

Girls' Education in Turkey: Barriers, Interventions, and Opportunities



Girls' Education in Turkey: Barriers, Interventions, and Opportunities

AUGUST 2022



SUNA'NIN KIZLARI

My mother, Suna Kır , always believed that society should mobilize to ensure that girls receive a well-rounded education and be equipped with the knowledge and competencies required by our current age. Throughout her life, she founded a series of important organizations to demonstrate what this mobilization should look like. This is how the journey for Suna'nın Kızları, meaning Suna's Girls, began, by continuing my mother's legacy and realizing her dreams for children.

As you will see in this report, we have analyzed important projects on girls' education in Turkey to draw up a roadmap for Suna'nın Kızları. We were inspired by how far we have come in girls' enrollment in education and gained a great deal of insight from these projects. Building all the improvements in girls' education, we decided to pursue the goal of creating supportive environments where all children can participate in life equally, just as my mother had dreamed.

Right now, the world is going through a period where we are faced with multiple challenges. These challenges pose major problems that will require great effort to solve. However, I believe if we can create safe and supportive environments for children who live under adverse conditions, then we can contribute to solving most of these problems.

I would like to adopt one of my mother's quotes as a motto for myself and for Suna'nın Kızları:

"We do not plan for the fog in front of us but for the bright horizon that lies ahead."

İpek Kır 

Founder of Suna'nın Kızları

ABOUT SUNA'NIN KIZLARI

Suna'nın Kızları was founded in 2021 by Suna Kırac's daughter, İpek Kırac, under the auspices of the Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation in order to honor Suna Kırac, a businessperson who greatly contributed to the development of industry, education, culture, and arts in Turkey.

Building upon the generations-long work on school enrollment, Suna'nın Kızları aims to create supportive and safe educational environments for girls to help them reach their full potentials. Adopting a collective impact approach, Suna'nın Kızları supports coalitions of stakeholders in girls' education, monitors their impact, and aims to develop education-based models to create a supportive ecosystem for children.

Adopting girl-centered program design as an approach, Suna'nın Kızları ensures that the structures and programs it supports take the unique needs of girls from disadvantaged backgrounds into account and develops models to benefit both girls and boys.

ABOUT EDUCATION REFORM INITIATIVE

The Education Reform Initiative (ERG) is an independent not-for-profit think-and-do-tank that contributes to the systemic transformation of education for the greater benefit of the child and society as a whole by using sound evidence, constructive dialogue, and opinions gathered from various stakeholders. The key elements of systemic transformation include evidence-based decision-making processes, stakeholder engagement, and the access of all children to quality education.

ERG carries out its research and education activities through the ERG Education Observatory Unit and Education Laboratory and oversees the Teachers' Network. Established in 2003, ERG strives to be an exemplary model for the Turkish society in its function as an NGO, being an initiative supported by leading foundations in Turkey, including the Mother Child Education Foundation, Aydın Dođan Foundation, Borusan Kocabıyk Foundation, Elginkan Foundation, ENKA Foundation, İstanbul Bilgi University, İstanbul Kltr University, Kadir Has Foundation, Mehmet Zorlu Foundation, MV Holding, Sabancı University, Tekfen Foundation, Vodafone Turkey Foundation, Vehbi Koç Foundation, and Yapı Merkezi.

Author

Dr. Aysel Madra

Coordinator

Dr. Aysel Madra

Contributors

Ahu Özyurt

Burcu Gündüz Maşalacı

Burcu Meltem Arık

Melda Akbaş

Pınar Eldemir

Yeliz Düşkün

Prepared for Publication by

Ahu Özyurt

Burcu Gündüz Maşalacı

Graphic Design by

Volkan Şenozan

Infographics by

Visual Editor: Gizem Kıyıcı

Design: Informal Project

Graphs by

MYRA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous people and organizations have shown support for us over the course of this research. We would like to thank all the experts, organization representatives, and academics who have spared their time to share their knowledge and experience with us. We are sincerely grateful for the organizations that participated in the experience sharing and consultation sessions and connected us with the teachers and girls in the focus group meetings, for the teachers who gave depth to our study by sharing their insights so openly, and, finally, for all the dear girls who contributed to our study. We would also like to thank Pınar Eldemir for all her meticulous work in data collection and sorting, and Gizem Kıyıcı for her contributions to the spatialization of the data and the creation of the infographics.

CONTENTS

Graphs, Tables, and Infographics	6
Abbreviations	7
I. Introduction	8
II. Research Process, Methods, and Limitations	9
III. Mapping Study	12
Ecological Network and Methods Employed by Organizations	12
Capability Approach and Education	13
Girls' Education and Capability Indicators	15
Analysis of Organizations Committed to Girls' Education Using the Capability Approach	17
Infographics	22
IV. Findings on the Current Situation of Girls' Education	28
Findings on Girls' Access to Education	28
Findings on Girls' Needs in Different Developmental Stages	31
Findings on an Ecosystem that Supports Girls	35
V. In Lieu of a Conclusion	37
References	39
Annex - Graphs	44

GRAPHS, TABLES AND INFOGRAPHICS

Table 1: Capability indicators for girls

Infographic 1: Ecological network and methods employed by organizations

Infographic 2: Distribution of interventions of capability sets

Infographic 3: Physical capability

Infographic 4: Economic capability

Infographic 5: Intellectual capability

Infographic 6: Social and political capability

Graph 1: Distribution of organization type by methods employed

Graph 2: Distribution of organizations' activities directly focusing on girls

Graph 3: Distribution of organizations' activities directly targeting girls by school level

Graph 4: Distribution of projects implemented by organizations by target group

Graph 5: Distribution of projects implemented by focus area

Graph 6: Distribution of training projects for teachers, administrators and families by focus group

Graph 7: Distribution of projects on girls' empowerment

Graph 8: Distribution of academic education projects by activity type

Graph 9: Distribution of projects on gender equality and prevention of early /child marriages

Graph 10: Distribution of projects on education and health by activity type

Graph 11: Distribution of projects providing aid and scholarships by activity type

Graph 12: Distribution of projects on culture, arts and socialization by activity type

Graph 13: Distribution of projects on access to education by activity type

ABBREVIATIONS

BSV:	Başak Culture and Art Foundation
CCTE:	Conditional Cash Transfer for Education
CEFM:	Child, Early and Forced Marriage
DYA:	Deep Poverty Network
ERG:	Education Reform Initiative
GPE:	Global Partnership for Education
ICESCR:	International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
KPSS:	Selection Examination for Professional Posts in Public Organizations
MoFSS	Ministry of Family and Social Services
MoNE:	Ministry of (National) Education
NGO:	Non-governmental organization
OECD:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PIKTES:	Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System
PISA:	Programme for International Student Assessment
SGD:	Sulukule Volunteers Association
STEM:	Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics
TESEV:	Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TIMSS:	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TTM:	Tarlabaşı Community Center
TurkStat:	Turkish Statistical Institute
TÜSİAD:	Turkish Industry and Business Association
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCRC:	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WB:	World Bank
WEF:	World Economic Forum
ZAD:	Small Projects Istanbul (Zeytin Ağacı Derneği in Turkish)

I. INTRODUCTION

Despite all the improvements that have been made in education, 130 million girls around the world do not attend school.¹ The barriers girls face in accessing and receiving quality education include poverty, the increasing cost of schooling, cultural and social factors, child, early, and forced marriages (CEFM), child labor, and the burden of care and domestic work.² Beyond the problems in access to education, gender inequalities in schooling prevent girls from actual learning and completing their educational levels with maximal success.

The COVID-19 pandemic has deepened the inequalities faced by girls and all children who are at a disadvantage. Some studies predict that between 11 and 20 million girls will not return to school after the pandemic ends.³ The World Bank (WB) has reported that the rate of children experiencing learning poverty, defined as “being unable to read and understand a simple age-appropriate text at age 10,” could increase from 56% to 70% in low- and middle-income countries.⁴ The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) predicts that over the next decade, 10 million more girls will be forced to get married early and by force as a result of the pandemic.⁵

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Articles 28, 29 and 30 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), and Articles 13 and 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) define the right to education as a basic human right. These covenants — all of which Turkey is a signatory to — protect children’s right to free and equally accessible basic education, without discrimination of any kind, including gender discrimination.

Like everywhere else around the world, in Turkey, the COVID-19 pandemic has had the most severe adverse effects on children who were already at a disadvantage. According to a study conducted with children from various neighborhoods of Istanbul, children have been facing a range of difficulties exercising their rights during the pandemic, including their right to education.⁶ Another study in Istanbul conducted by Deep Poverty Network (DYA) with 103 families found that 58% of children from these families in poverty were not able to sustain remote schooling.⁷ Experts state that domestic violence cases have increased during the pandemic, and that children who do not or cannot attend school are at a higher risk for child labor, child marriages, and childhood pregnancy.⁸ Risks of adverse events, along with lack of access to remote education, are believed to be even higher for girls.

1 UNICEF, 2022.

2 GPE, 2022.

3 Kwauk, Schmidt and Ganju, 2021.

4 WB, UNESCO and UNICEF, 2021.

5 UNICEF, 2021a.

6 BSV, SGD, TTM and ZAD, 2020.

7 DYA, 2021.

8 Gencer, Kesbiç and Arık, 2021, pp. 10-11.

When girls have access to quality education this not only improves their own or their families' welfare, but also positively affects women's employment, economic prosperity, gender equality, climate resilience, and social stability.⁹ A child whose mother can read is 50% more likely to live past the age of 5 and twice as likely to go to school.¹⁰ There is a close relationship between education, particularly girls' education, and economic growth. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF), every dollar invested in girls' rights and education could yield \$2.8 in benefits for developing countries.¹¹

This report includes the main findings of a study conducted by Suna'nın Kızları, an organization that focuses on girls who do not have access to education, who are not in school despite being enrolled in schools, or who do not receive a quality education despite completing schooling. The organization, which aims to "create an ecosystem where girls have access to educational opportunities that match their developmental needs and graduate with the maximum outcome possible," has conducted this study to contribute to evidence-based decision making.

II. RESEARCH PROCESS, METHODS, AND LIMITATIONS

The study was conducted between May 2021 and February 2022 to prepare the ground for the future projects that Suna'nın Kızları will develop and conduct related to girls' education in Turkey, and to contribute to evidence-based decision making in general. To meet these objectives, this study reviewed findings from past research conducted in this area and identified the current needs, gaps, and opportunities with regards to girls' education, in the following ways:

1. Reports published by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), think-tanks, and academic publications on girls' education in Turkey were reviewed. An international literature review, focusing on trends in girls' education identified by prominent international organizations and effective intervention methods in other nations, was conducted.
2. Between June and August 2021, information on 127 educational organizations and their activities was collected directly and indirectly through surveys and secondary research. In addition to the 243 projects conducted by these organizations, 28 projects conducted by the Ministry of Education (MoNE) and the Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFFS) were included in the study. Including organizations that work on girls' health and employment would have contributed to our analysis of the relationship between girls' education and gender equality. However, as the expansion of the study's scope would have presented methodological difficulties, only those associations, research centers, foundations, international NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations that are legally registered and operate at the local, regional, and national level in Turkey and that satisfy at least one of the following criteria were included in this study:

9 GPE, 2021.

10 Ibid.

11 Qin et al., 2020

- Organizations that focus on girls' education,
- Organizations that focus on education and gender equality,
- Organizations that focus on education in general, though not exclusively targeting girls,
- Organizations that access structural barriers to girls' access to education (such as child, early and forced marriages, child poverty, etc.).

Recent projects conducted by these organizations that targeted girls directly or targeted them among other groups were also included in this study.

After performing a descriptive analysis of the collected data, a mapping study was conducted using the "capability approach"¹² that was developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum and which serves as the foundation for the Human Development Index published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as the "ecological systems approach"¹³ developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner.

Although the organizations included in the study were limited to organizations working in the field of education, the list of girls' developmental needs was comprehensive, as it included not only educational needs but also those related to health, participation, and protection. The goal for this approach was to understand how well the interventions studied here responded to girls' comprehensive developmental needs and how they defined education.

3. Over the course of the study, a total of 31 interviews were conducted with experts, academicians, and representatives from various organizations that work closely with girls and other groups that need support through special measures.
4. In June 2021, three online consultation and experience-sharing sessions were held with 19 different NGOs that work one-on-one with the children in the field, including ones based in Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Mardin, and Batman.
5. In October 2021, two focus group meetings were held online with a total of 15 pre-primary, primary, and lower secondary level teachers from Batman, Van, Gaziantep, Malatya, Zonguldak, Mardin, Muş, Kocaeli, Aydın, İzmir, Balıkesir, Istanbul, Denizli, and Izmir. These teachers who were contacted through stakeholder organizations. In addition to teachers employed at private and public primary schools, those who participated in these focus group meetings included teachers of History, Religious Culture and Ethics, Turkish, Technology and Design, Visual Arts, and Psychological Counseling and Guidance who were employed at vocational and technical Anatolian (magnet) high schools, personal development centers, as well as special education middle schools and imam-hatip religious middle schools. The teachers who participated in these focus group sessions had received prior training in education and gender equality and already possessed a high level of awareness on the subject. Topics discussed in these sessions included the challenges for girls' holistic development, tools girls can use to overcome these challenges, and the support mechanisms that teachers readily have or need in order to better support girls.

12 Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000.

