CHANGING PARADIGMS OF GENDER ROLES AND SEXUALITY IN EDUCATION IN TURKEY: NEW DIRECTIONS, GAPS AND SUGGESTIONS
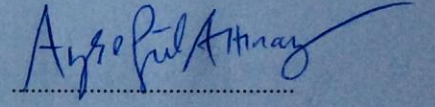
by

SELIN KARAR TEMIZKAN

Submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

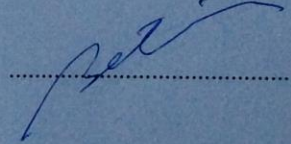Sabancı University
September 2016

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APPROVED BY:

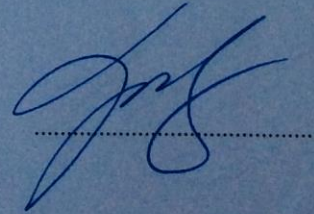Doç. Dr. Ayşe Gül Altınay

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DATE OF APPROVAL: 19.09.2016

ABSTRACT

CHANGING PARADIGMS OF GENDER ROLES AND SEXUALITY IN EDUCATION IN TURKEY: NEW DIRECTIONS, GAPS AND SUGGESTIONS

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Conflict Analysis and Resolution, M.A.

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September 2016

Keywords: Non-governmental organizations, education, gender, sexuality, intersectionality, gender-responsive education, Turkey

This study provides a comprehensive analysis of the policies, projects and scholarship addressing gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. It aims to develop a database for gender and sexuality related policy and governmental/non-governmental initiatives, and construct a critical framework for identifying the gaps, weaknesses and further directions. In the current literature, there exists neither a database of organizations focused specifically on gender and sexuality in education nor a comprehensive analysis of all the initiatives in Turkey within this scope. This study shows that, in the field of education policy, philanthropy and NGO work, since the 1990s, there has been several shifts. This thesis analyzes this emerging field, addressing its strengths and weaknesses. The database and analysis provided in the thesis show that most of the gender-related education policies and initiatives (governmental as well as non-governmental) focus on either the enrollment difference between girls and boys or textbook content that show discrimination against women and girls. This study analyzes the existing government and non-governmental initiatives and identifies the major gaps, such as the lack of focus on men, boys and masculinity, sexuality, LGBTI issues, 'patchwork' families, fairy tales, and animals through a gender lens.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE EĞİTİMİNDE TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ROLLERİ VE CİNSELLİK

DEĞİŞEN PARADİGMALAR: YENİ YÖNLER, BOŞLUKLAR VE ÖNERİLER

Selin Karar Temizkan

Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Ayşe Gül Altınay

Eylül 2016

Anahtar kelimeler: Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, eğitim, toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsellik, kesişimsellik, cinsiyete duyarlı eğitim, Türkiye

Bu çalışma Türkiye'de eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik odaklı araştırmacıların, politikaların, projelerin kapsamlı bir analizini sunar. Tezin temel amacı, devlet kurumları ve sivil toplum girişimleri tarafından yürütülen toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik odaklı eğitim çalışmaları için bir veri tabanı geliştirmek ve bu alandaki boşlukları, eksiklikleri ve yeni açılımları analiz etmek için eleştirel bir çerçeve oluşturmaktır. Mevcut literatürde eğitimde cinsiyet ve cinselliğe odaklanmış kuruluşları içeren (hükümet ya da sivil toplum) bir veri tabanı bulunmamaktadır. Bu kapsamda Türkiye'deki tüm girişimlerin kapsamlı bir analizi de mevcut değildir. Bu çalışma, eğitim politikaları, hayırseverlik ve sivil toplum alanında bu bağlamda 1990'lı yıllardan beri yaşanan dönüşümlere dikkat çeker ve gelişmekte olan bu alanı güçlü ve zayıf yanlarını inceler. Tez çalışması kapsamında geliştirilen veritabanı ve analiz göstermektedir ki gerek devlet kurumları gerekse sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından yürütülen toplumsal cinsiyet ve eğitim odaklı çalışmaların çoğunluğu iki alana odaklanmaktadır: Kız ve erkek çocuklarının eğitime katılımındaki uçurum ve kadınlar ve kız çocuklarına yönelik ders kitaplarında yer alan ayrımcı ifadeler. Bu çalışma varolan devlet ve sivil toplum girişimlerini inceler ve temel bazı boşlukların altını çizer. Bu boşluklardan bazıları şöyledir: Erkekler, oğlan çocukları ve erkeklik; cinsellik; LGBTİ konuları, 'yama' aileler, masallar ve toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden hayvanlar

To my unborn twin-brother,

my mother Sabah,

and

to courageous teachers

ACKNOWKLEDGMENT

In the first instance, this study emerged from questions of curiosity regarding gender and sexuality in educational content in Turkey. It was not difficult to observe, even before in-depth research, that the content of curricula and textbooks in Turkey are deeply gendered, which is a finding shared by previous research as well. As I sought to develop an original study, I started asking questions about the construction of masculinities, which is hardly researched in terms of educational content and curricula in Turkey. While I was gathering information, in the first stage of the thesis, I attended to two initiatives which motivated me to transform my research question into the current one. The first one, *Good Practices in Education Conference* was organized by the Education Reform Initiative (ERG[1]) on April 2, 2016. I attended workshops and information sessions (including a workshop by Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association / KAOS GL[2] on gender and education, and another one on a governmental project, Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project / ETCEP[3]) which inspired me to think further on the role of governmental and civil society organizations in the field of gender and sexuality in education.

The second initiative I attended was a talk[4] organized by SEÇBİR[5] in which a sexual health educator and consultant of the Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation (TAPV) Efsun Sertoğlu shared her field experiences regarding sexual health education programs. This program is undertaken at private schools because it is prohibited to implement such a content at public schools. This prohibition was a matter of discussion during the talk. Confronting issues were brought to light, regarding the way the state intervenes in such programs and hinders the spread of sexual knowledge among youth and children in Turkey.

These mentioned experiences became central to my choice of governmental and non-governmental initiatives with respect to gender and sexuality in Turkey as the main

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[1] Eğitim Reform Girişimi
[2] Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği (KAOS GL) - Eğitimin Heteroseksist Yapısı, LGBTİ Öğrenciler ve Okul Hayatında Yaşadıkları Sorunlar
[3] Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi (ETCEP) - "Yeniden Yazan Okullar Yuvarlak Masa Toplantısı"
[4] School-Based Sexual Health Education Program: Observations and Experiences from the Field
[5] Sosyoloji ve Eğitim Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi

ABBREVIATIONS

AÇEV	Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı [*Mother Child Education Foundation*]
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi [*Justice and Development Party*]
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CETAD	Cinsel eğitim ve tedavi araştırma derneği [*Society for Sexual Education Treatment and Research*]
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [*The Republican People's Party*]
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizen Participation
ÇOÇA	Çocuk Çalışmaları Birimi [*Children Studies Unit*]
CSO	Civil Society Organization
ÇYDD	Çağdaş Yaşam Destekleme Derneği [*Organization for the Support of Modern Living*]
EFA	Education For All
ERDEP Project]	Ergenlik Dönemi Değişim Projesi [*Change during Adolescence*
ERG	Eğitim Reform Girişimi [*Education Reform Initiative*]
ETCEP	Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi [*Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project*]
EU	European Union
GDSPW	The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women
GİKAP	Gökkuşağı İstanbul Kadın Platformu [*Rainbow Istanbul Women's Platform*]
GLSEN	Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network
GO	Governmental Organization
GONGO	Government operated non-governmental organizations
IKGV	İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı [*Human Resource Development Foundation*]
ILGA	International Lesbian and Gay Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPF	The International Planned Parenthood Federation
KA-DER	Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitme Derneği [*The Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates*]

KAOS GL	Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği [*Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association*]
KEP	Kız Çocuklarının Eğitimi Projesi [*Project for Increasing Enrolment Rates Especially For Girls*]
KSGM	Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü [*General Directorate of Women's Status*]
LEGATO	Lezbiyen Gay Topluluğu [*Lesbian Gay Community*]
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual, Intersexual
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender/Transsexual, Queer
LISTAG	Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Bireylerin Aileleri ve Yakınları Derneği [*Families and Friends of LGBTIs in Turkey*]
LÖSEV	Lösemili Çocuklar Vakfı [*Children with Leukemia Foundation*]
MoNE	Ministry of Education
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODTÜ	Middle Eastern Technical University
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PE	Physical Education
PLPTS	Prayer Leader and Preacher Training school
SEÇBİR	Sosyoloji ve Eğitim Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi [*Center for Sociology and Education Studies*]
SHEP	Sexual Health Education Program
SPoD	Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği [*Social Policy Center İdentity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association*]
STGM	Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi [*Civil society development center*]
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TAPV	Türkiye Aile Planlaması Derneği [*Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation*]
TCK	Türk Ceza Kanunu [*Turkish Penal Code*]
TDK	Türk Dil Kurumu [*Turkish Language Association*]
TOG	Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı [*Community Volunteers Foundation*]

