered practices in the schools.

There is scope for further research to focus on the curriculum, especially the content analysis of the text books at various levels of schooling. Research on gender bias in enrolment, retention, subject and institutional choices etc with a gender perspective is also required. The gendering practices in single sex and co-education schools also need to be compared.

The present study was limited to the primary and secondary schools

only, so research can be elaborated in to the higher secondary levels also. This will provide detailed information about the gender bias and discrimination involved in the choice of college, subject etc. of girls and boys.

The present research has not provided a comparison of the perceptions of male and female teachers on gendered practices and hence an investigation into this aspect is essential. Further studies centered on the experiences of teacher trainees in teacher training institutions would also add to the understandings on gender bias and practices adopted by teachers.

Another area of further research based on this study is regarding the role of religion as a socialisation agency and how it impact upon the school climate and classroom practices. Familial socialisation was found to have strong influence on gender identities and gender role socialisation of children as evident from the responses of the primary school children. Hence studies on gender socialisation happening in families need to be probed further. Similarly the gendering effected through other socialisation agencies like media and peer group also need to be explored with a gender perspective.

Appendices

Appendix I

Observation Checklist for Gendered Behaviors Exhibited by Teachers in the Classroom

Name of School:

School Type   **:**   Management/ Aided/ Govt.

Management   **:**   Muslim/Hindu/Christian/Others

Class   **:**   3rdStd/ 9thStd

Sl. No.	Statements	Frequency
1.	Gendered examples given	
2.	Teachers interact more with girls than boys	
3.	Teachers interact more with boys than girls	
4.	Teachers interact with boys when the topic is 'masculine'	
5.	Teachers interact with girls when the topic is 'feminine'	
6.	Calling on male students more often	
7.	Calling on female students more often	
8.	Teacher attention focused more on girls	
9.	Teacher attention focused more on boys	
10.	Boys get more eye contact when the topic is masculine	
11.	Girls get more eye contact when the topic is feminine	
12.	Boys get more eye contact while asking questions	
13.	Girls get more eye contact while asking questions	
14.	Male students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	
15.	Female students get more eye contact during classroom discussion	
16.	Grouping students into same sex groups during group activities	
17.	Grouping students into mixed groups during classroom activities	
18.	Boys are scolded for misbehavior	

Sl. No.	Statements	Frequency
19.	Girls are scolded for misbehavior	
20.	Double standards in perceiving misbehavior of girls and boys	
21.	Teacher ignores girls' indiscipline	
22.	Teacher ignores boys's indiscipline	
23.	Seating the student with the opposite sex as a classroom management strategy	
24.	Girls deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	
25.	Boys deputed for bringing material requirement like chalk, duster and other teaching aids	
26.	Boys entrusted with classroom cleaning	
27.	Girls entrusted with classroom cleaning	
28.	Boys assigned classroom leadership	
29.	Girls assigned classroom leadership	
30.	Boys deputed to read the lessons	
31.	Girls deputed to read the lessons	
32.	Boys deputed to control the class in the absence of teacher	
33.	Girls deputed to control the class in the absence of teacher	

Appendix II

Observation Checklist for Gendered Behavior Exhibited by Students

Name of School :

School Type : Management/ Aided/ Govt.

Management : Muslim/Hindu/Christian/Others

Class : 3rdStd/9thStd

Sl. No.	Statements	Frequency
1.	Students talk freely with their opposite sex	
2.	Students prefer to sit with their group only	
3.	Boys and girls quarrel with each other	
4.	Boys mingle with opposite sex during intervals	
5.	Girls mingle with opposite sex during intervals	
6.	Boys move around freely throughout the class during intervals	
7.	Girls move around freely throughout the class during intervals	
8.	Discourage mingling between girls and boys	
9.	Students talk freely with their opposite sex	
10.	Boys are louder and talkative in the class	
11.	Girls are louder and talkative in the class	
12.	Boys participate more actively in classroom activities than girls	
13.	Girls participate more actively in classroom activities than boys	
14.	Boys actively engaged in clarifying doubts and answering questions	
15.	Girls are actively engaged in clarifying doubts and answering questions	

Sl. No.	Statements	Frequency
16.	Girls show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	
17.	Boys show inhibition to engage in mixed group activities	
18.	Boys select /masculine roles while playing	
19.	Boys move around freely throughout the class during intervals	
20.	Girls move around freely throughout the class during intervals	
21.	Boys are louder and talkative in the class	
22.	Girls are louder and talkative in the class	

Appendix III

Interview Guide on Perceptions of Teachers Regarding SchoolPractices

Name   :

Gender   :

Name of School   :

Standard   :   3rd /   9th

Type of School   :   Management/ Aided/ Govt.