13 Bronfenbrenner, 2001.

6. Between October 2021 and February 2022, eight virtual and in-person focus group sessions¹⁴ were held with girls between the ages of 9 and 18 who lived in the cities of Istanbul, Urfa, Yozgat, Kütahya, Ankara, Bitlis, Muş, and Konya, and who were contacted through stakeholder organizations:

- Five girls who live in two disadvantaged neighborhoods of Urfa and were in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 11th grades; this group included non-native speakers of Turkish, including Syrian refugees. (in person),
- Eight girls who resided in a school dormitory in Yozgat and were in the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grades (virtual),
- Four girls who live in Kütahya, Ankara, Bitlis, and İstanbul, and were in the 10th and 11th grades (virtual),
- Four girls who live in Muş, Konya, and Istanbul and were in the 12th grade (virtual),
- Two separate focus group meetings with girls who live in a socioeconomically disadvantaged Istanbul neighborhood with high crime and immigration rates; the first group consisted of six girls who were in the 3rd and 4th grades, and the second group consisted of six girls who were in the 5th and 6th grades (in person),
- Two separate focus group meetings with girls who live in a neighborhood of Istanbul containing informal, slum housing; the first group consisted of six girls who were in the 3rd and 4th grades, and the second group consisted of six girls who were in the 5th and 6th grades (in person).

During the focus group meetings, the conversations with girls from different age groups and provinces centered on how their age, educational level, area of residence, socioeconomic status, and immigration history affected what they could achieve and what the girls needed to realize their dreams. Since the girls who participated in these focus group meetings were contacted through stakeholder organizations, they were enrolled in school and supported through the programs carried out by the NGOs. It should be noted here that the capabilities and needs of this group might differ from girls who are not enrolled in school or have otherwise been pushed out of the system.

The primary goal of this study was to identify the current needs girls have as well as gaps and opportunities for intervention, all of which will guide the future activities of Suna'nın Kızları. Although the findings in the study are not representative of all of Turkey, they have the potential to paint a more comprehensive picture by expanding their scope over time. This can involve increasing the number of organizations or the number of projects conducted by NGOs and governmental ministries, or incorporating local governments that provide services to children and bar associations that work in child protection to the mapping study. These additions would also help identify gaps in collaboration among different sectors. Finally, the monitoring and evaluation work and impact assessments of the included studies were not examined as they did not fall within the scope of this study.

14 The focus group meetings were planned by the organizations with whom Suna'nın Kızları is in active communication. The necessary consent processes were completed by these stakeholder organizations as well. Most meetings included a representative from the organization, as required by the organization's child protection policies.

On November 29, 2021, a brainstorming session was held to share the work conducted by Suna'nın Kızları, including the results of this study, with 43 experts from academia, civil society organizations, and municipal governments who work in the field of children's and women's rights. Below is a mapping study, created using the capability approach, that summarizes the qualitative findings obtained from the interviews and focus group meetings.

III. MAPPING STUDY

The mapping study included 127 civil society organizations in the field of education and 243 projects conducted by these organizations, as well as 28 projects conducted by government ministries. First, these organizations were analyzed in terms of location, methods employed, and target group (Infographic 1). Next, the activities and projects of these organizations were analyzed using the capability approach (Infographics 2- 6).

Ecological Network and Methods Employed by Organizations

Of the 127 organizations included in the study, 70 claim to work at the national level. 56 organizations were found to focus predominantly on the Marmara region, 19 on the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions, and 18 on the Aegean region. Only a limited number of organizations conduct their activities mainly in the Central Anatolia (11), Mediterranean (9) and Black Sea (8) regions.¹⁵ The reason so many organizations mainly focus on the Marmara region is due to the high number of organizations active in Istanbul.

The methods used by the organizations for reaching their goals include forming networks and partnerships, conducting monitoring and research, providing financial support, capacity building, engaging in advocacy work, and implementing programs and projects. It was observed that some methods were preferred over others, both nationwide and in specific regions. Looking in detail at the distribution of the methods used (APPENDIX-Graph 1),¹⁶ implementing programs and projects appeared to be the most commonly used method, followed by forming networks, conducting monitoring and/or research, providing scholarships or financial aid, and developing the capacity of actors in the education field, all four of which were used in equal measure of frequency. Among the studied organizations, providing funds/grants was the method employed least often. Those organizations which provide funds/grants were primarily based in Istanbul and Ankara.

15 Organizations are counted each time they are active in a region. Therefore, the total number of organizations in all regions is higher than the number of organizations included in the mapping study.

16 This graph includes 121 organizations.

Among the organizations included in the study, 83 of them, or 65%, had specific programs or activities that directly focused on girls. Analyzing the educational level that these organizations focus on, lower and upper secondary were determined to be the levels where the greatest amount of focus was placed, whereas pre-primary and primary were the least focused on levels, along with girls outside of formal education.

In analyzing the organizations by the partnerships they form at the national and regional level, NGOs were found to collaborate with other NGOs the most, followed by public and private organizations and, least of all, municipal governments.

Next, an analysis of the extent to which the activities and the projects undertaken by these organizations support girls' capability in Turkey was conducted.

The Capability Approach and Education

The "capability approach" developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum defines well-being in a way that goes beyond mere financial well-being and instead evaluates the extent to which people are able to use their rights and freedoms, the amount of agency they have in determining their lives, and also additional environmental and social factors.¹⁷

Based on this approach, an important indicator for well-being is having "capabilities", by which they mean the amount of freedom individuals have to be and to do things they value. Accordingly, well-being and welfare should not only be measured by the resources individuals have but also by what they can achieve with these resources.

The transformation of capabilities into action,¹⁸ or "functionalities", depends on the individual and environmental and social conditions. The beings and doings of a person is part of their capability set. Individual differences and environmental and social factors ("conversion factors") can help the person be or do the things they value and help them achieve their capabilities. Therefore, once the necessary conditions are available for developing capabilities, it is ultimately up to the person whether they achieve these capabilities or not.

The capability approach presents a framework that can help analyze the inequalities in education in a comprehensive way.¹⁹ "Asking "equality of what" emphasizes the importance of providing fair opportunity for children, as opposed to providing children who are under different conditions with equal resources or targeting similar achievements for them. The social justice emphasis of the capability approach not only takes into consideration the rights children have (e.g., the right to access to education) but also the degree to which they can actually use these rights and thereby allows for the creation of interventions based on children's needs.

17 Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2000.

18 Semerci et al., 2021, p. 11.

19 Walker and Unterhalter, 2007.

According to this approach, the emphasis should be on studying the broader relationship between children's opportunities and their "educational outputs", instead of creating policies that focus on outputs, such as enrollment rates or test scores. For example, a girl who has to enroll in open high school²⁰ because she is married and a girl who chooses to enroll in open high school to better prepare for the university entrance exam will experience education under different circumstances and thereby need different support mechanisms.

Focusing on individual needs requires prioritizing "the well-being of the child" by taking "a holistic approach to the child's welfare and development that aims at securing their wellness in different areas, such as health, financial status, education, home and surrounding environment, and relationships."²¹ The capability approach aims to achieve this child-focused well-being²² by identifying the various needs of the child, including their physical, social, intellectual, economic, and political needs. In providing children the opportunity to access things they value while securing their well-being, the capability approach focuses on the future and present capabilities of children.²³

The capability approach employs an individualistic perspective, but instead of only focusing on self-realization, it adopts "ethical individualism" and places capabilities within a social framework.²⁴ In other words, it suggests that being and doing things of value cannot exist outside of a person's social environment, and that these things also affect and shape others who share the same environment.

It is here where the ecological systems approach helps us identify the environments that facilitate the conversion of capabilities into functionalities.²⁵ The ecological systems approach, developed by Bronfenbrenner in the 1970s²⁶, describes the interaction between the child and their environment by using four interrelated systems (micro, meso, exo and macro). In this child-centered model, the microsystem, which consists of the actors closest to the child, such as family, school, peers, and neighborhood, influences a child most directly. Experiencing life within and through these systems, a child can be influenced by, and also influence, others in the same environment. In other words, a child's development depends on their experiences within these systems.²⁷ The ecological systems approach suggests that it's essential for a child to have positive, active relationships with the actors around them during their development to increase their capabilities and achieve well-being.²⁸

20 Open high school is a distance learning-based alternative to traditional high schools.

21 Semerci and Erdoğan, 2014., p. 6.

22 Semerci et al., 2012, p. 11.

23 Ibid., p. 6,11.

24 Robeyns, 2003, p. 65.

25 Shinn, 2005.

26 Bronfenbrenner, 2001.

27 TEDMEM, 2022.

28 Semerci et al., 2012, p. 12.

“The capability approach” shows the degree to which gender inequalities in education persist, specifically for girls.²⁹ Some examples include representations in textbooks which reinforce traditional gender roles, gender-based inequalities in the teaching processes, gender differences in the selection of schools and occupations, as well as gender-based differences in teachers’ and administrators’ attitudes and behavior. Also emphasizing the relationship between girls’ opportunities and their achievements, the capability approach suggest that education policies should place importance on the girls’ “freedom to achieve” as well as on their actual achievements. This approach takes gender-based intersectionality into consideration and highlights the necessity of developing different support mechanisms for girls based on their individual needs.

Girls’ Education and Capability Indicators

One of the central debates related to the capability approach is whether a list of central capabilities should exist or not. Amartya Sen believes that creating a moral framework agreed upon by social consensus is more important than devising a list of capabilities, while Martha Nussbaum has created a list of capabilities required by all to lead a humane life.³⁰ Similarly, Ingrid Robeyns has devised an indicator list by analyzing gender inequalities in Western societies using the capability approach.³¹ As *Suna’nın Kızları*, we have followed Nussbaum and Robeyn’s example and created capability indicators (Table 1) based on our findings from the literature review and from focus groups and consultations with relevant experts. As an overall framework, we used the five themes Melis Cin adapted for girls in Turkey (physical, economic, social, intellectual, and political).³²

The indicators, which represent the functionalities desired by and for girls, are analytically separated in the table below; however, in real life, these indicators are intercorrelated and cannot be separated as such. For example, healthy eating, found under the physical capabilities, not only affects girls’ physical capabilities but it also influences her other capabilities. Similarly, educational indicators, under intellectual capabilities, do not only impact girls’ academic and intellectual development, but also help shape their physical, economic, social and political development.

29 Unterhalter, 2007; Cin, 2017.

30 Nussbaum, 2000.

31 Robeyns, 2003.

32 What is referred to as political capability here is not involvement in politics but participation in social life and being part of decisions that affect one’s life.

Table 1: Capability Indicators for Girls

PHYSICAL	ECONOMIC	INTELLECTUAL	SOCIAL	POLITICAL
Healthy diet	Self-selected employment at a job suitable for one's age and skills	Autonomy in the use of time	Living in a safe and happy environment	Participating in decisions that concern one's life
Access to healthcare	Being able to spend one's own earnings and/or scholarship money freely	Access to leisure time and play	Being part of social networks, receiving and giving social support	Expressing social sensitivities and organizing activities to create social benefit
Emotional well-being	Access to vocational education	Access to art and cultural activities	Receiving care and benefiting from social services when necessary	Having opportunities for self-organizing
Bodily integrity and security	Making free and informed decisions about field of study and future occupation	Gaining gender awareness	Living without being subjected to external pressure	
Mobility: ability to travel from one place to another	Joining the workforce after graduation	Receiving a gender-sensitive education		
Decent Housing/ Shelter	Returning to work after marriage or childbirth	Having self-confidence, self-sufficiency, and self-awareness		
	Uninterrupted enrollment in school	Receiving an education, using and producing information		

In other words, to perform a comprehensive evaluation of girls' education, it is necessary to consider how education affects and is affected by all aspects of girls' lives. This requires broadening the definition of education beyond an academic framework and adopting a holistic approach to education which takes all the developmental needs of children into consideration.

Analysis of Organizations Targeting Girls' Education Using the Capability Approach

After creating the capability indicators above, a list of the barriers preventing girls from acquiring the desired capabilities was generated from the results of the literature review, focus groups, and expert meetings. These barriers were then matched with capability indicators.

Next, the interventions identified through surveys and secondary research — in other words, the activities and projects undertaken by various organizations to ameliorate specific problems— were categorized by the type of barrier they were attempting to eliminate (Infographic 2-6). The goal was to create a map of interventions for girls' education in Turkey, showing current areas of focus, as well as the gaps in support and opportunities for further interventions. However, considering that many NGO projects are developed based on donor organization requests, it would be more accurate to say that this map reflects the priorities and preferences of these donor organizations more than the amount education-focused support provided to girls' capabilities.³³

Although the capability sets are interconnected (for instance, seasonal agriculture work under economic capability is connected with safe and healthy housing under physical capability), this study analytically separated each capability set and barrier and matched each intervention with the primary barrier it attempts to eliminate.³⁴ The goal here is to render the collected data more understandable in order to facilitate the necessary inferences.

The barriers to girls' education can be grouped under three themes: gender inequality, poverty, and structural violence.³⁵ Cultural and social norms and the current perception of children, all of which affect functionalities, can be added to this list.³⁶ After identifying these deep-rooted barriers, the next required step is to group all barriers so that they can be evaluated separately and used to set actionable goals.³⁷ In the next stage, it is necessary to pair barriers with specific demographic characteristics (age, area of residence, immigration history, etc.) to help further clarify goals and opportunities.

Infographic 2 presents the capabilities that have been most focused on by the projects included in the mapping study. On both the national and regional level, interventions that target intellectual capabilities, which in turn support girls' academic development, were the most common. Those that focus on physical capabilities by promoting physical and emotional well-being and those that focus on girls' economic capabilities by providing them the moral and material support for participating in tertiary education or employment were comparatively less common.

33 This point was raised by the experts in the Idea Generation Meeting for Suna'nın Kızları on November 29, 2021.

34 During the Idea Generation Meeting held on November 29, 2021, more barriers were suggested for inclusion on the list, including lack of back to school/adjustment programs, low educational attainment of parents (in certain situations), inability to access information and services on reproductive and sexual health, girls having no say about their own bodies or reproductive preferences, new types of violence on digital platforms, and negative effects of climate change on girls. These barriers were not included in the mapping categories but were taken into consideration in the qualitative analyses.