TÜİSAD	Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği [Foundation]
TURKSTAT	Türk İstatistik Kurumu [*Turkish Statistical Institute*]
TÜSEV	Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı [*Third Sector Foundation of Turkey*]
UIA	Union of International Associations
UN	United Nations
UNDHR	Universal declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
WANGO	World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

According to the Global Gender Report, Turkey was ranked 130th out of 145 countries in the Global Index of 2015 (World Economic Forum, 2015: 9). The same report ranks Turkey at 105 (out of 145) on the subindex of educational attainment. Besides, with a score of 0.624 regarding inequality (0.00 = inequality, 1.00 = equality). Turkey appears as a country with major challenges in terms of gender inequalities shaping society as well as education. As Gök argues, "the unequal distribution of education between men and women is one of the most striking characteristics of the educational system in Turkey" (2007: 250). Education is according to Kağıtçıbaşı (2014: 13) the main determinant of gender differences in Turkey. Similarly, according to Sayılan (2008: 249) gender inequalities in education cause "the perpetuation of the genderwise power inequalities in the entire society and education system".

If the gender gap in terms of access to education is one major issue, the content and level of education is another. In this line, Derince (2012: 16) argues that power and power relations that exist in society and which determines the character of the state reflect directly in the education system. In particular, the reproduction of gender inequality has an educational decisive effect. In many countries, not only the unequal access to education between boys and girls, but also the gender-biased educational content and school culture contributes significantly to the reproduction and consolidation of traditional gender roles. Gender equality and non-discrimination based on gender or sex is accepted as a human right by the United Nations. *The Universal declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 in Paris, regulated this right in Article 2 as follows:

> 'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.'

How can Turkey's outstanding gender gap in education be understood (and changed)? What does it mean to have a gender-responsive education system? How is gender-equality

or gender-responsiveness defined in the Turkish context? How do state and non-state institutions approach gender and sexuality in education? If creating a gender-responsive educational environment is interwoven with other "diversity threads, such as age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social and economic differences" (Johnston-Coeterier, 2014: 6), to what extent have these intersections been acknowledged in ongoing projects related to gender and education? Asking these questions, among others, this thesis aims to map and critically analyze the past two decades of policy making and NGO work in the field of gender and education.

1.2 Scope

1.2.1 Aim of the study

This thesis aims to evaluate the gender and sexuality-related initiatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations in the growing field of gender and education in Turkey. Although gender and sexuality in education has emerged as an important research and policy field in Turkey, there have been no comprehensive analysis of this field yet. Therefore, this study addresses this gap with two contributions. First, it aims to create a database for governmental and non-governmental projects, campaigns and reports regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. Second, it seeks to develop a critical analysis of the short history of gender and sexuality related policy and governmental and non-governmental work, and construct a framework for identifying the gaps, weaknesses and further directions.

Focusing on the changing paradigms through a social and political lens in Turkey, I analyze what is already done in theory (academic field, policies, legislations) and in practice (projects, initiatives), discuss them in relation to each other and remark the gaps and shortcomings. In the last section, I provide a selected overview of "good examples" in gender and sexuality related initiatives in education and present some suggestions and challenges for national policy making and NGO practice.

1.2.2 Research questions

As I researched and analyzed governmental and non-governmental initiatives in relation to gender and education, I have asked the following questions: How is gender-

equality or gender-responsiveness defined in the Turkish context? What have been some of the key government and non-government initiatives to address gender and sexuality issues in education? In which years did the projects and initiatives regarding gender and sexuality in education emerge and how is the development of these initiatives related to the historical and political context in Turkey? How should we approach these initiatives and which theories should we take into consideration in the analysis? What are the outcomes of feminist movements, politics and policies in Turkey since the Ottoman Empire regarding gender and sexuality in education and how does this reflect to projects and initiatives of civil society organizations? What is already studied by academicians and researchers of governmental and non-governmental organizations in Turkey regarding gender and sexuality in education and what are their gaps and shortcomings? How did the governmental and non-governmental projects and initiatives regarding gender and sexuality in education develop and how has their focus shifted in time? What are the trends in the funding of these projects and initiatives and which (inter)national actors are playing a major role in this process? How can we understand the existing initiatives from an intersectional gender perspective and identify the gaps and shortcomings? What could be possible contributions for the Turkish context of international good practices of gender-responsive education?

1.2.3   Objectives

This study aims to explore research by scholars and initiatives by governmental and non-governmental organizations with respect to gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. The main objectives to create a database of major initiatives since the 1990s and analyze their contributions and shortcomings. This database of governmental and non-governmental research and initiatives in Turkey with respect to gender and sexuality in education, can serve as a tool for further research, as well as becoming a reference for policy-making in this field.

1.2.4   Significance

In recent years, comprehensive studies have been done regarding gender and sexuality in education, specifically on gender equality with the focus on the educational participation of girls and boys. Also initiatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations are

highly focused on school attainment and quota in Turkey. Although access to school of especially girls is very important, the focus on solely attainment to education is a narrow one. Gender disparity is after all more than just inequality in educational participation. It is commonly accepted that without educational participation of children their contribution to their families and societies will be weakened. Yet, the content and environment of the educational setting are as important. If these settings do not become gender-responsive, this may lead to the reinforcement of gender stereotypes. As many educators agree, gender-responsive "promises to be a viable alternative for the building of enduring progress in Education for All" (Aksornkool, UNESCO[6], 2004: 141).

This study looks at the short history of gender and sexuality related initiatives in the field of education in Turkey and analyzes their frameworks beyond the question of gender equal access to education.

One of the main contributions this thesis aims to make is the creation of a database of gender and sexuality related initiatives in the field of education in Turkey. There exist a number of databases of governmental as well as non-governmental organizations in Turkey, with lists of organizations by geographical location, scope, subject, or status. However, these guides include only the names of the organizations, with address information, their scopes and a very short introduction of their activities. Although there are some limited databases (mostly in need of updating and expansion) for NGOs focusing on gender and sexuality, there exists neither a database of organizations (governmental as well as non-governmental) focused specifically on gender and sexuality in education nor a list of all the initiatives in Turkey with this scope. Existing databases in the field of gender and sexuality are mentioned separately and not defined by the specific ones for education.

Some of the key databases that I have analyzed and utilized are as follows: databases that are of particular significance. The non-governmental organization *Uçan Süpürge* [Flying Broom] has created two databases[7] (dated 2003 and 2009) introduce women's organizations, and Women's Studies Centers. Other general databases in which organizations working with gender issues are listed are the following: an information bank

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[6]Gender Sensitivity, A training manual for sensitizing education managers, curriculum and material developers and media professionals to gender concerns.
[7] http://www.ucansupurge.org/EN,2538/database.html

of *TÜSEV* [Third Sector Foundation of Turkey] with selected organizations[8]; the website of the Turkish Republic Minister of Interior Department of Association with a list of associations[9]; a database of STGM [civil society development center][10]; several lists on the website of the directorate of foundations of Turkish prime ministry[11] and non-governmental organizations guides published by the *Tarih Vakfı* [Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey] in 1996 (Tarih Vakfı, 1996) and 2005 (Tarih Vakfı, 2005), and by *Türkiye Çevre Vakfı* [Environmental Foundation of Turkey] in 1995(Türkiye Çevre Vakfı, 1995). Lastly, the most comprehensive, in modalities and scope, but limited to youth foundations is the 'Youth Area Map' as part of the project '*Senin Hakkın, Gençlik Hakkı!*' [Your Rights, Youth Rights!] by *Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı* [Community Volunteers Foundation][12].

Furthermore, there are lists of projects available which are granted by several foundations. These lists are matter of course only containing the projects or organizations who are granted by these foundations. However, it presents firstly the perspectives of the foundations who are supportive in gender and sexuality-related issues, and secondly, these lists are mostly ordered by theme or scope, which is less seen in the databases mentioned before.