Type of Management   :   Muslim/Hindu/Christian/Others

1.   Dress code of girls and boys in school

2.   Seating arrangements of students in the classroom

3.   Group activities of students in classroom (boys only/girls only/mixed)

4.   Teacher interaction with boys and girls

5.   Interaction between boys and girls

6.   Assignment of roles and responsibilities to girls and boys

7.   Play provisions of boys and girls

8.   Disciplinary practices followed

9.   Academic achievement and student performance in the classroom

10.   Gender roles of boys and girls, men and women

11.   Assessment of boys and girls efficiency in school subjects

12.   Preference in subject choice of boys and girls

13.   Handling of student issues in the school and outside the school

14.   Reaction to an instance of harassment faced by a girl student in school or in public spaces

Inventory on Perceptions of Students Regarding School Practices

Name   :   Male/Female

Name of the School   :

Type of School   :   Management/ Government/ Aided/ Unaided

Management   :   Muslim / Christian / Hindu

Standard   :   3rd /   9th

Instructions: A few statements related to your individual perceptions on school programs and boy- girl attributes are given below. Mark your responses in the appropriate columns.

Sl. No.	Statement	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree
1.	Boys should be permitted to move in and around the classroom and the school compound			
2.	Girls should be permitted to move in and around the classroom and the school compound.			
3.	Friendship between boys and girls must be promoted			
4.	Mixed seating of girls and boys in the class is good			
5.	Closer mingling between boys and girls is not good			
6.	Sharing things like books, pencil and food items between boys and girls is to be encouraged			
7.	Girls may talk loud in the classroom			
8.	Boys may talk loud in the classroom			
9.	Teachers give more concern and attention to boys in the class			
10.	Teachers give more concern and attention to girls in the class			

Sl. No.	Statement	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree
11.	Mixed grouping of students must be followed in classroom activities.			
12.	Teachers show double standards in punishing boys and girls			
13.	Strict restrictions must be enforced with regard to the dress code of girl students			
14.	Strict restrictions must be enforced with regard to the dress code of boy students			
15.	Boys and girls should be permitted to play together			
16.	Football is a game for boys			
17.	Football is a game for girls			
18.	Skipping is more suited to girls than boys			
19.	Skipping is more suited to boys than girls			
20.	Touch and run is the game of boys			
21.	Touch and run is the game of girls			
22.	Badminton is more suitable for boys			
23.	Badminton is more suitable for girls			
24.	Both boys and girls are equally capable of taking up the responsibilities of a school leader/class leader			
25.	Boys and girls are equally responsible for sweeping the floor			
26.	Girls are more good than boys at controlling the class in the absence of teacher			
27.	Boys are more good than girls at controlling the class in the absence of teacher			
28.	Chanting the prayer and national anthem are to be done by girls			
29.	Chanting the prayer and national anthem are to be done by boys			

AppendixIV(B)

Inventory on Perceptions of Students Regarding School Practices

പേര്   :   ആൺ/പെൺ

സ്കൂളിന്റെ പേര്   :

സ്കൂൾ   :   മാനേജ്മെന്റ്/ഗവൺമെന്റ്/എയ്ഡഡ്/അൺഎയ്ഡഡ്

മാനേജ്മെന്റ്   :   മുസ്ലിം/ക്രിസ്ത്യൻ/ഹിന്ദു

ക്ലാസ്   :

നിർദ്ദേശം:   താഴെ കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രസ്താവനകൾക്ക് അനുയോജ്യമായ കോളത്തിൽ 'ᐯ' അടയാളം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുക

ക്രമന മ്പർ	പ്രസ്താവനകൾ	യോജി ക്കുന്നു	തീർച്ച യില്ല	വിയോജി ക്കുന്നു
1.	ആൺകുട്ടികൾ ക്ലാസ്സിലോ സ്കൂൾ കോമ്പൗ ിലോ ഇറങ്ങി നടക്കുന്നതുകൊ ് കുഴപ്പമില്ല			
2.	പെൺകുട്ടികൾ ക്ലാസിലോ സ്കൂൾ കോമ്പൗ ിലോ ഇറങ്ങി നടക്കുന്നതുകൊ ് കുഴപ്പമില്ല			
3.	ആൺകുട്ടിയും പെൺകുട്ടിയും തമ്മിൽ സൗഹൃദം ഉ ാകുന്നത് നല്ലതല്ല			
4.	ക്ലാസിൽ ആൺകുട്ടികളേയും പെൺകുട്ടിക ളേയും ഇടകലർത്തി ഇരുത്തേ താണ്.			
5.	ആൺകുട്ടികളും പെൺകുട്ടികളും തമ്മിൽ സംസാരിക്കുന്നതും ഇടപഴകുന്നതും നല്ലതല്ല			
6.	ആൺകുട്ടികളും പെൺകുട്ടികളും ക്ലാസിൽ പെൻസിൽ, ഭക്ഷണം, പുസ്തകം തുടങ്ങിയ സാധനങ്ങൾ കൈമാറുന്നത് നല്ലതല്ല			
7.	പെൺകുട്ടികൾ ക്ലാസിൽ ഉച്ചത്തിൽ സംസാരി ക്കുന്നതുകൊ ് കുഴപ്പമില്ല			
8.	ആൺകുട്ടികൾ ക്ലാസിൽ ഉച്ചത്തിൽ സംസാരി ക്കുന്നതുകൊ ് കുഴപ്പമില്ല			
9.	അധ്യാപകർ ആൺകുട്ടികൾക്ക് കൂടുതൽ ശ്രദ്ധയും പരിഗണനയും നൽകാറു ്			
10.	അധ്യാപകർ പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്ക് കൂടുതൽ ശ്രദ്ധയും പരിഗണനയും നൽകാറു ്			
11.	ആൺകുട്ടികളും പെൺകുട്ടികളും ഒരുമിച്ച് കളി ക്കുന്നതുകൊ ് കുഴപ്പമില്ല			

ക്രമന മ്പർ	പ്രസ്താവനകൾ	യോജി ക്കുന്നു	തീർച്ച യില്ല	വിയോജി ക്കുന്നു
12.	അധ്യാപകർ ആൺകുട്ടികളെയും പെൺകുട്ടിക ളെയും ശിക്ഷിക്കുന്നത് വ്യത്യസ്ത രീതിയി ലാണ്			
13.	ക്ലാസിൽ പഠനവുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ട പ്രവർത്തന ങ്ങൾ ആൺകുട്ടികളും പെൺകുട്ടികളും ഉൾപ്പെ ടുന്ന ഗ്രൂപ്പായി നടത്തുന്നതാണ് നല്ലത്			
14.	പെൺകുട്ടികളുടെ വസ്ത്രധാരണത്തിന് പ്രത്യേകം നിഷ്കർഷ ആവശ്യമു			
15.	ആൺകുട്ടികളുടെ വസ്ത്രധാരണത്തിന് പ്രത്യേകം നിഷ്കർഷ ആവശ്യമു			
16.	ഫുട്ബാൾ ആൺകുട്ടികളുടെ കളിയാണ്			
17.	ഫുട്ബാൾ പെൺകുട്ടികളുടെയും കളിയാണ്			
18	വള്ളിച്ചാട്ടം പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്ക് യോജിക്കുന്ന കളിയാണ്.			
19	വള്ളിച്ചാട്ടം ആൺകുട്ടികൾക്ക് യോജിക്കുന്ന കളിയാണ്.			
20	ഓടിക്കളി ആൺകുട്ടികളുടെ കളിയാണ്.			
21	ഓടിക്കളി പെൺകുട്ടികളുടെ കളിയാണ്.			
22.	ഷട്ടിൽ ആൺകുട്ടികൾക്കാണ് കൂടുതൽ അനു യോജ്യം			
23	ഷട്ടിൽ പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്കാണ് കൂടുതൽ അനു യോജ്യം			
24	ക്ലാസ് ലീഡർ/സ്കൂൾ ലീഡർ, ആൺകുട്ടി കൾക്കും പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ചെയ്യാവുന്നതാണ്.			
25	ക്ലാസ് വൃത്തിയാക്കേ ത് ആൺകുട്ടികളും പെൺകുട്ടികളും ഒരുപോലെ ചെയ്യേ താണ്			
26	അധ്യാപകർ ഇല്ലാത്ത സമയം ക്ലാസ് നിയന്ത്രി ക്കാൻ ആൺകുട്ടികൾക്കാണ് കഴിയുന്നത്.			
27	അധ്യാപകർ ഇല്ലാത്ത സമയത്ത് ക്ലാസ് നിയന്ത്രി ക്കാൻ പെൺകുട്ടികൾക്കാണ് കഴിയുന്നത്.			
28	ദേശീയഗാനം/പ്രാർത്ഥന/പ്രതിജ്ഞ എന്നിവ ആൺകുട്ടികൾ ചൊല്ലുന്നതാണ് നല്ലത്.			
29	ദേശീയഗാനം/പ്രാർത്ഥന/പ്രതിജ്ഞ എന്നിവ പെൺകുട്ടികൾ ചൊല്ലുന്നതാണ് നല്ലത്.			