35 Structural violence includes types of violence that prevent access to basic human rights and reinforces social inequalities, such as racism or sexism.

36 This point was raised by the experts in the Idea Generation Meeting for Suna'nın Kızları on November 29, 2021.

37 This point was raised by the experts in the Idea Generation Meeting for Suna'nın Kızları on November 29, 2021.

On the other hand, based on the data collected on current projects, those that focus on girls' social and political capabilities were very limited in number. Social capabilities refer to the capacities which enable girls to live in a secure and happy environment without being subjected to pressure and enable them to be enmeshed in social networks. Political capabilities refer to the capacities girls to participate in the decision-making processes pertaining to their own lives or life in general, an area where interventions were almost nonexistent.

In this study, the barriers targeted by the interventions included in the mapping study were identified and are shown in Infographic 3-6. The functionalities were listed in order of the least focused on to the most focused on.³⁸ The "ecological systems" theory was employed to identify the projects' target groups (school, teacher, family, neighborhood).³⁹ The functionalities that involved the interventions implemented by the nation-wide organizations and by governmental ministries included in this study were indicated.

Under the physical capability set (Infographic 3), interventions that target barriers to quality shelter, mobility, and healthy diet were found to be less common compared to those that target barriers to access to health services, bodily integrity, and emotional well-being. On the other hand, none of the educational organizations included in the mapping study had developed any interventions to improve the girls' conditions at home, their physical independence, or access to health services in rural areas.

Under the economic capability set (Infographic 4), interventions that focus on providing girls with moral and material support to increase participation in education and employment were grouped together. It was observed that interventions that target girls and their families by providing scholarships and financial support to help enrollment were the most common, whereas there is only a limited number of interventions that help girls select an academic field in university or a profession, or that help them join the workforce. Although this limited number of interventions in the latter area could be attributed to the fact that this mapping study does not include all the organizations that focus on such interventions, it can still be recommended that organizations targeting intergenerational education through long-term interventions put more focus on these areas.

Intellectual capabilities are the set of capabilities with the highest number of indicators and interventions (Infographic 5). This capability set includes academic skills and other functionalities that support intellectual development, such as self-confidence, self-sufficiency, self-awareness, access to art and cultural activities, as well as time for recreation and rest. In the mapping study, there were no interventions found that support girls' autonomy in the use of time. Interventions that target recreation and participation in art and cultural activities were limited in number. On the other hand, interventions that fight against sexist attitudes in educational materials and classroom practices, as well as attitudes adopted by teachers and administrators, were encountered more often, though still limited in number.

38 Functionalities that were not matched with any projects or activities are colored in gray.

39 Not all projects and activities are matched with a target group. Projects targeting more than one target group are shown with more than one icon

The most focused on indicators within the intellectual capability set were receiving an education and using and producing information. Unsurprisingly, this demonstrates that the main focus of organizations included in the study has been girls' academic development.

The number of interventions focusing on the provision of free preschool education, which affects children's development and the duration of time they remain in school, were very limited, whereas interventions that promote basic skills education for older girls, such as STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) education, were more abundant. Intervention areas that were absent included those aimed at preventing the automatic registration of children who are married early and by force to open high schools and those that promote bilingual and mother-tongue education, a fundamental children's right.

Social capability and political capability were the themes with the most gaps and smallest number of interventions. In this mapping study, there were no interventions found that focus on reducing girls' burden of care and domestic work or on reducing the social pressures they face. Interventions under this capability set have largely focused on sports, an area that supports social and intellectual capability as much as physical capability, and that has received increased attention over the last few years.

Interventions under the political capability theme, including indicators related to girls' participation in social life and decisions related to their own lives, were almost non-existent.

Moreover, interventions that support girls' ability to express themselves, to carry out activities of their choosing, or to organize around social issues they care about were not found in this mapping study.⁴⁰ When the projects and activities of the organizations included in this mapping study were analyzed from the capability approach, eliminating barriers to girls' academic development appeared to be the top priority.

When the projects were analyzed according to the groups they target, a majority of projects appear to focus on schools and teachers, with only a limited number of projects focusing on the family or the neighborhood, under any of the capability sets.

40 After completion of the study, a small number of projects focusing on these subjects were identified.

To ensure that girls with different needs and in different living conditions have the freedom to succeed, a narrow focus on academic development is entirely insufficient. Other capabilities, particularly participation in life and development of social, physical, and economic capabilities, must also be supported. Furthermore, this support needs to go beyond providing girls access to quality services and strengthen the ecosystem they are a part of. Although girls' needs in these areas might be partially met by organizations not included in the mapping study, to support their comprehensive development, the definition of educational processes and outputs should be broadened to include all of the capabilities.

Infographics

INFOGRAPHIC 1: ECOLOGICAL NETWORK AND METHODS EMPLOYED BY ORGANIZATIONS

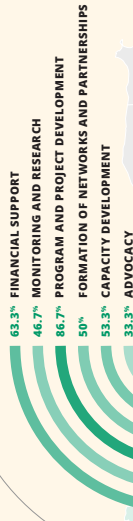
MARMARA REGION

PROJECTS TARGETING GIRLS

73.3%



56 ORGANIZATIONS



Of the 10 organizations operating in the Black Sea Region, 8 develop programs and projects, 8 form networks and develop capacity, 5 perform monitoring, and 3 provide financial support and engage in advocacy work.

Of the 13 organizations operating in the Central Anatolia Region, 11 develop programs and projects, 7 provide financial support, 7 perform monitoring, 5 engage in advocacy work, and 3 form networks.

EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA REGIONS

PROJECTS TARGETING GIRLS

73.7%



19 ORGANIZATIONS

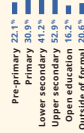


Of the 9 organizations operating in the Mediterranean region, 6 perform monitoring and research, 5 develop capacity, 5 engage in advocacy work, 5 form networks, and 3 provide financial support.

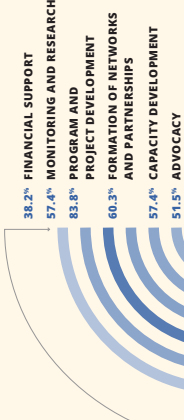
ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

PROJECTS TARGETING GIRLS

61.8%

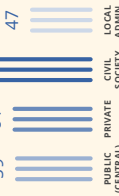


70 ORGANIZATIONS



PARTNERSHIP ANALYSIS

80



PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE MARMARA REGION



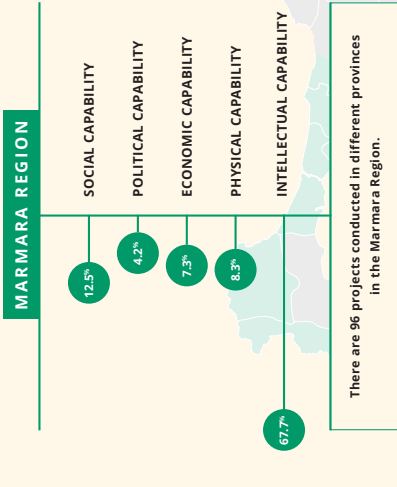
PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE AEGEAN REGION

DATA FOR ALL TURKEY

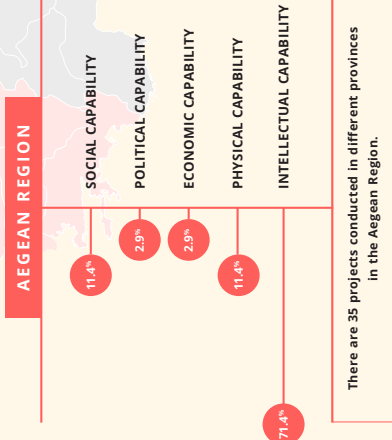
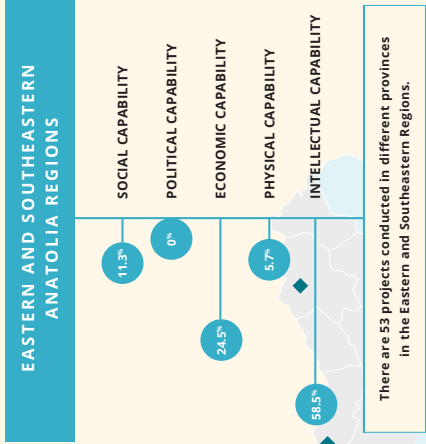
Of the 127 organization included in the study, 65% focus on girls.

The data here were gathered from the surveys conducted by the Suna'nın Kızları project, as well as from publicly available information published by non-governmental organizations and public institutions

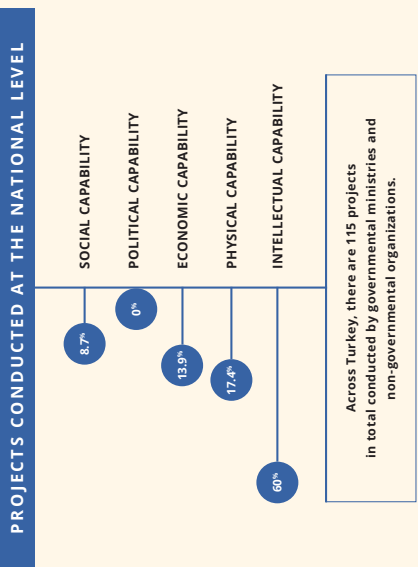
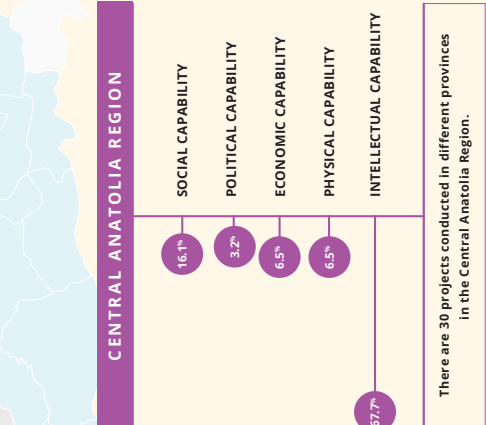
INFOGRAPHIC 2: DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVENTIONS BY CAPABILITY SET



◆ There are 18 projects conducted in different provinces in the Black Sea Region. Of these projects, 4 focus on social capability, 1 on economic capability, 3 on physical capability, and 10 on intellectual capability. There are no projects focusing on political capability.

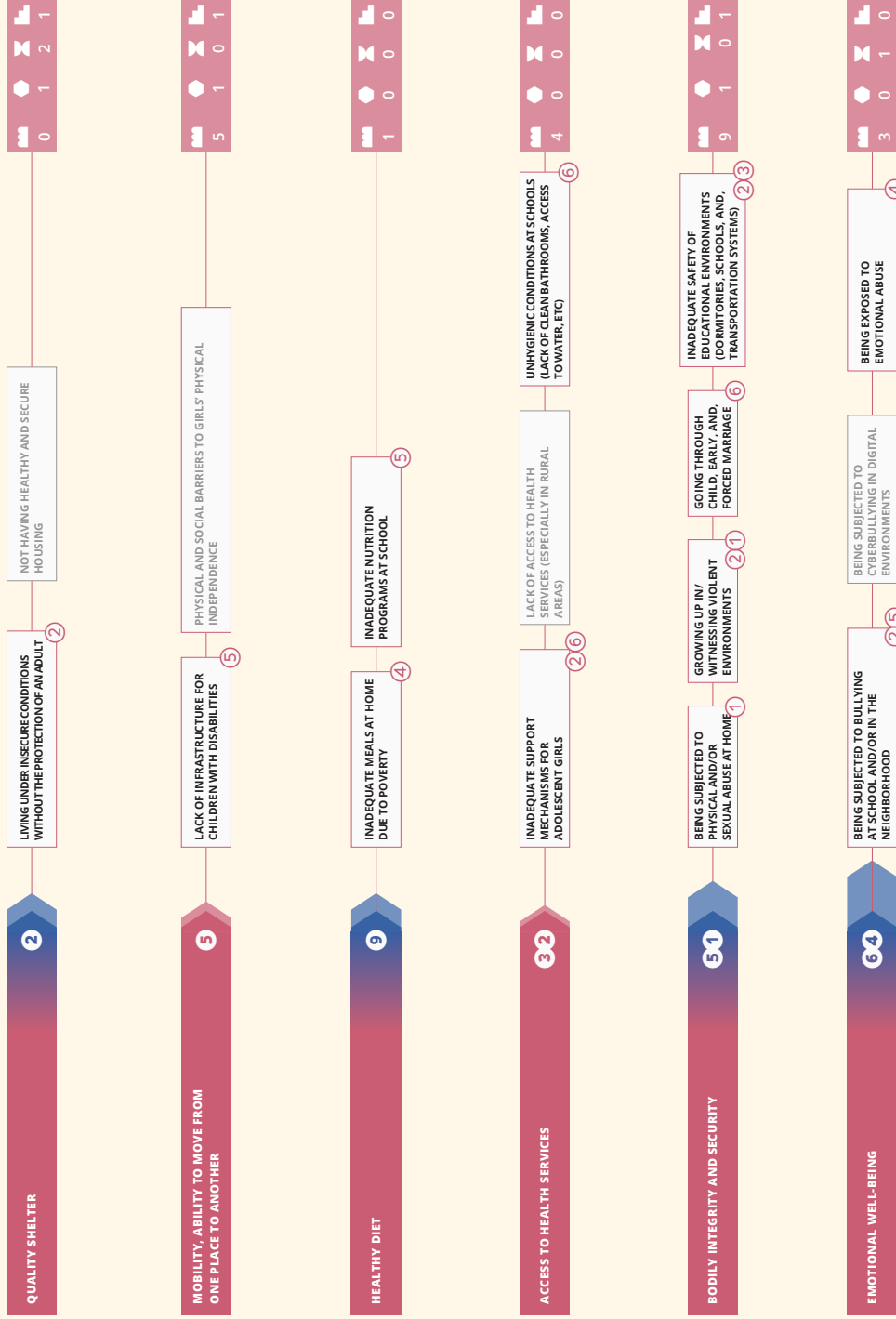


▶ There are 27 projects conducted in different provinces in the Mediterranean Region. Of these projects, 1 focuses on political capability, 1 on physical capability, 4 on social capability, and 21 on intellectual capability. There are no projects focusing on economic capability.