In the end, there is no database which has a specific emphasis on gender and sexuality in education. The formation of such a database will enable a comprehensive mapping of an increasingly more significant policy and research field in Turkey. It can be a tool for NGOs, researchers or interested volunteers. Above all, the most important reason for creating such a database should be to empower the mutual communication between organizations (governmental and non-governmental), researchers and policy-makers regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey, and contribute to the implementation of new policies, directions and challenges in this field. A comprehensive database also enables the development of a framework for identifying the gaps and weaknesses in the efforts related to gender and sexuality in education, which is another key aim of this thesis.

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[8] http://www.tusev.org.tr/tr/infobank/viewlist
[9] https://www.dernekler.gov.tr/en/default.aspx
[10] http://www.stgm.org.tr/en/stoveritabani
[11] http://www.vgm.gov.tr/sayfa.aspx?Id=35
[12] http://www.genclikharitasi.org/genclik_orgutleri.html

1.3 Methodology

This research project has two main legs. First is the creation of a database for governmental and non-governmental projects, campaigns and reports regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. Second is a critical analysis of the short history of gender and sexuality related policy and NGO work and the construction of a framework for identifying the gaps and weaknesses. In the creation of the database several resources have played a key role as enlisted in the previous section.

The database enlisted on the website of the civil society development center STGM (sivil toplum geliştirme merkezi)[13]; the website of the directorate of foundations of Turkish prime ministry[14]; the Non-governmental organization guide, a book published by the Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey in 1996 and a later edition in 2005[15]; a Turkish NGO's directory, published by Türkiye Çevre Vakfı in 1995[16]; the 'Youth Area Map' as part of the project '*Senin Hakkın, Gençlik Hakkı!*' [Your Rights, Youth Rights!] by *Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı* [Community Volunteers Foundation][17], the infobank of TÜSEV [Third Sector Foundation][18]; the list on the website of the Turkish Republic Minister of Interior Department of Association[19] and the electronic government website guide (E-devlet) of Turkey are used. In all above mentioned lists the initiatives related to gender and sexuality in education have been carefully selected.

In order to create a database, two lists have been developed. The first list is an overview of the research reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. The second list is a database of gender and sexuality in education-practices and initiatives sorted by chronological order and modality. The information for these lists has been retrieved mostly from annual reports that are publicly available. Based on the available secondary resources, this database aims

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[13]http://www.stgm.org.tr/en/stoveritabani
[14] http://www.vgm.gov.tr/sayfa.aspx?Id=35
[15] Tarih Vakfı [The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey], 1996 and 2006
[16] Türkiye Çevre Vakfı [Environmental Foundation of Turkey]. (1995). Türkiye gönüllü kuruluşlar rehberi [Turkish NGOs directory]. Ankara: Türkiye Çevre Vakfı.
[17] http://www.genclikharitasi.org/genclik_orgutleri.html
[18] http://www.tusev.org.tr/tr/infobank/viewlist
[19] https://www.dernekler.gov.tr/en/default.aspx

to provide a starting point for mapping the initiatives regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey, a policy and research field of increasing significance.

The second part of this research project has been a critical evaluation of this emerging field. For this critical evaluation, which aims at identifying gaps and weaknesses, the existing academic literature, both national and international, has been reviewed and analyzed. International scholarship, governmental and non-governmental reports, as well as good practices have been critically reviewed and utilized in the drafting of suggestions for further development in research and policy regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey.

1.3.1   Limitations

The use of secondary data analysis in the form of annual reports and retrieved mainly from websites as a method has its drawbacks. Firstly, not every governmental and/or non-governmental organization provides enough information in the form of annual reports, to get insight in the work of these organizations. Secondly, projects which are finished are not sufficiently evaluated by most of the organizations. There are evaluation reports available, but this research could have been more complete if observations by schools (teachers, parents of students, school management etc.) were investigated in order to measure the improvements of the projects and by the fieldworkers of governmental and non-governmental organizations. However, due to practical reasons, this research is limited to secondary resources.

This study does not address the perception and gender-distribution of teachers in formal education in Turkey. Female teachers as role models are for instance important influences on the continuation of educational attainment of girls. On the other hand, male teachers are also role models, especially in the development of stereotypes, because the profession 'teacher' is highly perceived in patriarchal societies as a 'women' job. Furthermore, the distribution and perceptions of straight or LGBTI teachers, could also be an important effect in the perception of students with respect to gender and sexuality. However, this study focuses solely on the initiatives of organizations who themselves have researched the attitude and behavior of teachers regarding sex education, sexist language, attitudes towards LGBTI students, expectations of girls and boys regarding feminine or

masculine behavior etc. Even though research is mostly done by academia, governmental and non-governmental organizations include these findings in their work.

Furthermore, this study analyzes projects and initiatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations with respect to gender and sexuality in *formal* education. *TurkStat*[20] defines 'formal education' as "the regular education conducted within a school for individuals in a certain age group and at the same level, under programs developed in accordance with the purpose. Formal education includes pre-primary education, primary education, secondary education and higher education institutions"[21].

Although there are numerous projects and initiatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations in Turkey which implemented trainings and educational practices regarding gender and sexuality in also non-formal educational settings, the database as product of this research will not cover these. *Halk Eğitim Merkezleri* [Public Education Centers] "offer the largest variety of courses in non-formal education. This type of education is carried out through training courses organized by the Ministry of Education, other ministries and private establishments" (Acar, 2003: 47). Aiming skills acquisition and enhancing individuals' capacities and social development, especially of women, the contribution of non-formal education in terms of gender and education is significant However, the focus of this research is formal education.   Moreover, the entire spectrum of formal education is not embedded in this research. Higher education (universities) are left outside, because of several reasons. Firstly, higher education is not compulsory education. It is important for this research to focus on educational contents and environments which the majority of the students are exposed to in order to make comparisons. Universities on the contrary contain various fields which could be a topic for further research. On the other hand, research and study centers working on gender topics, as part of universities, collaborating together with governmental and/or non-governmental organizations and taking part in projects and initiatives regarding gender and sexuality in primary and secondary education, are listed in the database and analysis.

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[20] Turkish Statistical Institute.
[21] TurkStat:http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreIstatistikMeta.do?istab_id=1577.

1.4 Theoretical framework

1.4.1   Intersectional framework: beyond gender

Intersectionality constitutes the main framework of this thesis. The term 'intersectionality' introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), a critical race theorist, "emerged in the late 1980s as an analytic frame capable of attending to the particular positionality of black women and other women of color both in civil rights law and within civil rights movements" (Cooper, 2016: 385) and serves as a "tool to counter multiple oppressions" (Bilge, 2013: 410). Intersectionality is, according to Crenshaw, a critical approach that problematizes treating "race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis" (Cooper, 2016: 385). Crenshaw objected to the single-axis framework in which problems of Black women were included, and averred that the "intersectional experience… is greater than the sum of racism and sexism" (Cooper, 2016: 386). Lykke emphasizes this by stating the following: "intersectional interplays between categorizations should be analyzed as mutual and intertwined processes of transformation and not as a mere addition of gender, class, ethnicity, race, sexuality and so on" (2010: 51).

Intersectionality is based on the consideration that "patriarchy interacts with other systems of power", such as racism which disadvantages the social positions of some groups more than others (Cooper, 2016: 387). It should be taken as the need "to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244). Connell (1987) states that the concept of gender is a social structure interacting with other social structures, such as nationality, race, class etc. Additionally, "gender relations are a major component of social structure as a whole" Connell argues (1995, 76). Therefore, it is significant to go "beyond gender" (Conell, 1995: 76).

Nina Lykke presents the concept of intersectionality within "the idea that gender/sex intersects with other sociocultural categorizations" (2010: 50). Within the many interpretations among (feminist) scholars regarding intersectionality Lykke's approach is a broad, "umbrella-like definition". According to this definition:

"intersectionality can, first of all, be considered as a theoretical and methodological tool to analyze how historically specific kinds of power differentials and/or constraining normativities, based on discursively, institutionally and/or structurally constructed sociocultural categorizations such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age/generation, dis/ability, nationality, mother tongue and so on, *interact*, and in so doing produce different kinds of societal inequalities and unjust social relations" (2010: 50).

It is worth noting that Lykke improves this definition by replacing inter-action into intra-action, a term devised by the feminist physicist Karen Barad (2003), who "underlines that inter-action is something that goes on between bounded entities, clashing against each other like billiard balls, without initiating mutual transformation. Conversely, intra-action refers to an interplay between non-bounded phenomena, which interpenetrate and mutually transform each other" (Lykke, 2010: 51). Hence, speaking about intersectionalities between gender, nationality, age, etc., these mutually transformative processes are important to consider in analyses.