INFOGRAPHIC 3: PHYSICAL CAPABILITY

FUNCTIONALITIES AND NUMBER OF PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES



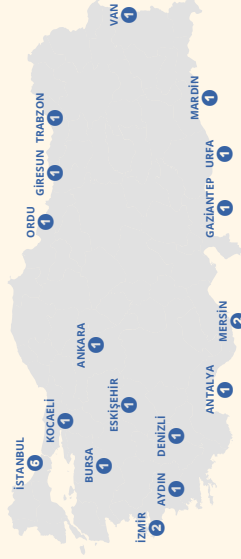
BARRIERS AND NUMBER OF PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES

TOTALS BY GROUP TARGETED

22 projects target schools,
3 projects target teachers,
3 projects target families,
3 projects target neighborhoods.

20 projects are implemented across Turkey.

In addition to these projects, 35 organizations conduct social-emotional trainings for girls (included under emotional well-being but not matched with a specific barrier), 26 organizations provide trainings on sexual health, hygiene, and sexual reproduction (matched with inadequate supporting mechanisms for adolescent girls), 15 perform activities on reducing school-based violence (matched with inadequate security at schools), and 21 perform activities for reducing child and teen abuse (matched with growing up in/witnessing violent environments) for girls and/or their families.



NOT ALL PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES ARE MATCHED WITH ALL OF THEIR TARGET GROUPS. ONE TARGET GROUP ARE SHOWN WITH MORE THAN ONE ICON.

ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

INCLUDES SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

INFOGRAPHIC 4: ECONOMIC CAPABILITY

FUNCTIONALITIES AND NUMBER OF PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES

JOINING THE WORKFORCE AFTER GRADUATION

1

LIMITED AMOUNT OR INADEQUATE QUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG WOMEN

1



RETURNING TO WORK AFTER MARRIAGE OR CHILDBIRTH

1

LIMITED AVAILABILITY OF EARLY CHILD CARE SERVICES

SOCIETAL EXPECTATIONS FROM MOTHERS

1

EMPLOYMENT BENEFITS NOT WORTH LEAVING CHILDREN BEHIND AT HOME



MAKING FREE AND INFORMED DECISIONS ON FIELD OF STUDY AND PROFESSION

2

NOT HAVING ENOUGH SUPPORT WHEN SELECTING A FIELD OF STUDY OR PROFESSION, CHOOSING THE WRONG FIELD OR PROFESSION

2



SELF-SELECTED EMPLOYMENT AT A JOB SUITABLE FOR ONE'S AGE AND SKILLS

7

WORKING CONDITIONS OF SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

1

WORKING CONDITIONS FOR ILLICIT WORKERS (INCLUDING CHILDREN UNDER 15)

6



ACCESS TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

18

THE MOST SUITABLE VOCATIONAL TRAINING BASED ON THEIR GENDER

18



UNINTERRUPTED ENROLLMENT TO SCHOOL

38

FAMILIES' INABILITY TO AFFORD SCHOOL FEES, UNIFORM, AND TRANSPORTATION COSTS

38



BEING ABLE TO SPEND ONE'S OWN EARNINGS OR SCHOLARSHIP MONEY

43

GIRLS' NOT HAVING A SAYING ON THE USE OF FINANCIAL AID RECEIVED

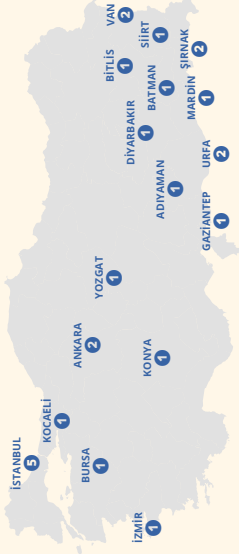
43



TOTALS BY GROUP TARGETED

15 projects target schools,
1 project targets families,
0 projects target families or teachers.

16 projects are implemented across Turkey.
In addition to the projects, 42 organizations provide scholarships for girls, 31 organizations provide financial or in-kind aid for girls and their families, 14 organizations provide vocational and technical training for girls.



TARGET GROUP



NOT ALL PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES ARE MATCHED WITH ALL OF THEIR TARGET GROUPS. PROJECTS TARGETING MORE THAN ONE TARGET GROUP ARE SHOWN WITH MORE THAN ONE ICON.

ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

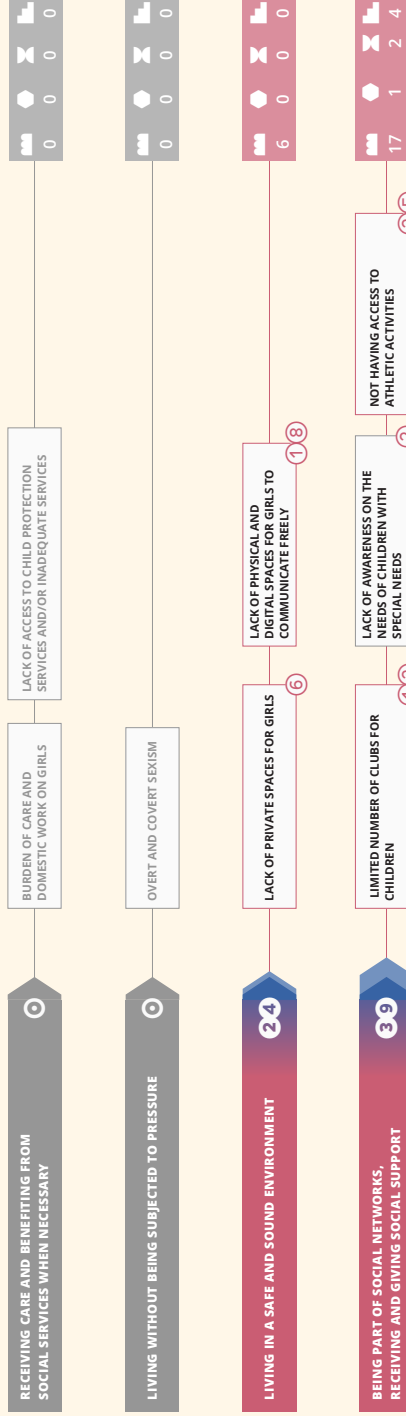
INCLUDES SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

INFOGRAPH 6: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CAPABILITY

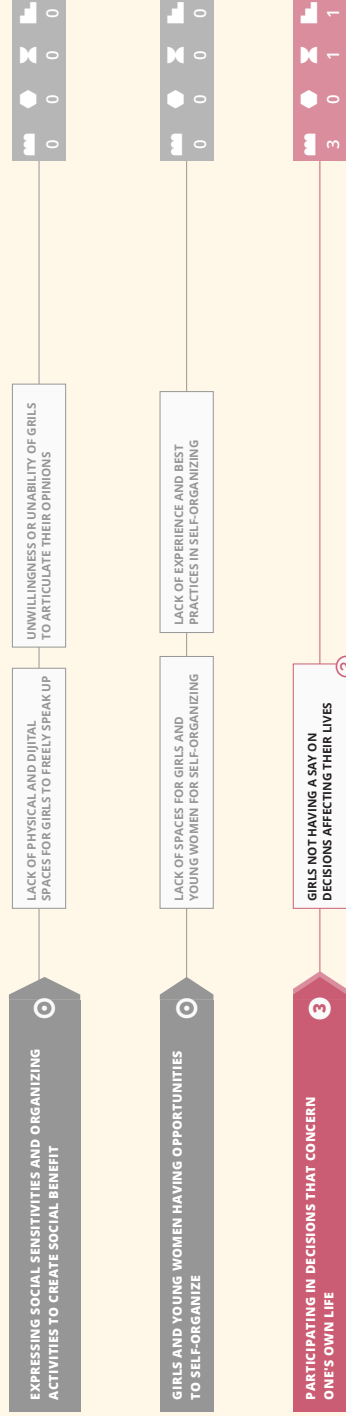
FUNCTIONALITIES AND NUMBER OF PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES

BARRIERS AND NUMBER OF PROJECTS/ACTIVITIES

SOCIAL CAPABILITY



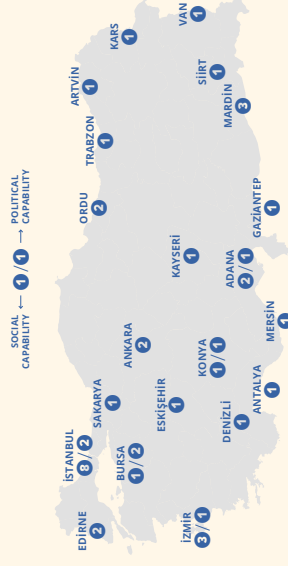
POLITICAL CAPABILITY



TOTALS BY GROUP TARGET (SOCIAL CAPABILITY ONLY)

23 project target schools,
1 project targets teachers,
2 projects target families,
2 project target neighborhoods.

10 projects are implemented across Turkey.
In addition to the projects, 16 organizations organize athletic activities for children and 12 organizations organize special clubs and/or create spaces for them.



TARGET GROUP



NOT ALL PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES ARE MATCHED WITH ALL OF THEIR TARGET GROUPS. PROJECTS TARGETING MORE THAN ONE TARGET GROUP ARE SHOWN WITH MORE THAN ONE ICON.

ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

INCLUDES SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

IV. FINDINGS ON THE CURRENT SITUATION OF GIRLS' EDUCATION

The findings on girls' needs derived from secondary research, surveys, stakeholder meetings, consultation and experience sharing meetings, and focus groups are summarized under two sub-headings: findings on girls' access to education and their developmental needs, and findings on stakeholders who create a supportive ecosystem for girls.

Findings on Girls' Access to Education

Although the nationwide enrollment rates are almost equal for boys and girls at the primary and lower-secondary education levels,⁴¹ there is still gender disparity at girls' expense at the primary and secondary levels. In the Central, East, and Southeastern Anatolia regions, girls' net educational enrollment rates for the 2020-21 academic year were 78% and 74%, respectively, whereas for boys these rates were 79% and 77%.⁴² Provincial differences are even more pronounced. For example, in Muş enrollment rates were 59% for girls and 65% for boys, in Şanlıurfa 62% and 72%, and in Bitlis 65% and 76%.⁴³

Among children with special needs, girls also had lower enrollment rates compared to those of boys. During the 2021-22 academic year, only 37% of special education students who had access to formal education were girls.⁴⁴ Based on statistics from June 2021, of the Syrian-origin students, 49% were girls and 51% were boys.⁴⁵ Among the peripatetic communities, such as the Roma, Dom, Lom, and Abdal communities, enrollment rates are known to be very low, although formal statistics are not available.⁴⁶ NGOs that work in the field state that, due to the widening and deepening poverty, children from past and present underrepresented groups are facing increasing risks of being subjected to seasonal agriculture work, CEFM, burden of care and domestic work (especially girls), and child labor (especially boys). Based on data from TurkStat,⁴⁷ the number of boys in the 16-17 age group who officially got married in 2020 was 726, whereas this number was 13,014 for girls in the same age group. In other words, the number of girls who got married between the ages of 16 and 17 was 18 times higher than the number of boys. Again, based on data from

41 For the 2020-21 academic year, the net enrollment rate at the primary education level was 93.1% for girls and 93.3% for boys, at the lower secondary level 88.7% for girls, and 89% for boys, and at the upper secondary level 87.8% for girls, and 88% for boys. MoNE, 2021a.

42 MEB, 2021a.

43 MEB, 2021a.

44 Feriver and Arık, 2021, p., 40. While the total number of girls receiving formal special education services at all education levels for 2020-21 was 156,025, for boys this number was 269,507.

45 Ibid., p.,43

46 Gündoğdu et al., 2020.

47 TurkStat, April 20, 2021.

TurkStat, in 2020, 2.7% of all marriages involved 16-17 year-old girls.⁴⁸ Thanks to the increase made to compulsory education years, this rate has declined over recent years,⁴⁹ but some provinces still have relatively high rates. For example, in Muş, one of the provinces with the lowest educational enrollment rates for girls (59%), this rate was 11%.⁵⁰ From these data, it can be inferred that especially in the provinces located in the Eastern, Southeastern, and Central Anatolia regions, CEFM can be one of the main barriers to enrollment in education.

Another barrier to girls' regular attendance in school is the burden of care and domestic work they assume. According to TurkStat data,⁵¹ 51% of girls and 40% of boys between the ages of 5 and 17 help with various types of household chores. Based on the same dataset, 16% of boys and 28% of girls spend 8 hours or more doing domestic work. Focus groups with girls revealed that girls spend a significant amount of time on chores and caring for their siblings. In addition to doing domestic work, girls also help their siblings with homework.

"When my mother goes out, I wash the dishes, cook for my siblings, clear the table, and sweep the floor."

4th grade student, İstanbul

"If I were home, I would be taking care of my sibling. I don't now because I live here."

11th grade student at a girls' dormitory, Yozgat

Experts and field workers interviewed have often talked about their observations on how COVID-19 increased the burden of care and domestic work for girls. One of the reasons for this could be the tendency of caregivers to use girls' labor when girls were at home during school closings. Alternatively, it might be due to girls having to take on their mother's chores when the mothers joined the workforce due to changing financial circumstances.

"I teach at the neighborhood school. There are so many de facto separated families here and because of this, many girls take care of their siblings. Having multiple siblings typically means that an older sister will help take care of them, anyway."

Middle school teacher, Zonguldak

Experts state that child labor, one of the main barriers to quality education that typically affects boys, is now beginning to affect girls as well, as families face increased financial hardships.

48 Ibid.

49 This rate was 7.3% in 2002. Ibid.

50 TurkStat, July 6, 2020.

51 TurkStat, March 31, 2020.

Experts have often stated that particularly for financially insecure households, monetary support programs should be expanded. Based on MoNE statistics, during the 2020-21 academic year, a total of 306,482 students at the primary and lower secondary level received monthly financial aid of 357.79 TL, and 298,126 students received free boarding school services.⁵² Similar financial aid, including transportation support, are being provided for refugee children as part of the PIKTES (Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System)⁵³ Program.⁵⁴ The CCTE (Conditional Cash Transfer for Education) Program, conducted in partnership between the MoFSS and MoNE since 2003, was expanded to include Syrian and other refugee families in Turkey in 2017.⁵⁵ Discussions and analyses of the impact of these conditional cash transfer programs, which are being implemented around the world, are ongoing.⁵⁶

In this study, when the organizational activities that target girls were analyzed, those that focus on supporting girls and their families economically appeared to be the most common (ANNEX-Graph 2).⁵⁷ However, in Turkey, preliminary research needs to be conducted before developing economic support programs in order to maximize their effectiveness. Apart from the financial support, additional measures that could be implemented to ensure children's regular attendance include running nutrition programs at school and providing uniforms, stationary goods, education materials, and sanitary pads.

Girls and their families lack trust towards certain services, including education with transport, regional boarding schools, and student dormitories. Based on MoNE statistics, during the 2020-21 academic year, a total of 722,119 students who did not have access to school due to a variety of reasons were transferred to primary and secondary school.⁵⁸ However, the experts interviewed in this study who work with families and teachers from rural areas stated that many families did not trust education that required transport and therefore chose not to send their children to school. Based on the teachers' opinions, this resulted in school dropouts as well as lower enrollment numbers for rural schools, eventually leading to the closure of some schools.⁵⁹

During the 2020-21 academic year, the total number of girls residing in public boarding schools was 169,579, while the number of boys was 159,640.⁶⁰ For the same academic year, the number of girls and boys residing in private boarding schools was 3,548 and 15,404, respectively, at the lower secondary level, and 5,041 and 14,482, at the upper secondary level.⁶¹ In terms of boarding school education, not only do girls' families have reservations but the girls themselves also do not always feel secure and comfortable, which leads to early school leaving.

52 MEB, 2021a.

53 For detailed information, see: <https://piktes.gov.tr/Home/ProjeninCiktisiENG>.

54 Kesbiç, 2021.

55 UNICEF, 2021b.

56 Sperling, Winthrop, with Kwauk, 2016, pp. 105-130.

57 This graph includes 121 organizations.

58 MoNE, 2021a.

59 Focus group meeting with teachers, October 18, 2021.

60 MoNE, 2021a.

61 Ibid.

“...For example, when I first got here, we were staying in the same place as the boys. I was really surprised. There were these older boys around. I told Zeynep, ‘I’m scared of this place, these boys are so much older. In time, I got used to it, but I still don’t like this place at all.’”

11th grade Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School boarding student, Muş

Beyond the organizations interviewed as part of this study, recent news reports have drawn attention to organizations that provided boarding services illegally, or without ensuring the safety of the children.⁶²

Findings on Children’s Needs in Different Developmental Stages

In addition to the findings on access to education, below are some findings on children’s needs during early childhood, as well as early, middle, and late adolescence:

Early childhood education does not only increase time spent at school but also supports children’s holistic development.⁶³ However, the limited availability⁶⁴ of care and education for early childhood (ages 0 to 6) constitutes the biggest barrier to receiving these services.⁶⁵ Results of the analysis of the educational levels focused on by the organizations included in this study show that preschool-age girls are one of the least addressed groups, along with girls enrolled in distance learning and those who are out of the formal education system (APPENDIX-Graph 3).⁶⁶ However, for children to be exposed to the stimulation that support their development, they need to have access to free, quality education as early as possible.⁶⁷ Early childhood care and education also help to identify children who are at risk of abuse and neglect at home and to reduce the burden of care and domestic work placed on other girls.

Self-sufficiency, self-awareness, and self-confidence stand out as areas that need reinforcement, particularly for adolescent girls. Psychological research shows that negative moods and antisocial behavior during pre-puberty can transform into positive social and individual development through specific interventions.⁶⁸ Experts that work one-on-one with children believe that early adolescence is the breaking point for these developments. For example, in a focus group of teachers, an elementary school teacher from Aydin reported that from first to fourth grade, gender roles solidify and self-confidence decreases for girls.⁶⁹

62 T24, November 29, 2018; Girit, April 18, 2016.

63 Berkman, Aksu and Erguvanlı-Taylan, 2004.

64 Madra, 2017.

65 For 2020-21, enrollment rates for 5-year-olds were 68.7% for girls, and 70.4% for boys. MoNE, 2021a.

66 This graph includes 121 organizations.

67 Development Analytics, 2017.

68 Kağıtçıbaşı, Baydar and Cemalcılar, 2018.

69 Focus group meeting with teachers, October 19, 2021.

The future ramifications of this can be observed in studies like the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). Results from both studies show that “girls are not nearly as successful as boys in turning beneficial qualities, such as self-confidence, sense of belonging at school, motivation, and enjoyment of learning, into achievements.”⁷⁰

“I think a school should have people who understand us and help us gain self-esteem instead of just handing us a class schedule... A few months ago, I participated in an event in Istanbul. Going there, I wasn't really sure of myself. Was I going to be able to make it? Was I going to succeed? But thanks to the support of my teachers and others, I did a great job of expressing myself and presenting my project. We came back home with pride. For me, it was my counseling teacher who supported me the most, but I am not sure if all students have this kind of support.”

Private Science High School Student, 11th grade, Kütahya

Although interactions with role models and mentors are among the common interventions to support girls' self-confidence, self-sufficiency and self-awareness, those that support positive adolescent development are limited (Infographic 5). It is important that girls have role models close to them in terms of accessibility. Combining peer education with the provision of role models could enhance girls' confidence in middle and late adolescence and help create communities where they support each other.

Additionally, counseling and psychological guidance services provided at schools can be improved and turned into a valuable resource that supports girls in various areas, as mentioned in the quotation above.

During adolescence, lack of privacy and lack of freedom of mobility present problems for girls. Based on TurkStat 2016 data, 53.3%⁷¹ of households in Turkey have separate rooms for children. The secondary research conducted for this study found no data available for more recent years. However, in the focus group meetings, the girls coming from impoverished families expressed their need for privacy with statements like, “There isn't much space for me to study,” or “Because I have siblings, I don't have any personal belongings.” Among the girls who participated in the focus groups, the younger girls communicated their wish for personal belongings, whereas the older girls expressed their desire for more private space.

Among the girls interviewed, the girls in primary and lower secondary education stated that their families often did not allow them to go outside by themselves because their families did not find their neighborhood safe enough.

70 Polat and Madra, 2018, p. 28.

71 İstanbul Statistics Office, April 23, 2020. Compiled using data from TurkStat 2016.

“Mothers usually let the boys go out. So, if I were a boy, I would be out all the time.”

Middle School student, 6th grade, Istanbul

An older girl who participated in the focus group meetings shared that she often did not feel safe outside, and that learning martial arts, like taekwondo, was “essential” for girls:

“We don’t have any safety. It’s obvious. So many children, so many women murdered... There is no justice. It’s not an environment where we can protect ourselves and feel secure.”

10th grade boarding school student, Yozgat

During adolescence, girls have very limited opportunities for socializing and practicing social-emotional learning. Social-emotional learning is still not a central part of education.⁷² In a study conducted by MoNE, as part of a larger OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) research project measuring the social and emotional skills of students between the ages of 10 and 15, girls “scored higher in task performance, collaboration and open mindedness, whereas boys scored better in emotional regulation and interacting with others, on average.”⁷³ The reason girls score lower than boys in emotional regulation and interacting with others could be attributed to girls’ limited freedom in mobility, and the limitations this places on their spaces for social interaction. Analysis of the projects included in this study showed that those focusing on culture and arts and socializing were the lowest in number (ANNEX-Graph 5).⁷⁴

The first step in supporting girls’ social and emotional learning is to generate opportunities that would help them get together in spaces where they feel safe and engage in activities that promote socializing. Here it should be remembered that such spaces need to be designed to include the most disadvantaged populations, including those not registered in the census and consequently unable to access services, as well as those who are not enrolled in education for various reasons.

There is very limited information on the experiences of girls attending open high schools. During the 2020-21 academic year, 3% of children between the ages of 14 and 17 were registered in open high schools.⁷⁵ The needs of girls in this group, who were seldomly targeted by the interventions examined in this study (ANNEX-Graph 3),⁷⁶ should be identified and supported as well. It is believed that girls in open high school are at risk of CEFM, bearing the burden of care and domestic work, and working at jobs that are not appropriate for their age. The type of educational experience these girls are receiving and whether they are actually continuing their education are both unknown.

72 Feriver and Arık, 2021, p. 46.

73 MoNE, 2021b.

74 This graph includes 121 organizations.

75 Tunca, Kesbiç and Gencer, 2021, p. 30.

76 This graph includes 121 organizations.

“What time I wake up varies, my sleep schedule is completely disrupted.”

Open High School student, 12th grade, İstanbul.

While girls are not part of many decisions that concern them, such as choosing which school to attend or how to spend their free time, they nonetheless try to express themselves using the means available to them. The Convention on the Rights of the Child involves not only the practices that protect children and prevent discrimination against them as indispensable aspects of children’s rights but also those that promote children’s ability to make decisions and participate. However, the children’s rights legislation in Turkey places more emphasis on their protection than their participation.⁷⁷ In the literature review, there were no studies that focused on children’s right to participate or that identified in which areas children wanted to express their opinions or how.

As shown in the mapping study, only a limited number of projects focused primarily on increasing girls’ participation in decisions that affect them. The inability of girls to exercise this right may even cause some to view marriage as the only way out of their living conditions, as a way to “free” themselves from their family. Students also mentioned that they would like to have their voices heard more when it comes to making decisions about school (such as selecting extracurricular activities for the school).⁷⁸

“I did not know that vocational school was going to be like this. I did not choose it myself. When it was time to submit school selection documents, it was mowing time in the village, so my father was away. We gave the documents to my middle school teacher. Although I had a high score, my teacher decided that I should attend this school. They wouldn’t let me go to a different school or study from home. Now, I am being patient, trying my best to get through it... We have odd opportunities.”

12th grade Vocational and Technical Anatolian High School boarding student, Muş

“I will be honest, in my family, knowing the Qur’an well and understanding religion is highly respected. So, I grew up thinking that I would attend Qur’an courses outside of school, but then I changed my mind and decided not to go. Sometime later, I had some problems at school, and my family asked me to register to open high school and take Qur’an courses. When I refused, we had a conflict. Still, I think I will make it work.”

Open High School student, 12th grade, İstanbul

Although attending university might be beneficial in terms of delaying marriage, it may not always benefit employment prospects. According to OECD data, in 2019, 44% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 were not in school, employment, or training. The same rate for men in the same age group was 22%.⁷⁹

77 Durmuş, 2019.

78 Expressed in the focus group meetings held in Urfa and Yozgat.

79 OECD, 2022.

“For example, take a girl who does her best to study and spends all that effort under the current educational conditions. But she also thinks to herself, ‘Okay, I will study and earn a degree, yet I might be unemployed after school.’ This is a nightmare scenario without a doubt... Many graduate only to see that their efforts were not enough. And I met people who are hesitant to study because of this. Even our teachers tell us: ‘Don’t worry about taking the KPSS [civil service] exam, just find a job that doesn’t require it. Secure your future.”

Anatolian High School student, 11th grade Bitlis

In addition to supporting girls in choosing the right field and right university, a general support for enhancing their skills, such as providing them access to opportunities such as obtaining a driver’s license and occupational and entrepreneurial trainings, would help to facilitate the transition from education to employment. .

Supporting girls’ developmental areas and occupational choices are critical for their transition into work and for increasing enrollment rates in each generation. Gender can heavily influence girls’ selection of academic fields and professions. Female students constitute 95% of all students graduating from the fields of child development and education, hand-crafts technologies, and services for the elderly and the ill, but conversely only 1% of all students graduating from the fields of metal technologies, air conditioning systems, and motor vehicle technologies.⁸⁰ Gender differences can also be clearly seen in the fields selected by vocational and technical high school students.⁸¹ Based on a 2018 PISA survey, among students in Turkey who were asked about their job expectations by the age of 30, 33% of the boys who had received high scores in science and/or mathematics reported that they expected to work in engineering and science, whereas only 22% of girls had this expectation.⁸² For girls to be able to independently orient towards the professions they are interested in, role models are equally as important as counseling and mentorship.