The umbrella-approach of Lykke is the framework of this thesis, in which intersectionality will be used in the analysis of the initiatives of the governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as interwoven within the suggestions for new directions towards a 'gender-responsive education'. In the Turkish educational context, an intersectional perspective would require taking into account multiple grounds of identity, such as ethnicity, religion, class domination, sexual identity and gender in an attempt to understand the structure of discriminatory practices in education. From an intersectional perspective, establishing a gender-responsive educational content and learning environment can only be reached if other sociocultural aspects are also taken into consideration, such as ethnicity, dis/ability, class etc. An inclusive, intersectional approach requires combating all discriminatory practices at once. As I analyze the gender and sexuality related projects by governmental and non-governmental organizations in this thesis, I employ an intersectional perspective and inquire into the extent to which these projects identify "gender-equality" as an inclusive framework that takes into account different axes of power and discrimination.

1.4.2   Terminology

1.4.2.1 Gender, sex and sexuality

The concept of gender and the distinction between sex, sexuality and gender is complex, interrelated to each other and an ongoing matter of discussion among feminist scholars. Gender was initially introduced as a term that emphasized social construction, as opposed to "sex" as a biological concept. In time, sex and sexuality have also come to be understood as socially constructed. Queerfeminist theories[22] for instance, emphasize that "gender, sex and sexuality cannot be analyzed in separation from each other" (Lykke, 2010: 210). Several scholars (Harding 1986; Haraway 1991; Fausto-Sterling 2000b; Dorlin 2008) argue that "gender constructs sex, a process that is masked by a sex/gender opposition based on the nature/culture opposition, which science like biology have contributed to producing and reproducing" (Vigoya, 2016: 859). Judith Butler (1990, 1993) problematizes the use of gender as an extension of (biological) sex, which is accompanied by the heteronormative[23] regulation of sexuality (Vigoya, 2016: 859). Similarly, Lykke argues that "there is no inner sexual nature that can be located in biology" (Lykke, 2010: 105). She proposes to deconstruct and delegitimize the "heterosexual matrix" which consists of "the dimensions of biological determinism and culturally normative connection between biologically sexed bodies, the gender identities 'woman' and 'man' and the heterosexual organization of sexual desire" (Lykke, 2010: 59). In this thesis, as I analyze how gender, sex and sexuality are understood and defined in the projects and reports that focus on gender and sexuality in education, I adopt a theoretical framework that incorporates a problematization of heteronormativity and the "naturalization" of sex.

The term LGBTI is used throughout the thesis. LGBTI stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual/Transgender, Intersexual. In some contexts, LGBTQ is preferred, with Q standing for Queer. However, in the Turkish context, the contemporary term is LGBTI and this is the term that will be adopted in this study.

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[22]"Queer feminism challenges heterocentric trends in mainstream feminisms" (Lykke, 2010: 57)
[23] Heteronormativity is "the idea that exclusively 'heterosexual' behavior is the social and personal norm" (Parkinson, 2013: 25)

1.4.2.2 Civil society, governmental and non-governmental organizations

In this study, I look into governmental organizations (GOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It is important to note, that in the Turkish language NGOs and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are used interchangeably.

The United Nations defines civil society as follows: "Civil society is the "third sector" of society, along with government and business. It comprises civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations"[24]. Sievers argues that there are seven elements of civil society: philanthropy; the common good; the rule of law; nonprofit and voluntary institutions; individual rights; free expression and tolerance (2010: 20). These seven elements are "constitutive and interactive components that together create the necessary and sufficient conditions for the successful functioning of modern civil society" (Sievers, 2010: 20).

In the Turkish context, Keyman (2000) articulates civil society as an "area of public deliberation" and emphasizes the need to have a strong civil society against the nation-state for democratization (Keyman & Içduygu, 2003: 220). Yet, it is important not to take civil society as totally separate from the state, because there are linkages observable between states and civil society "through political parties, public bureaucracies and large-scale mixed institutions" (Şimşek, 2004: 47).

There is considerable literature on the definition of NGOs, but no consensus according to the World Bank (Gibbs et. al. 1999: 61). The *NGO Handbook* of WANGO[25] for instance, defines non-governmental organization (NGO) as "generally considered to be any non-state, nonprofit, voluntary organization" and "as a non-state entity, an NGO is generally independent from government influence—it is not a part of or controlled by government or an intergovernmental agency" ([26]). The World Bank[27] defines NGOs as "private organizations that pursue activities to relieve the suffering, promote the interests of

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[24]http://www.un.org/en/sections/resources/civil-society/index.html
[25] World Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
[26] http://www.wangohandbook.org/index.php?title=What_is_a_Non-Governmental_Organization_(NGO)%3F
[27] Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society Engagement in World Bank Supported Projects: Lessons from OED Evaluations (2002)

the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development" (2002: 1). The Civil Society Glossary UIA, defines NGO as "a private international organization (as distinguished from an international intergovernmental organization), set up either in the form of a single association or as a federation of various national organizations"[28].

There are also government operated non-governmental organizations (GONGOs) that are sponsored and related to the government.

1.4.2.3 Gender-sensitive or Gender-responsive education

Engendering education is defined as "examining and making progress towards gender equity in the learning opportunities available for both women and men throughout their lives but particularly during their period of full-time education" (World Bank, 2010: 93). The engendering of processes or activity is mentioned as gender-mainstreaming: "The primary objective of gender mainstreaming is to design and implement development projects, programmes and policies that do not reinforce existing gender inequalities (gender neutral); attempt to redress existing gender inequalities (gender sensitive); attempt to redefine women and men's gender roles and relations (gender positive/transformative)" (Christodoulou, 2005[29]: 13-14).

In this study the term gender-responsive is preferred instead of gender-sensitive. Martin describes what it means to be gender-sensitive as follows: "one which takes sex or gender into account when it makes a difference and ignores it when it does not" (Martin, 1981: 109 quoted in Forde, 2014: 371).Forde follows up on this definition to state that in "the notion of gender sensitive education the emphasis is 'sensitive' through which we can adopt an interrogatory stance in relation to the concept of gender and its place in the classroom" (2014: 372).Being aware (sensitive) of gendered and sexist practices within educational settings is one thing, responding by taking action within these practices in order to make change is another thing. The terms gender-responsive and gender-transformative, on the other thing, emphasize the responsibility to develop strategies and take action.[30]

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[28] http://www.uia.org/cs-glossary
[29] http://www.peacewomen.org/assets/file/AdvocacyEducationTools/genderglossary_migs_aug2005.pdf
[30] See http://www.who.int/gender/mainstreaming/GMH_Participant_GenderAssessmentScale.pdf

1.4.3   Gender and sex education

Burr (1998) states that education plays an important role in gender development. In the *International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education* of UNESCO[31] the importance of socialization in gender and sex(uality) through education is stated as follow:

> "School settings provide an important opportunity to reach large numbers of young people with sexuality education before they become sexually active, as well as offering an appropriate structure (i.e. the formal curriculum) within which to do so" (2009: 3).

Not only the educational content, but also its structure is significant in the construction of the gender identities of students. Connell argues that "requiring boys to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of girls, and 'straight' students to participate in curriculum organized around the interests of lesbians and gays, demands a capacity for empathy, for taking the viewpoint of the other, which is systematically denied in hegemonic masculinity" (1995: 240). Gender relations in education makes this a difficult task. An example of boys who are teased in elementary school playgrounds, because they show interest in girls' games is the way hegemonic masculinity works in education.

Incorporating gender and sex(uality) education in curricula should be of importance as part of national educational policies. According to Çuhadaroğlu, current research[32]shows that "sex education has been identified as an effective tool in reducing homophobia and promoting positive attitudes" (2016: 3). Analyzing life stories of others and their own experiences, children tend to better understand 'boyish' girls and 'girlish' boys, at the same time as they learn to accept themselves as individuals who are unique, complex and with their own characteristics. Moreover, gender/sex education can be a positive step towards gender equality in the society, because it as an attempt to change the roles men and women play in private as well as public life. It starts with gender awareness and helps reducing gender stereotypes to "build genuine civic equality where males and females live in relationships of cooperation and in mutual respect" (Flowers, 2007: 240).