Findings on an Ecosystem that Supports Girls

In analyzing the distribution of activities conducted by the organizations included in this study, it was found that those that focus on academic training and providing girls financial support were the most common. **Activities that focus on increasing the number of quality services and safe environments that girls have access to and on strengthening the ecosystem that girls are a part of were limited in number** (ANNEX-Graph 5-13).⁸³

When organizational activities and projects included in this study were analyzed by the ecosystem component they focus on, **teachers appeared to be the most frequently targeted group (after children, obviously), followed by families.** The least targeted group of these projects was administrators (ANNEX-Graph 4, Graph 6).⁸⁴

80 ERG, 2021; MoNE, 2018.

81 ERG, 2021.

82 Düşkün and Korlu, 2021, p. 20.

83 These graphs include 121 organizations.

84 These graphs include 121 organizations.

In addition to the findings on girls' access to education and on their needs during various developmental stages, below are the findings on how families, neighborhood communities, and schools contribute to creating an ecosystem "that supports girls' access to education and complete education with most gains":

Parents do not cope well with adolescence. Parents often rationalize their decisions to not enroll their daughters (and sons) in school, or send them to school, or to get them married at an early age. For instance, they see adolescent dating as a major threat and consider marriage as a protection against it. Parents who are faced with circumstances (economic, social, physical, political, etc.) that make them feel "insecure" "rationalize" these options through recourse to cultural and social norms. Therefore, it is crucial that "best practices" or "role models" that show families different alternatives to these ingrained norms be available in the neighborhoods.

The dynamics between daughters and fathers and between sons and mothers begin to change during adolescence. According to a teacher that participated in the focus group meetings, a daughter is perceived as "a member of the opposite sex" once they enter puberty, and fathers stop playing with them.⁸⁵ Families need support in learning more about the sexual and reproductive health of their children, in coping with the social and psychological changes their children are going through, and in meeting their children's needs during adolescence.

Peer bullying in the neighborhoods and schools continues to be a serious problem for children coming from vulnerable groups. Physical abuse, in the case of boys, and sexual and verbal abuse, in the case of girls, push them away from school. According to a survey from TIMSS 2019 in Turkey, 9% of all 4th graders and 4% of all 8th graders faced peer bullying at least once a week.⁸⁶ Peer bullying was brought up most often by the experts that work with refugee children and their families.

"I have some trouble at school because of the boys. I don't know... Before I didn't have glasses, and they used to tease me. And because I am Syrian, they always think I'm Kurdish. I don't know, they are always messing around..."

Middle School student, 8th grade, Urfa.

"There are lots of fights, and some of these fights are at school. Sometimes, it's really dangerous around the school... Some of the 8th graders carry knives and guns and stuff."

Middle School student, 6th grade, Istanbul

Teachers do not feel competent dealing with the neglect and abuse students go through at home or the peer bullying they experience at school. During both focus groups held with teachers, teachers expressed their feelings of inadequacy when they faced with these situations and stated that they did not receive enough support from the school.

85 Focus group meeting with teachers, October 18, 2021.

86 ERG, December 9, 2020.

“...one of the biggest problems is that we also lack confidence sometimes, because we find ourselves unequipped. We need support in certain areas. Fortunately, I had received art and therapy training. I used to try to intervene right away by asking things like, ‘Oh, you don’t like your home?’, or ‘Is that what you are going through?’ During this training, I learned that abuse can be crippling... I wish there was a support hotline or something. When I hear about a girl going through something... I should be able to direct her there. We are also drowned in misinformation.”

Visual Arts Teacher, Special Education Middle School

When teachers see that the cases they refer to social services are not addressed, they begin to request help less often. Instead of only strengthening the child protection system at schools, the child protection and social services system needs to be improved comprehensively to meet all children’s needs. For neglect and abuse cases, creating a network of lawyers, counselors, and child protection experts would help teachers identify the barriers girls are facing and implement the proper interventions.

V. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION

Focusing on girls who do not have access to education, girls who are not in school despite being enrolled, and girls who do not receive a quality education despite completing schooling, and combining the capability and ecological systems approaches, this study analyzed the degree to which organizations working on girls’ education support girls’ capabilities and girl-centered ecosystems. The findings of this study provide valuable insight for all stakeholders in girls’ education and are summarized below.

As most official data from TurkStat, child-related ministries, and municipal governments are not separated by children’s age group, district, and neighborhood, nor are they shared publicly. Thus, policy recommendations and the policies created based on the available data remain deficient.⁸⁷ The capability approach highlights the importance of designing interventions based on the varying needs of girls from different age groups and living conditions. To identify these different needs, the data available need to be separated by province/district/neighborhood. **Gaps in data collection could be filled by establishing research consortiums** that use experimental methods and by ensuring girls’ participation as stakeholders in the research processes.

In the past, many effective national campaigns have been run, including the well-known “Girls, Let’s Go to School” and “Dad, Send Me to School” campaigns, which have had a positive impact on girls’ enrollment rates. While the impact of these campaigns is still fresh, **designing interventions focusing on the dynamics and needs at the local level** would build on past achievements, supporting not only girls’ access to education but also their developmental needs.

87 Erginli and Fidan, 2021.

To render the interventions that focus on girls effective and sustainable, girls should identify their own needs and brainstorm for solutions, which would first require supporting them in acquiring the capabilities to do so. The **girl-centered program design**⁸⁸ offers a systematic framework for girls' participation in the research, application, and evaluation of programs.

As demonstrated with this study, girls' education is an extensive subject involving many stakeholders with experiences and competencies in a variety of areas, from child protection to health services. The framework created in this study demonstrates the need for comprehensive solutions to create ecosystems that support girls' "freedom to achieve" and their capabilities, and also highlights the **importance of collaborating with other stakeholders through a collective impact initiative**.⁸⁹

88 Austrian and Ghati, 2010.

89 Kania and Kramer. 2011.

REFERENCES

- Austrian K. and Ghatai D. (2010). Girl-centered program design: A tool-kit to develop, strengthen and expand adolescent girls programs. Nairobi: Population Council.
- Bekman S., Aksu A., Erguvanli-Taylan E. (2004). Güneydoğu Anadolu bölgesinde bir erken müdahale modeli: Yaz anaokulu pilot uygulaması. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi and AÇEV. February 2022, https://www.acev.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/gda_bolgesinde_bir_erken_mudahale_modeli_yaz_anaokulu_pilot_uygulamasi.pdf
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2001). The bioecological theory of human development. (der) N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes. *International encyclopaedia of the social and behavioural sciences*, 6963-70. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.
- BSV, SGD, TTM, SPI (2020). Covid-19 sürecince İstanbul'un farklı yerleşimlerinde çocuk haklarına erişimi araştırması. February 2022, <http://covid19cocukhaklariizleme.org/uploads/pdf/d21d7117bcfcf2979b2d2d8438ba42ef.pdf>
- Cin F. M. (2017). *Gender Justice, Education and Equality: Creating Capabilities for Girls' and Women's Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Development Analytics (2017). Türkiye'de 0-6 yaş arası çocuğun durumu. İstanbul: Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı.
- Durmuş, G. (2019). Çocuğa karşı şiddeti önlemek için ortaklık ağı: Çocuk katılımı politika belgesi. Uluslararası Çocuk Merkezi. February 2022, <http://www.cocugasiddetionluyoruz.net/storage/app/uploads/public/5e0/da8/285/5e0da828572c2035862405.pdf>
- Düşkün, Y. and Korlu, Ö. (2021). Eğitim izleme raporu 2020: Eğitimin çıktıları. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi. February 2022, <https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/egitim-izleme-raporu-2020-egitimin-ciktilari/>
- DYA (2021). Türkiye'de çocuk yoksulluğu. February 2022, https://derinyoksullukagi.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/21443_DYA_CocukYoksullugu_BilgiNotu_Web-1.pdf
- ERG (2020, December 9). TIMSS 2019 sonuçları ne söylüyor? February 2022, <https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/timss-2019-sonuclari-ne-soyluyor/#more-16501>
- ERG (2021, January 12) Education of Girls in Turkey. Background note for Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation.
- Erginli B. E., Fidan G. (2021). Türkiye'de çocuk verisine erişim: Kent95 projesi deneyimi üzerinden bir değerlendirme. TESEV February 2022, https://www.tesev.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/rapor_turkiyede_cocuk_verisine_erisim_kent95_projesi_deneyimi_uzerinden_bir_degerlendirme.pdf
- Feriver, Ş. and Arık, B. M. (2021). Eğitim izleme raporu 2021: Eğitimin içeriği. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi. February, https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/EIR21_EgitiminIcerigi.pdf
- Gencer E. K., Kesbiç K., and Arık B. M. (September 2021). Covid-19 etkisinde Türkiye'de Eğitim. TÜSİAD and ERG.

Girit, S. (2016, April 18). Ensar Vakfı: İstismar 'Karaman şubemizin kontrolündeki misafirhanede' yaşandı. BBC Türkçe, February 2022, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2016/04/160418_ensar_vakfi_soru_cevap

GPE (2021). Girls' education: The path to progress. February 2022, <https://www.globalpartnership.org/content/factsheet-girls-education-path-to-progress>

GPE (2022). 12 years to break down the barriers to education. February 2022, <https://www.globalpartnership.org/sites/default/files/breaking-down-barriers-girls-education.pdf>

Gündoğdu N., Caymaz F.C., Gezicier Z., Tarlan K. M. (2020)."Okumuşluk ele geçmez." Türkiye'deki Dom ve Abdal çocukların eğitim durumu: Gaziantep ve Şanlıurfa örnekleri. Gaziantep: Kırkayak Kültür.

İstanbul Statistics Office (2020, April 23). İstanbul'un çocukları. February 2022, <https://istatistik.istanbul/bulten.html?id=13>

Kağıtçıbaşı Ç., Baydar N. and Cemalçılar Z. (2018). Supporting positive development in early adolescence: A school-based intervention in Turkey. *Applied development science*: 24(4): 1-23.

Kania J. ve Kramer M. (2011). Collective Impact. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. February 2022, https://ssir.org/articles/entry/collective_impact#

Kesbiç, K. (2021). ARISE Eğitimde Eşitsizliğin Azaltılması Projesi: Türkiye ulusal raporu. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi. February 2022, <https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/egitim-gozlemevi/arastirma/egitimde-esitsizligin-azaltilmasi-projesi-arise/>

Kwauk C., Schmidt D., Ganju E. (2021). What do we know about the effects of Covid-19 on girls' return to school? February 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/education-plus-development/2021/09/22/what-do-we-know-about-the-effects-of-covid-19-on-girls-return-to-school/>

Madra, A. (2017). Türkiye'de erken çocukluk bakımı ve okul öncesi eğitime katılım: Bilgi Notu. İstanbul: Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı.

MoNE (2018). Eğitim analiz ve değerlendirme raporları serisi (1): Türkiye'de mesleki ve teknik eğitimin görünümü. February 2022, <https://mtegm.meb.gov.tr/www/turkiyede-mesleki-ve-teknik-egitimin-gorunumu-raporu-yayimlandi/icerik/2203>

MoNE (2021a). Millî eğitim istatistikleri: Örgün eğitim: 2020-2021. February 2022, https://sgb.meb.gov.tr/www/icerik_goruntule.php?KNO=424

MoNE (2021b). OECD Sosyal ve Duygusal Beceriler Araştırması Türkiye Ön Raporu. February 2022, http://www.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2021_09/07170836_No19_-_OECD_Sosyal_ve_Duygusal_Beceriler_Arastirmasi.pdf

Nussbaum M. (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OECD (2022). Youth not in employment, education or training (NEET). February 2022, <https://data.oecd.org/youthinac/youth-not-in-employment-education-or-training-neet.htm>

- Polat, E. and Madra, A. (2018). PISA 2015 ve TIMSS 2015 bulguları ışığında Türkiye’de cinsiyete dayalı başarı farkı. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi. February, 2022, http://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/02/PisaTimssBilgiNotuTR.16.02.18.rev1_.pdf
- Qin Y., Curmi L., Guaer M., Gallinetti J. (2020). The case for holistic investing in girls: Improving lives, realizing potential, benefiting everyone. Citi Global Insights and Plan International.
- Robeyns I. (2003), “Sen’ Capability approach and gender inequality: Selecting relevant capabilities,” *Feminist Economics*: 9:2-3, ss. 61-92.
- Semerci P. U., Erdoğan E. (2014). Türkiye’de çocukların gözünden çocuğun iyi olma hali alanlarının ve göstergelerinin tanımlanması ve değerlendirilmesi, UNICEF. February 2022, https://cocukisciligineson.bilgi.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Tu%CC%88rkiye%E2%80%99de_C%CC%A7ocuklar%C4%B1n_Go%CC%88zu%CC%88nden_C%CC%A7ocug%CC%86un_I%CC%87yi_Olma_Hali_Alanlar%C4%B1n%C4%B1n_ve_Go%CC%88stergelerinin_Tan%C4%B1mlanmas%C4%B1_ve_Deg%CC%86erlendirilmesi_Rapor.pdf
- Semerci P. U., Müderrisoğlu S., Karatay A., Akkan B. A., Kılıç Z., Oy, B. Uran S. (2012). *Eşitsiz bir toplumda çocukluk: Çocuğun “iyi olma halini anlamak ”* İstanbul Örneği, İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shinn M. (2015). “Community psychology and the capabilities model”. *American Journal of Community and Psychology* 55(3-4): 243-252.
- Sperling, G.B. and Winthrop R., Kwauk C. with. (2016). *What works in girls education: Evidence for the world’s best investment*. Washington: DC, Brookings Institute Press.
- T24 (2018, November 29). “12 çocuğun öldürüldüğü Aladağ yurt yangınından iki yıl geçti,” February, 2022, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/12-cocugun-oldugu-aladag-yurt-yangininin-uzerinden-iki-yil-gecti,760071>
- TEDMEM (2022). “Bir çocuğu yetiştirmek tüm toplumun görevidir”. February, 2022, <https://tedmem.org/mem-notlari/gorus/bir-cocugu-yetistirmek-tum-toplumun-gorevidir>
- Tunca, E., Kesbiç, K. and Gencer, E., G. (2021). Eğitim izleme raporu 2021: Öğrenciler ve eğitime erişim. Eğitim Reformu Girişimi. February, 2022, <https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/egitim-izleme-raporu-2021-ogrenciler-ve-egitime-erisim/>
- TurkStat (2020, March 31). Çocuk İşgücü Anketi Sonuçları, 2020. February, 2022, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Child-Labour-Force-Survey-2019-33807>
- TurkStat (2020, July 6). Dünya Nüfus Günü, 2020. February, 2022, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Dunya-Nufus-Gunu-2021-37250>
- TurkStat (2021, April 20). İstatistiklerle Çocuk 2020, February, 2022, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Statistics-on-Child-2020-37228>
- UNICEF (2021a). COVID-19: A threat to progress against child marriage. February, 2022, <https://data.unicef.org/resources/covid-19-a-threat-to-progress-against-child-marriage/>

UNICEF (2021b). Suriyeli ve diğer mülteciler için Şartlı Eğitim Yardımı (ŞEY) programı, arkaplan. February, 2022, <https://www.unicef.org/turkey/media/11726/file>

UNICEF (2022). Girls Education. February, 2022, <https://www.unicef.org/education/girls-education>

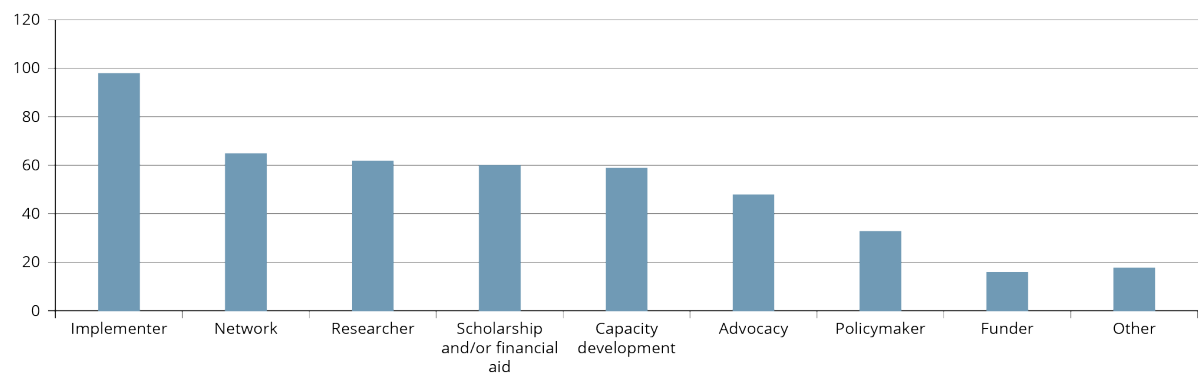
Unterhalter, E. (2007). "Gender Equality, Education and the Capability Approach." *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education* (der.) M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, pp. 87-107. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walker, M. and Unterhalter, E. (2007). "The capability approach: Its potential for work in education." *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education* (der.) M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, pp., 1-19. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

WB, UNESCO and UNICEF (2021). The state of the global education crisis: A Path to recovery. Washington D.C., Paris, New York: The World Bank, UNESCO, and UNICEF.

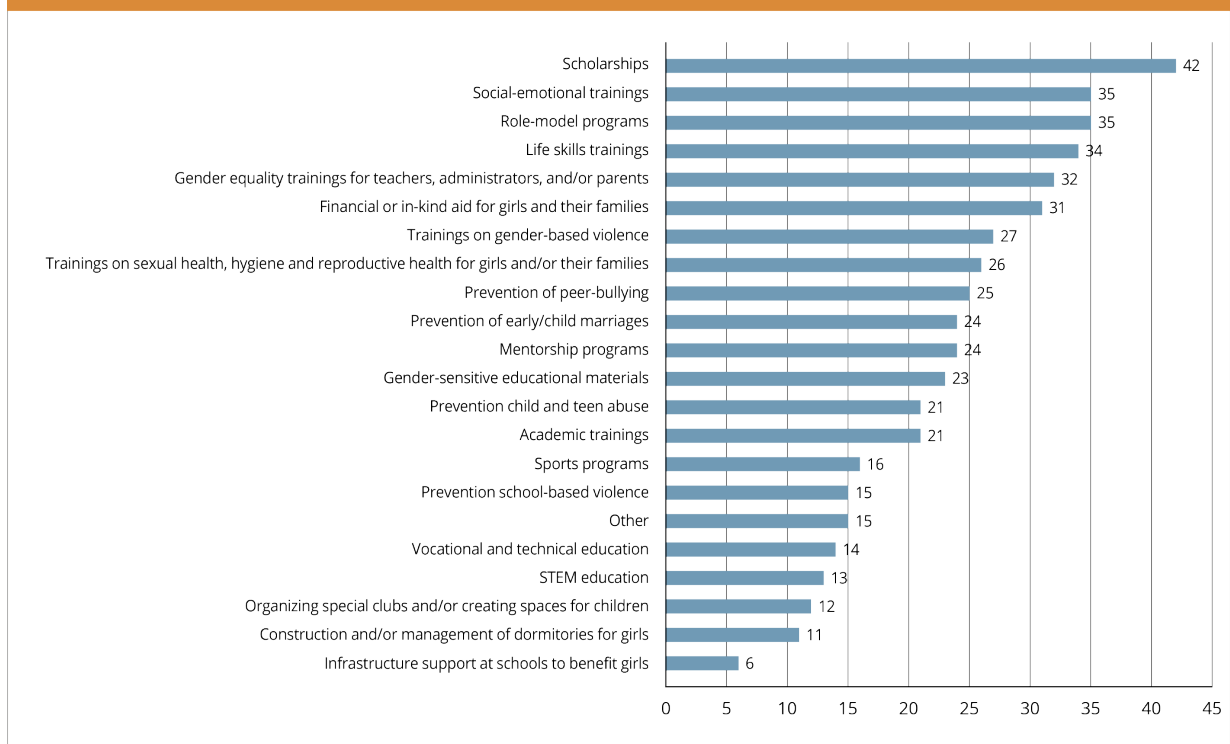
Annex - Graphs

GRAPH 1: DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATION TYPE BY METHODS EMPLOYED



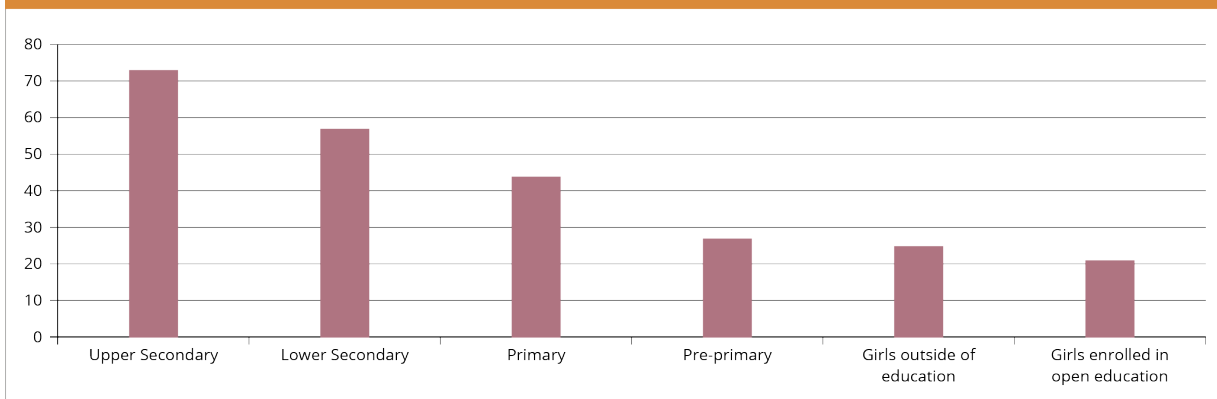
Note: This study includes organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education. Organizations can select all that apply.

GRAPH 2: DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONS' ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY FOCUSING ON GIRLS



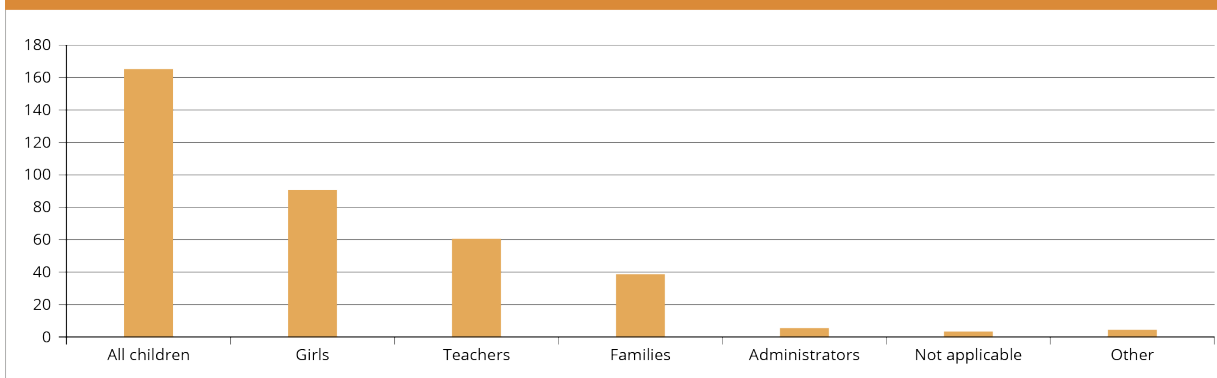
Note: Of the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education) only those that target girls directly are included in this graph. Organizations can select all that apply.

GRAPH 3: DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONS' ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY TARGETING GIRLS BY SCHOOL LEVEL



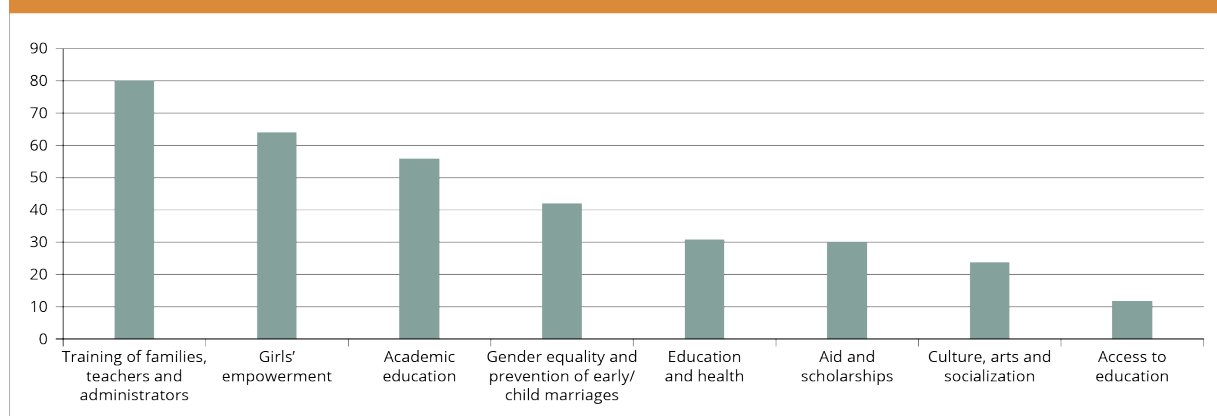
Note: Of the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education) only those that target girls directly are included in this graph. Organizations can select all that apply.

GRAPH 4: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED BY ORGANIZATIONS BY TARGET GROUP



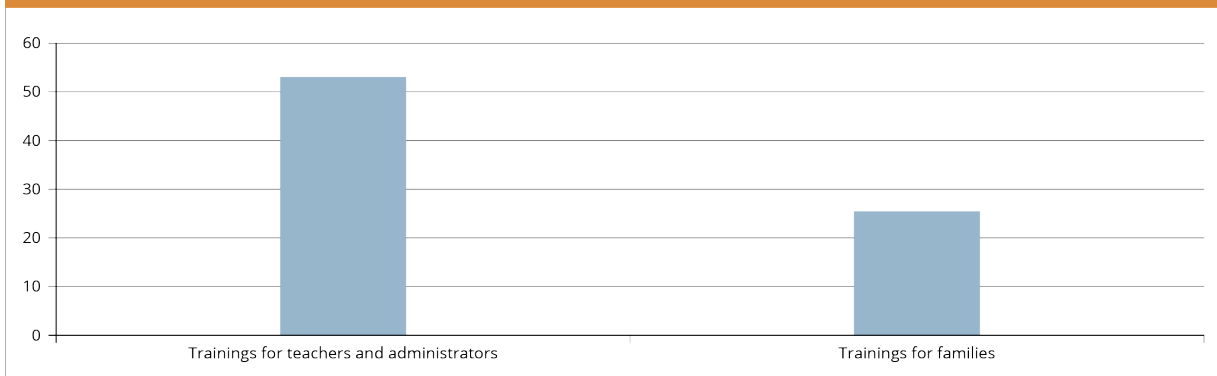
Note: Of the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education) only those that target girls directly are included in this graph. Organizations can select all that apply.