However, gender/sex education is one of "the most controversial and politicized aspects of the school curriculum" (Measor et. al. 2000: 1). Part of the problem is discussion

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[31] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
[32] Airton (2009); Rogers, McRee &Arntz (2009)

about what sex education should contain, especially in religious societies. In Turkey, this type of education is mostly limited to bodily changes during adolescence and STI. However, in order to shape gender/sex education to combat homophobia, sexism, and gender discrimination, it is in the first instance important to reach a consensus regarding the role and significance of gender/sex education. According to Forde:

> "if gender-sensitive education rests on an understanding of a strict binary gender difference there is the danger of crystallizing specific learning strategies, content and intellectual domains which serve boys' or girls' needs and which become polarized into existing binaries of male/active/challenge as opposed to female/passive/conformity. Thus gender sensitive becomes reduced to sets of practices such as adjusting materials, the content, experiences and the use of role models to reflect the interests and experiences of one gender or another. Such strategies bring limited change because there is a lack appreciation of the operation of gender regimes of power" (2014: 372).

A comprehensive sex education approach considers the concept of gender as a main part of its curriculum. The *International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education* of UNESCO states also that "sexuality cannot be understood without reference to gender" (2009: 2). Measor et. al. argue in this line that "it is important to keep gender to the forefront of any examination of sex education programmes, for much of the controversy around sex education is gendered" (2000: 9). Hence, comprehensive sex education is beyond sex, including gender, and opposes the exclusive focus on heterosexuality and hegemonic masculinity. The *IPPF Framework for Comprehensive Sexuality Education*[33] approaches comprehensive sexuality education as follow:

> "A rights-based approach to Comprehensive Sexuality Education seeks to equip young people with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values they need to determine and enjoy their sexuality – physically and emotionally, individually and in relationships. It views 'sexuality' holistically and within the context of emotional and social development. It recognizes that information alone is not enough. Young people need to be given the opportunity to acquire essential life skills and develop positive attitudes and values" (Breaken et. al. 2010: 6).

Measor et. al also underline the importance of gender/sex education, by arguing that it "has importance in socializing a new generation, not only into prevailing attitudes about

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[33]The International Planned Parenthood Federation

sexuality but also into critically important ways of thinking about and being in society"
(2000: 7).

Besides, the fact that teachers are also 'sexual beings' should be taken into account in the development of sexuality programs. The training of teachers and their awareness of the gendered aspects of pedagogy, including their own, gains special significance when it comes to sex education. According to Francis & Skelton, "perhaps before they can teach sex education effectively, teachers need to recognize the ways in which constructions of gender influence their pedagogy and, hence, the way in which they deliver sex education" (2001: 18).

It is within this framework that I analyze the recent research and project on gender and sexuality in education in Turkey.

1.5 Thesis Map

In this chapter, I provide an introduction to the theoretical framework, research questions and methodology.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the academic scholarship regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey, highlighting the gaps in the field, such as LGBTI issues, masculinity, patchwork families, animals, and disability.

In Chapter 3 the campaigns, projects, reports and initiatives addressing gender and sexuality in Turkish education are examined in terms of modality, with a particular focus on their strengths and weaknesses. The development of the main governmental and non-governmental organizations in Turkey with a focus on gender and sexuality in education is reviewed, highlighting the changes in focus, frameworks, policies and debates. This chapter presents the findings of the database of gender and sexuality in education practices and initiatives in Turkey.

Chapter 4 brings together the arguments and findings of the thesis, while also providing suggestions for policy-making and civil society work on gender and education.

CHAPTER 2:

GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN EDUCATION: ACADEMIC, GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

> In the report *'Reviews of national policies for education: Basic education in Turkey'* of OECD[34] regarding education in Turkey, challenges despite all efforts (in terms of policies and legislation) with respect to gender are mentioned (2007: 46). The aim to eliminate gender disparity in especially primary education has achieved a step forward, but the gender gap remains. At secondary level, the gender imbalance is "more severe than at the primary school level", the report concludes (OECD, 2007: 78).

International as well as national reports on gender in education in Turkey have typically focused on gender equality and disparities in school enrollment and attainment between boys and girls. The understanding of gender as two-sexes and their equal participation in education remains the main framework of analysis in major research and policy reports. This thesis argues that gender is, or should be, more than two sexes and their equal representation. In what follows, I discuss the limited research that highlights other aspects of gender and sexuality in education in Turkey. In recent years, the research on gender and education in Turkey has grown significantly. This chapter analyzes the academic research regarding gender and sexuality in education in Turkey.

2.2 Learning environment

One of the main issues, since the Ottoman times, has been sexual segregation in schools. Although the majority of the schools became coeducational in the course of Republican history, until 1997, there were a small number of single-sex schools (Erarslan & Rankin, 2013: 457). The debate on single-sex schools started again in 2009 "in response to governor of Mardin province's proposal to open girls' schools in some regions of Turkey" (Erarslan & Rankin, 2013: 457). The governor argued that "the strong patriarchal traditions and beliefs of families living in southeastern Turkey do not allow girls to go to school" (Erarslan & Rankin, 2013: 457). When a high school headmaster in Mersin stated that "male and female students can be no closer than 45 meters at school", some critics expressed their concern that if single-sex schools open again "they incorporate traditional

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[34] Organization for economic co-operation and development

gender ideology and violate the secular system which purports to promote gender equality"
(Erarslan & Rankin, 2013: 458). Erarslan & Rankin argue that single-sex settings at schools
"are considered unnatural and discriminatory, since the basic idea of separating genders is
thought to violate equality between men and women" (2013: 458). Some supporters of
single-sex schools, do believe that curriculum is more influential in the construction of
gender perception than the educational setting. Erarslan & Rankin refer to Acar et. al
(1999) who describe that supporters of single-sex schools argue that promoting gender
equality and providing "necessary skills and modern world views to facilitate women's full
participation in society" through modern curricula, should be possible in single-sex schools
(2013: 458). And others emphasize the significance of the gender composition of students
at schools in the development and construction of gender identities, perceptions and
prejudices towards other genders.

Although schools have typically been co-educational, other forms of segregation
have been common practice. Acar calls these arrangements "segregationist extracurricular
practices" and argues that these practices exist and continue through the gender
discriminatory behavior and attitudes of teachers and community-school interactions (2003:
45). An example is that girls' and boy's seats are actually separated in classrooms and
makes the girls "subjecting to strict rules and controls to ensure 'gender-appropriate' and
'desexualized' attire" (Arat, 1994: 71). Especially religious education is fulfilled with these
practices and reinforced through what some researchers call 'hidden curricula' (Acar,
Güneş-Ayata & Varoğlu 1999: 123).Among other things, gender distribution of teachers as
role models; the policies of the school and their improvements regarding gender
discrimination and appropriate behavior; student culture; the arrangement of classes in
subjects in secondary vocational/technical schools also contribute to the gendering of the
learning environment.

When we focus on the structure of vocational schools for instance, the gendered
learning environments can be observed clearly. Researchers have argued that vocational-
technical schools enforce the development of feminine and masculine identities, by leading
the girls towards fields where women predominate, which are typically less prestigious

with lower earning capacities, and the boys towards productive fields. According to Gök "the state organizes and supports this discriminatory system in the vocational-technical school" (1995: 136). Along the same lines, Acar underlines the gendered structure of vocational schools as follows:

> "vocational-technical education still reflects a clear gender-based differentiation which is largely due to the structural nature of this type of education in Turkey. The very names ("Boys' Technical Education" and "Girls' Technical Education") of these schools continue to clearly denote sex-specific specializations that are based on gender stereotypes and cultural biases. While it has been possible since 1975 to admit students of the opposite sex to what are still called girls' and/or boys' vocational lycées, this measure has had a minimal impact on breaking down gender barriers in occupations" (Acar, 2003: 41).

Moreover, the OECD report *Reviews of national policies for education: Basic education in Turkey* reveals that vocational schools for girls in Turkey have remained the same in the past decades, covering "traditional homemaker's skills such as embroidery, knitting, food preparation, and childcare" (2007: 95). The report concludes that the "continuation of these programmes perpetuates traditional gender roles in society and represents a barrier in promoting gender equality" (2007: 95).

2.3 Teachers

According to Yasemin Esen "teachers act as carriers of the values and cultural codes of their societies and have a tendency to support students' opinions and behaviors and educational and professional choices shaped by sexist stereotypes, thereby contributing to inequality" (2013b: 2544). Therefore, raising awareness among teachers regarding gender roles, stereotypes, prejudices and sexist language, is significant. In Turkey, there are already initiatives existing with respect to educating educators in gender and sexuality topics, such as *Mor Sertifika Programı* [Purple Certificate Program] by Sabancı University and ETCEP [Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project] by Ministry of Education, General Directorate for Secondary Education[35]. However, such trainings are mostly limited to projects, guides, manuals and short-duration initiatives of GOs, NGOs and University Units. The implementation of gender and sexuality training as part of curricula of training programs in Teacher Training Colleges, is still not realized. Tan stresses that teaching

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[35] These initiatives are mentioned and further discussed in chapter 3

practices are limited to individual development of national values and traditions, such as the existing patriarchal structures (2005: 68). The implementation of measures for gender sensitization for educators, in other words, teaching through gender-responsive methods, is significantly lacking.

Moreover, Acar argues that "the training of teachers and school administrators in women's human rights" is also lacking in Turkey, which is significant in the way teachers and school administrators perceive and transfer gender-responsive education (Acar, 2003: 44). Not only women's human rights, but gender, sexuality and human rights in general should be part of trainings in teacher training colleges. According to Esen, "The actors of sexist attitudes and behaviors in the educational progress are mostly the teachers" (Esen, 2013a: 757).

When we look at *Imam Hatip* schools, we see that teachers and principals of religious subjects are mostly males (Akpınar, 2007: 175). These teachers seem also to be the gatekeepers of patriarchy in the interpretation of Islam (Şefkatli, 2000: 9). Hence, gender stereotypes in classes with religious subjects, especially in *Imam Hatip* schools, are part of curricula and shape the pedagogy of the teachers.

Another area where scholars have recently scrutinized discriminatory and sexist teaching practices is Physical Education (PE). Canan Koca (2009) suggests that "Turkish PE teachers hold gender-stereotyped beliefs about the different abilities of girls and boys, laden with patriarchal stereotypes of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior" (Koca, 2009:15 quoted in Koca & Öztürk, 2014: 4). Dominant masculinities are reinforced through various practices in PE classes. Boys who do not display masculine behavior, for instance, are exposed to discriminatory practices by their peers and teachers. Research on PE practices show that any behavior, which does not fit within the 'codes' of masculinity and femininity is directly or indirectly punished through oppression and discrimination by teachers. Saraç demonstrates in her research that PE majors in teachers' colleges, both male and female, "have negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men" (2012: 277) and "that these individuals are moderately religious" (2012: 282). Additionally, "male physical education teacher majors were found to hold more negative attitudes toward gay men than female students" (Saraç, 2012: 282).

Interaction between students and teachers is significant in the construction of gender identities. Koca refers in this sense to Jones (1989) and Sadker & Sadker (1994) to argue that "the quality of classroom interaction affects the growth and education of all students, and that teachers have a responsibility to model gender-fair attitudes in their classrooms" (Koca 2009: 167). But research shows that teachers "tend to interact differently with boys than with girls and that boys were involved in more interactions with teachers" (Koca, 2009: 167). Esen refers to several researchers[36] who have shown that teachers are "more involved with male students in the classroom, support them more, put them in the spotlight especially in science and math classes, ignore female students, and prevent them from speaking their minds and improving their verbal skills" (2013a: 757). The limited research that has been conducted on teachers and teacher majors with regard to gender and sexuality suggests that there is a significant lack in the training of teachers for gender sensitive and gender responsive education.

2.4 Sex education

The research on sex education in Turkey is also extremely limited. This may be a reflection of lack of a widespread practice of sex education. Beginnings of sex education in Turkey dates back to 1974, when the *Family Planning Association of Turkey* introduced an educational project for pilot primary schools in a limited scale (Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 1). With the support of the Ministry of Education, basic education about sexual health was also provided in several projects starting from 1993 to 1998 for girls, and from 1999 to 2003 for boys. However, these projects were solely focused on physical transformations during adolescence and STI,[37] remained limited in scope and did not result in a change in the curriculum. Comprehensive sex education has still not been adopted in the curriculum of formal education in Turkey.

According to Tekeli, who conducted research on"values in Turkey" in 1989, "people do not seem to be enthusiastic about sex education, and think that if it is included in the curriculum, this should be in high school and not before" (1995: 10).Sex education retrieved from outside the family is perceived as inappropriate mostly by mothers (Tuğrul

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[36]Eccles & Blumenfeld, 1985; Stanworth, 1990; Streitmatter, 1994; Li, 1999; Duffy et al., 2001; Tsouroufli, 2002; Smith et al., 2007
[37] Sexually Transmitted Infections

& Artan, 2001) and according to Gölbaşı (2003) "families worry about the risk of premature sexual experience if their children are provided with sex education" (Gölbaşı, 2003 quoted in Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 2). The families who do not oppose sex education within school, "wish to be consulted about its contents and courses to be provided" (Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 3).

Çuhadaroğlu argues that "although Turkey is a secular country, sex education is a taboo" (2016: 1), mainly because of the Islamic traditional characteristic of the Turkish culture, suggests Çuhadaroğlu, "sex, sexuality and sex education remain difficult subjects to talk about" (2016: 2). Çuhadaroğlu notes that religious conservatism in other religious contexts (other than Islam) also leads to challenges for sex education: "religious conservatism poses an important hurdle to delivering sex education to young people across a range of contexts" (2016: 2).

Although there was a "*Sex Education Task Force* established to convince the Ministry of National Education that sex education needs to become a priority" in 1993 (Caron, 1998: 185), sex(ual) education is until today not incorporated into the compulsory curriculum of formal primary and secondary education. Caron argues that "authorities in Turkey tend to ignore the fact that children should receive sexual education" (1998: 185). However, precisely in a country such as Turkey, where gender-based violence (including sexual violence) and early child marriages of girls remains a major issue, sex education gains particular significance. Therefore, Aras et. al. argue that "consanguineous marriages, early marriage, early pregnancies, equality between genders, and sexual health services for adolescents as well as emotional and social aspects of sexual life must also be added to modern sexual education strategies" (2007: 365).

Recent research[38] among male as well as female students in Turkey shows a significant lack of knowledge of sex and sexuality, and the abundance of sexual myths, which contribute to discriminatory practices. These practices include, among others, negative attitudes towards same-sex relations, pre-marital sexual intercourse and masturbation (especially by women). Knowledge regarding gender, sex and sexuality is mainly obtained from family (mostly mothers because fathers stay detached in most of the

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[38]Torun, Torun & Özaydın (2011); Apay, Akpınar & Arslan (2013); Çivil & Yıldız (2010)

cases), friends, the internet and books (Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 2). Çuhadaroğlu holds that "comprehensive sex education can make individuals more liberal about sexual issues" (2016: 7), especially regarding perceptions towards LGBTI community members.

2.5 School materials and curricula

Gender is not an explicit part of the curriculum in Turkish compulsory education. In citizenship education for instance, Çayır & Gürkaynak (2008: 55) show that gender differences are not discussed. The textbooks in Turkey mainly reflect the patriarchal understanding of family with an unequal distribution of social roles between the genders. Beside, sexist language is commonly used and "sexist approaches regarding clothing, games and activities" are frequently seen in textbooks (Çayır, 2014: 131).

Gök identifies schools as part of the sexist society and thinks that they "make no efforts to change the traditional female role, and children are made to abide by cultural norms" (1995: 135). The content of textbooks are written mostly by male authors who have adopted the dominant masculinist ideology. The fostering of the dominant ideology through a rigid national curriculum is, according to Gök, the primarily factor in the normalization process of gendered cultural norms.

Firdevs Gümüşoğlu is one of the first academics in Turkey who focused her research on the gendered nature of textbooks used in Turkish education. Her research (1996) involves an analysis of more than 1.500 primary and secondary school textbooks, published from 1928 to 2008. In her research, Gümüşoğlu emphasizes the importance of analyzing school textbooks regarding gender roles of especially governmental educational institutions including official policies (2008: 41). She suggests that official ideology is transferred to future adults through textbooks, which are used as a tool to draw the contours of the ideal citizen.

Researchers have identified one of the main problems in terms of the content of education as the discriminatory traditional role models, images and discourses of textbooks and curricula. The gendered content of textbooks is put into "traditional" frames especially since the 1950s, according to Acar:

"The gender-neutral messages that emphasized the equality of the sexes and promoted non-traditional, public -sphere-oriented and independent role concepts for women which were included in books and class materials during the early part of Republican history have from the 1950s on gradually been replaced by messages and pictures depicting women and men in traditional stereotypical gender roles" (2003: 44).