GRAPH 5: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED BY FOCUS AREA



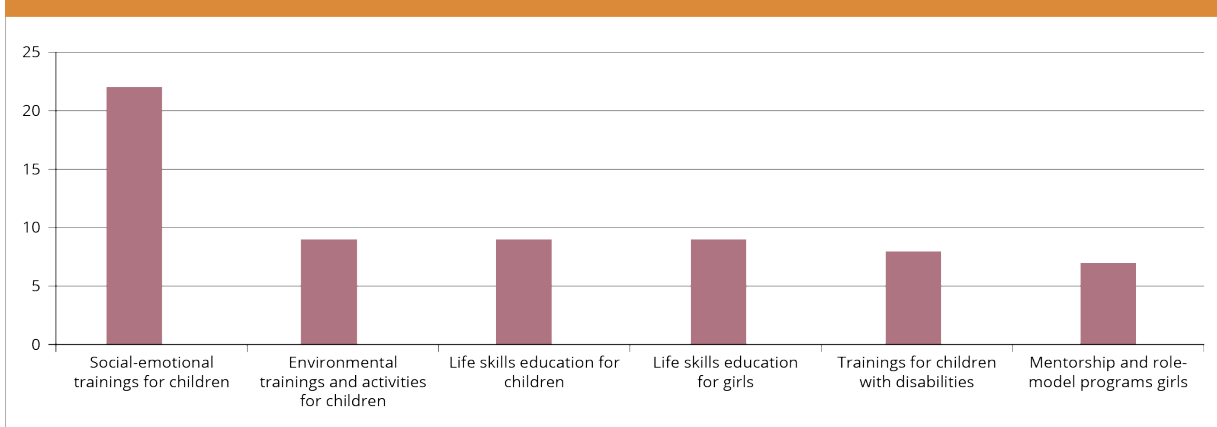
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 6: DISTRIBUTION OF TRAINING PROJECTS FOR TEACHERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND FAMILIES BY FOCUS GROUP



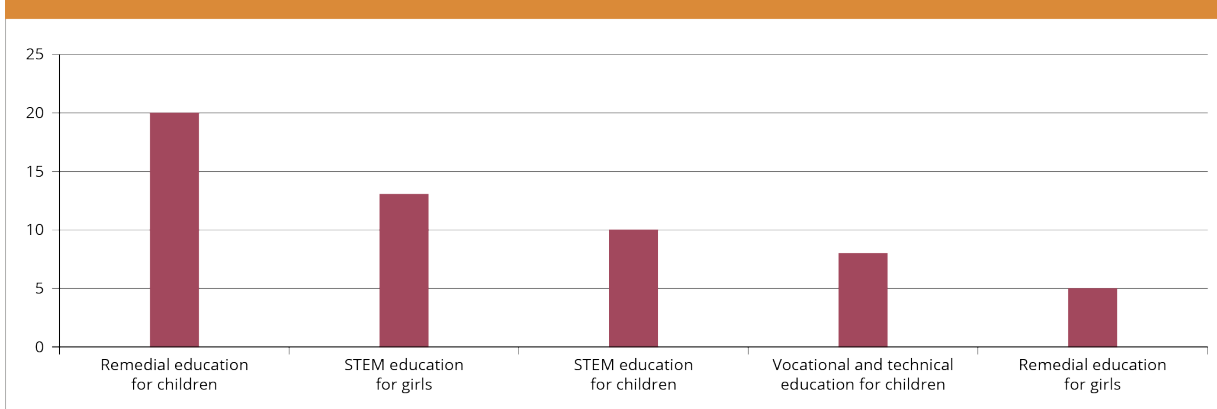
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 7: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS ON GIRLS' EMPOWERMENT



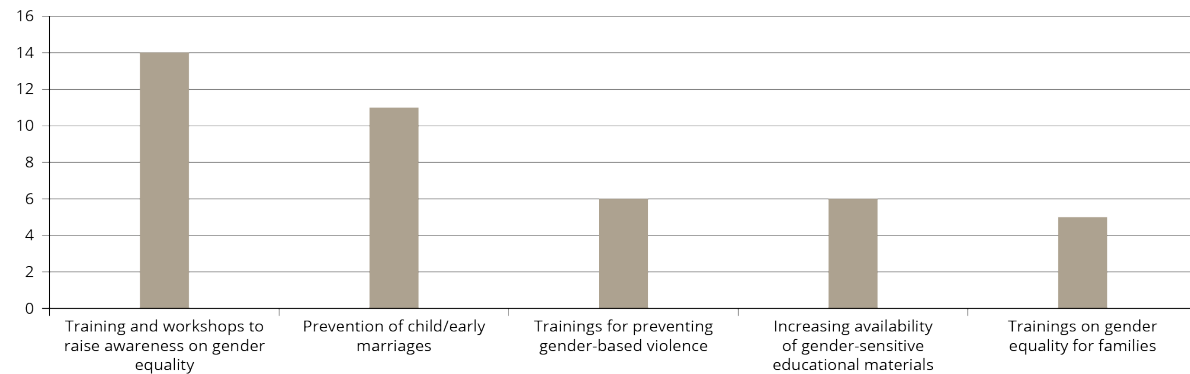
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender and education as well as organizations that aim to benefit girls' education though not exclusively targeting girls and organizations that address structural barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 8: DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC EDUCATION PROJECTS BY ACTIVITY TYPE



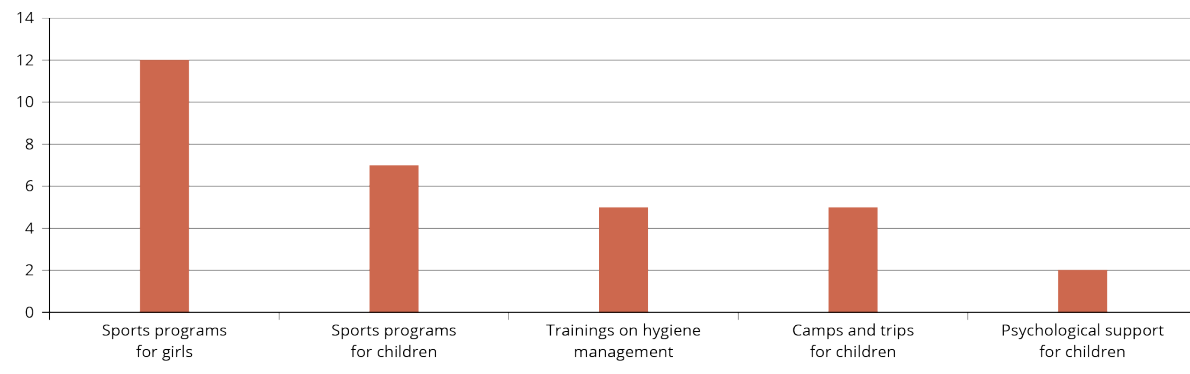
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 9: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS ON GENDER EQUALITY AND PREVENTION OF EARLY/CHILD MARRIAGES



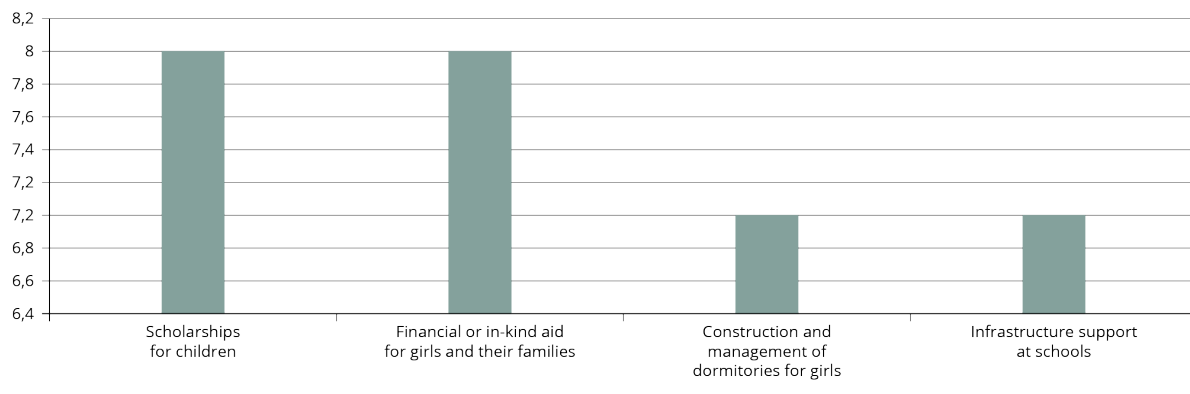
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 10: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS ON EDUCATION AND HEALTH BY ACTIVITY TYPE



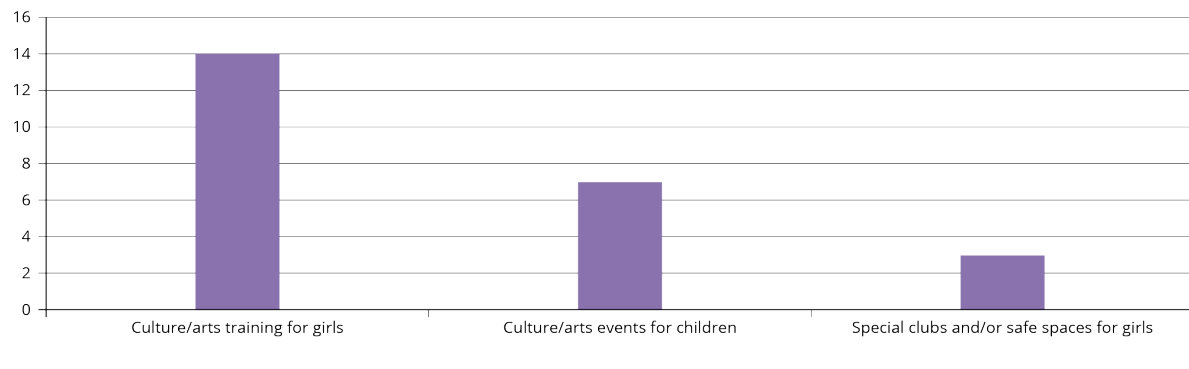
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 11: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS PROVIDING AID AND SCHOLARSHIPS BY ACTIVITY TYPE



Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 12: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS ON CULTURE, ARTS AND SOCIALIZATION BY ACTIVITY TYPE



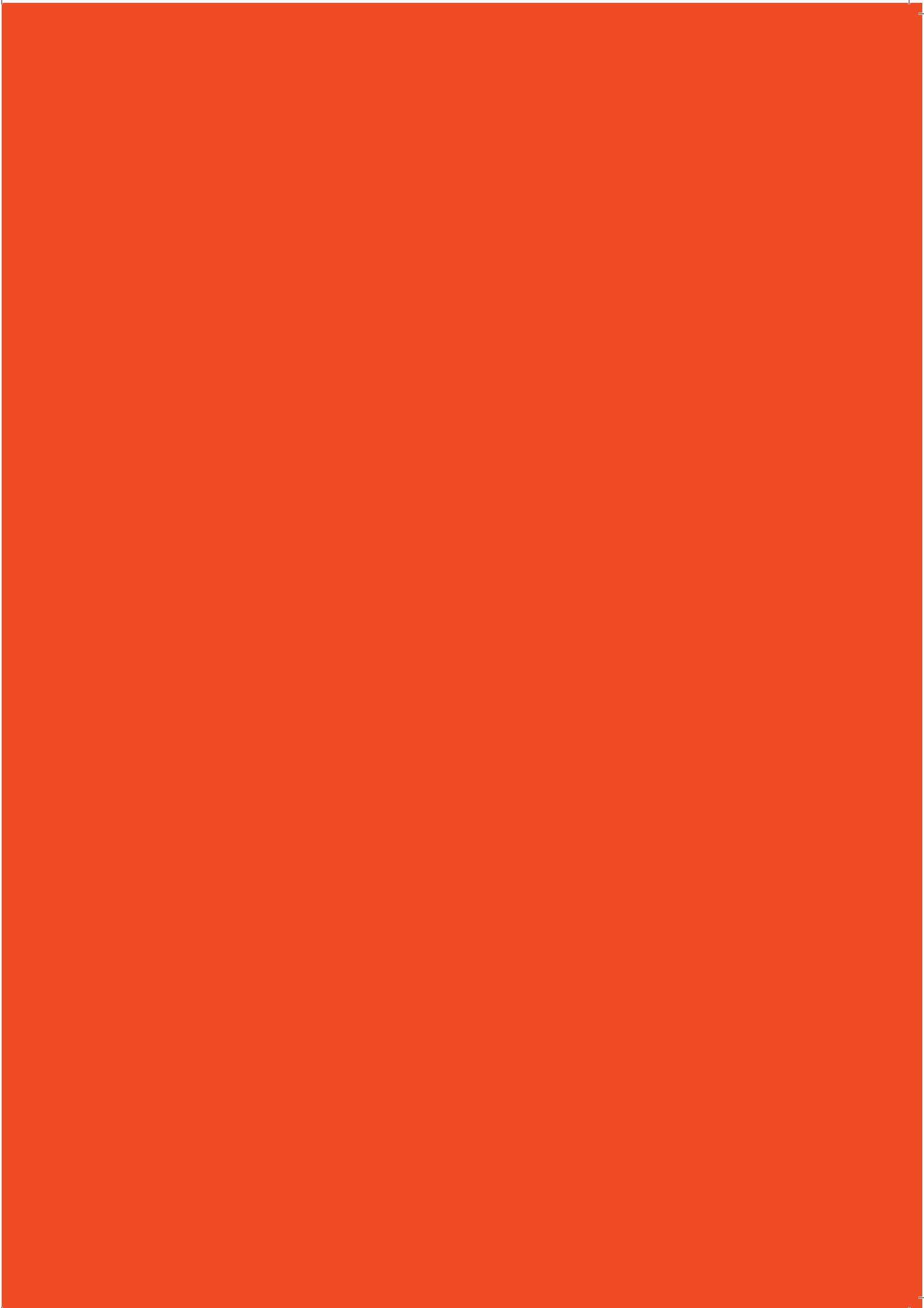
Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.

GRAPH 13: DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS ON ACCESS TO EDUCATION BY ACTIVITY TYPE



Note: This graph pertains to projects conducted by the organizations included in this study (organizations that focus on girls' education and gender equality, educational organizations that conduct activities targeting girls, and organizations that work to eliminate barriers to girls' access to education). Projects can have more than one focus area.







SUNA AND İNAN
KIRAÇ FOUNDATION