In a similar vein, Gümüşoğlu argues that with neutral language use, in the early 1930s, women were portrayed as free citizens and their presence in the public domain was encouraged in textbooks (2008: 42). This portrayal endured until 1945. The textbooks published after 1945 were very different. Before 1945 the woman was portrayed as contributive in the establishment of the country with an important social function. Men and women were regularly presented as people who are in solidarity with each other. The domestic division of labor were not separated by clear boundaries as such as work for men or work for women. The attribution of solidarity was especially after 1950 different in the given examples. Until then, a 'republican family' consisted of a father and mother who think about each other with love as the fundamental layer in their relationship, and without a hierarchy in their responsibilities. Both of the parents are seen as the cornerstone of the family. The traditional roles in the family were not accentuated, while the textbooks after 1945 typically portrayed women who have their homes and families as their real tasks. Especially after 1950, the father is being presented as the 'pillar' of the house [*baba evin direğidir, mesut etmek ereğidir*] (Gümüşoğlu, 2008: 42). Moreover, the relationship between the father and the child in pre-1945 textbooks is presented as friendly, while the father gets to be depicted as an authoritarian figure after the 1950s. Regarding the portrayals of women in Turkish textbooks, Gümüşoğlu argues that "from 1920's up to 1945 women were portrayed as the teacher of children or the teacher of new generations educating them about the country and civilization" (2008: 39).

A more comprehensive and nuanced study of gender and education has been conducted by Tuba Kancı, who has examined the Turkish school textbooks used from the year 1928 to 2000 with respect to nationalism, modernization and militarism. Kancı shows that women were portrayed in the textbooks of the 1920's, 30's and 40's as secondary-class citizens in terms of the military but also in daily life. Duties of men were shown as 'working, paying taxes and military service', in contrast to women, who are presented as

mothers or housewife's including the duty of child rearing and housework in order to "enable the reproduction and socialization of the future citizens and the necessary recreation of men in the private space" (Kancı 2007: 272). The textbooks of the 1970's and following years changed in the approach towards women, by the acknowledgment "that women could have jobs and professions" but their role was still marginalized as "support" (Kancı, 2007: 273). According to Kancı, textbooks after 1980 included more women as actors in the public sphere, but still "portrayed primarily as mothers and housewife's" (Kancı, 2007: 273). Kancı states that "the gender roles remained the same in the textbooks of these years, as did the constrained nature of the imagined men and women" (2007: 271).

In another study regarding curricula and gender, Tan demonstrated that in Turkish elementary education, there is no presentation of "problematizing the existing power structures and gender disparities in society or in school" available in curricula (2005: 68). Similarly, Özkan (2013) underlines the patriarchal structures through an observation of 22 elementary school textbooks of 2008-2009, focusing on sexual discrimination in the textbook visuals and arguing that the rates of male figures are more, compared to female figures. Themes related to 'sports' are discussed mainly in terms of discrimination (Özkan, 2013: 618). Furthermore, the findings of a content analysis of Turkish textbooks by Yaylı & Kitiş Çınar (2014) of the academic year 2012-2013, showed that textbook content maintains traditional gender roles, by visualizing men and women in harmony with the existing gender stereotypes of the Turkish society. In another evaluation study of adult figures on the pictures in elementary school textbooks in Turkey, Esen & Bağlı revealed that women were mostly shown with children in "home and home environments" in actions "related with children" while men were presented with children at "outdoors" related with actions of "public and work" (2002: 143). With these findings they conclude that "gender stereotypes have been transferred to children through textbooks as well as the whole educational system" (Esen & Bağlı, 2002: 143).

Through several studies we have seen that textbook materials and curricula in Turkish education maintain a gendered and sexist framework. The traditional gender roles of men and women in society are reflected in pictures as well as textual passages. However, several scholars note some changes over the past decades. Gümüşoğlu mentions that, in the

20 years of her textbook analysis research, she witnessed small developments regarding gender-sensitive contents (2008: 40). A considerable sensitivity occurred in public opinion. She notices that textbooks are containing less openly sexist messages than 20 years before. Women are much more presented as working women and we are witnessing (even though it is only in terms of 'helping') that the men are contributing to housework. These positive examples of changes in textbooks, regarding the elimination of gender discriminatory texts is also underlined by Çayır (2014: 84). He mentions such examples as portrayals of men feeding babies in Social Studies textbooks or doing housework. Small changes in sexist language, such as the previous given example *'bilimadamı'*[man of science] having been changed to *'bilim insanı'*[person of science] are seen in Science and Technology books. Besides, differences in portrayals of women related to professions are also seen in order to present that some professions are not male-only (Çayır, 2014: 84). Yet, these changes do not signal a major transformation of the gendered and sexist framework of textbooks.

In recent years, "militarism" has become a significant lens through which textbooks and educational practice is analyzed. Altınay emphasizes the official construction of Turkey as a "military-nation" (2004: 161). In terms of gender and education, this construction is an important phenomenon. As "the myth of the military nation" influences the education system in Turkey, so does education help the reinforcement of this gendered myth (Altınay, 2004: 161). As Altınay & Kancı argue: "When it is only men who become soldiers, military service inevitably defines male citizenship and masculinity in opposition to female citizenship and femininity" (2007: 54). Until recently, during the second year of high school, all young women were also required to take the "National Security Knowledge" course and "go through a year long discussion of military and political affairs presented to them by male officers as 'male' issues" (Altınay, 2004: 138). Altınay discusses for example that the textbooks of 'National Security Knowledge' have no references to women, and no figures or narratives of women officers. This could be seen as the reflection of the practice of military service that "differentiates between male and female citizenship" on military teaching at the level of high school (2004: 138). In her research interviews regarding this military course Altınay notes that some women "seemed to think of this course as a way of asserting their 'equality' with men", while others felt offended when they were asked to respond as a girl or woman, because for them "there was no 'difference' between men and

women". She argues that this approach to gender could be interpreted as "a strategy for young women to be taken seriously instead of being 'reduced' to their gender identity and to include themselves in the hegemonic military-nation" (2004: 150-151).

Similarly, Tuba Kancı argues that the militaristic approach of especially educational content in Turkey plays a significant role in the construction of the gender identity of men and women. In her comprehensive analysis of textbooks, Kancı shows "that public education is both one of the means and the loci used for the imaging of the national self in Turkey, and that these imaginings, reflected in the textbooks, employ the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism interdependently" (2007: 2-3).

The analysis of militarism in education has added a significant component to research on gender and sexuality in education by emphasizing the ways in which masculinities are constructed in educational material and practices.

2.6 Conclusion

The gender gap in Turkey points to the need to take the access and attainment of women in formal education seriously. Yet, ensuring that women and girls attain education as much as men and boys, will just be a part of the solution to the gender gap and to the gender inequalities reproduced in and through education. As I have tried to show above, recent research on gender and education in Turkey highlights other factors that need to be taken into account: the gendering of the learning environment, teachers' trainings and attitudes, and curricula. In recent years, there has been a significant emphasis in academic research on nationalized, militarized, and masculinized aspects of textbooks and educational practices. Yet, the field of education research still has not responded to such issues as heteronormativity and LGBTI issues; different modalities of introducing a comprehensive sex education; gendering of animals and animal rights; the intersections between gender and (dis)ability in education; and the changing nature of families (e.g. single parent and patchwork families). In the next chapter, I discuss the governmental and non-governmental projects, campaigns and initiatives that focus on gender and sexuality in education.

CHAPTER 3:

CAMPAIGNS, PROJECTS, REPORTS AND POLICIES REGARDING GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

According to STGM[39] there are approximately 150.000 civil society organizations in Turkey. Among them, there are women's organizations, LGBTI organizations, human rights organizations and educational organizations all active in the space of gender and sexuality in education. In this thesis, I focus on organizations and initiatives that deal specifically with gender and sexuality (in) formal education. Formal education is understood as:

> "the regular education conducted within a school for individuals in a certain age group and at the same level, under programs developed in accordance with the purpose. Formal education includes pre-primary education, primary education, secondary education and higher education institutions" (TurkStat[40]).

The main aim of this thesis is to create a database (see Appendix) of the initiatives regarding gender and sexuality in education by governmental as well as non-governmental organizations. The database has been limited to national initiatives. A more comprehensive database would need to screen the organizations active at the local level. Another limitation of this database is that the private sector is not included. There are a number of private companies actively funding or undertaking educational initiatives. In this database, corporations are present only if they have funded or cooperated with NGO's or governmental organizations in nation-wide initiatives on gender and education.

In what follows, I analyze the published annual reports, finished or ongoing projects and initiatives of the organizations addressing gender and sexuality in Turkish education by their modality, discussing their strengths and weaknesses in content and outcomes. Changes in focus, frameworks, policies and debates of governmental as well as non-governmental organizations and selected initiatives are also discussed.

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[39] Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi [Civil Society Development Center]
[40] Veri: Kapsam, Dönem ve Zamanlama [The Data: Coverage, Periodicity and Timeliness]. Retrieved from: http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreIstatistikMeta.do?istab_id=1577.

3.2 Development of civil society

The development of 'civil society organizations' in Turkey corresponds to the 1990s. This period marks the aftermath of the Cold War, when the notion of civil society became widespread globally, as well as the relative democratization of Turkey following the 1980 coup d'etat. Thousands of NGOs were established in the late 1980s and especially in the 1990s (Şimşek, 2004: 48). Before the United Nations Summit of 1996, there emerged a need for a consensus on the translation of non-governmental organizations (NGO). Several notions were being used: *'devlet dışı kuruluşlar'* (DDK) and *'hükümet dışı kuruluşlar'* (HKD), and *'gönüllü teşekküller'*[41] which was by the more conservative political groups preferred to use. However, by adding 'organization' to the notion of 'civil society' in several translated publications, the translation of NGO became STK (Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları[42])(Gümüş, 2003: 63). Nowadays expressions such as; '*3. Sektör'* [third sector], '*gönüllü kuruluşlar*' [voluntary organizations], '*kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşlar'* [non-profit organizations] are also being used (Gönel, 1998: 1).

In the report *Civil society in Turkey: an era of transition* (Bikmen & Meydanoğlu, 2006), Keyman argues that in order to describe the development of civil society in Turkey, it is important how civil society is defined. He states that "when discussing civil society in Turkey, one could talk about a paradox – one that indicates the simultaneous existence of a long history of civil society as an associational life and a new history of a civil society contributing to democratization in Turkey" (Keyman, 2006 quoted in Bikmen & Meydanoğlu, 2006: 35). Thus, "if civil society is seen solely as "an associational life outside of the state", it could be argued that civil society has a long history in Turkey. Yet, if we define civil society as something more than an associational life outside of the state and as a sphere that contributes to public participation and democratization on a voluntary basis, then civil society's history in Turkey would be a rather short one since such a civil society only gained importance after the 1980s" (Keyman, 2006, quoted in Bikmen & Meydanoğlu 2006: 35). Until the 1980s the concept of civil society was not popular among leftists with Marxist ideologies, because in its first appearance, civil society meant the

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[41] All of the notions can be translated into non-governmental organizations and/or voluntary organizations
[42] STK can be translated as Civil Society Organizations

bourgeois society. Those who had rights in civil society at that time were not workers, migrated citizens from rural areas nor women, but only bourgeois men (Keyman, 2004: 4).

Before the military coup in 1980 there were 38.354 NGOs in Turkey, out of which 20.000 NGOs were closed down by the military regime after de coup (Şimşek, 2004: 48). In 2004 this number raised up to 61.000 NGOs. With the implementation of neo-liberal policies, and thus decentralization of the nation state, authorization of social responsibility projects shifted to both national and international organizations, such as IMF, World Bank, WTO, NATO, and the UN as a result, these international organizations began to have an impact on the projects of government policies and civil society organizations (Gedik, 2015: 225). Subsequently, as a result of CEDAW (*The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*), adopted in 1979 by the United Nations and after signing in 1984, also adopted in Turkey in 1986, initiatives and legislations became in one line with this agreement. In 1995 the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* was adopted, which was a global policy framework for the empowerment of women and guidance for the interrelated actions to realize gender equality and the human rights of women and girls. In 1990, UNESCO Started the *Education For All movement* (EFA), "a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth and adults" (UNESCO[43]).

Meanwhile, women's organizations in Turkey were, beside and among other civil society and governmental organizations, struggling for gender equality since the late 1980s. During the 1990s, these efforts increased with support of governmental as well as non-governmental organizations to achieve women's empowerment. (Sancar & Bulut, 2006: 26). "The Turkish government had acknowledged the role of women's rights organizations as partners of the government and it is supported by national and international stakeholders to consolidate this cooperation with NGOs through official and permanent structures and institutions" (Sancar & Bulut, 2006: 8). Gender equality policies were enforced by women's NGOs in collaboration with state ministries, and international institutions such as EU and UN to achieve the aims of the main focus areas 'issues of violence against women'; 'women's reproductive health' and 'increasing girl child enrolment to education' (Sancar &

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[43] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/the-efa-movement/

Bulut, 2006: 8).

After the second elections in 2007, in which the AKP[44] [justice and development party] maintained power, the gap between women's organizations increased due to differences in views on gender identity, sexual orientation, the conception of women and the headscarf (Landig, 2011: 208). Landig argues that such differences "may prevent NGOs from coordinating their efforts and may limit the effect of civil society in policy formulation" (2011: 208). Influencing and improving policy could be more effective if different NGOs, (not only women's organizations) and GOs collaborate and communicate in order to empower society. Şimşek argues regarding the situation of NGOs in Turkey the following:

> "The impression we receive concerning the situation in Turkey is that there are myriad NGOs and various social movements which look good in the public sphere, on television screens, in written media, in every big organization such as the Habitat[45] II Conference, but they cannot force governments, for instance, to pass radical reforms for democratization and comprehensive political change" (Şimşek, 2004: 49).

When we look at the gender gap in contemporary Turkey, this argument appears particularly valid. Part of the reason is that "more than 95 percent of the NGOs in Turkey are subject to the *Dernekler Kanunu* (the Law of Associations), which prevents them from participating in politics and cooperating with political parties" (Şimşek, 2004: 49). Although remarkable gender gaps in educational attainment are lessened, achievement regarding curricula, content, teachers' trainings and gender-responsive educational goals have remained extremely limited.

Let us now focus on the approach of NGOs and GOs towards gender (equality) in education and sex(uality) education. As stated before, the focus of, in particular GOs, are mainly on gender equality in numbers. Besides, scholarships, financial support and the building of schools are the main activities within these initiatives. This 'hardware' approach exists since the Ottoman Empire. The traditional character of civil society organizations since the Ottoman period, focuses on building institutions, such as schools and hospitals (mostly because of limited resources, external forces and internal politics).

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[44] Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
[45] United Nations Human Settlements Program

Foundations [vakıflar] have mostly been active in these kind of 'hardware' activities. Bikmen argues that "until the early 2000's environment and legal frameworks for civil society organizations and foundations were restrictive" (2008b: 164). This was mostly the case because of limited wealth and a centralized state operating under a constitution written in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. In the 2000s, we see a paradigm shift leading to more private initiative and investments, and going beyond providing physical (hardware) contributions (building facilities etc.).

Looking at the governments' approach to development, one observes a shift from a state-centered perspective of modernization and development towards a more integrative approach. The 'hardware' is not eliminated, but the understanding of a software approach is recognized in the past decades which enables "education reforms, protecting and promoting the rights and disadvantaged groups and the development of a more participatory policy development/service delivery system" as a necessary condition for the modernization and democratization of Turkey (Bikmen, 2008b: 166). Although there is a shift in focus towards 'software' activities by modern foundations, such as "undertaking policy analysis, advocacy and innovative programmes aimed at social change, taking an active role in creating a democratic and civil society", the gender dimension of initiatives remains limited in software activities (Bikmen, 2008a: 1).

Bikmen mentions a shift to a more enabling environment for new ideas, actors and approaches to development in the third sector starting from the early 2000's through economic, political and social reforms. The major shifts of the third sector were "the legal reforms and the democratization process (as part of the Turkish political process and European Union accession efforts)", the private sector went into an "increasing economic development and wealth creation", whereas the public sector shifted "from centralized/linear to decentralized/integral approach of state politics and social service provisions" (Bikmen, 2008b: 164). A main reason for the 'hardware approach' in quota and numbers of especially girls' enrollment to education, can be that "Turkey's gender equality reforms are in part due to its efforts to meet requirements for EU membership" (Landig, 2011: 208).

3.2.1 Legal structures and focus areas

Civil society organizations are organized around six main structures: associations; foundations; trade unions; chambers; cooperatives and (con)federations. With a total number of approximately 150.000 civil society organizations (as of 2016), associations and cooperatives are the largest. According to the website of the Ministry of Interior there are among 276.085 associations in total, 109.687 associations that are active. Then comes the chambers and foundations and a small number of trade unions and (con)federations are existing in Turkey. According to a report of CIVICUS "there is no legal structure that unifies non-profit/voluntary organizations in Turkey. Instead, they are often structured as associations and foundations" (İçduygu, Meydanoğlu, & Sert, 2011: 56).

The focus areas of foundations in particular are mainly social aid, education and health, whereas activities that fall under democracy, human rights and law were in 2009 only 1.28% of the foundations. Thus projects regarding gender and sexuality should be placed under 'human rights' in this context, except for the educational initiatives with respect to gender and sexuality (these initiatives fall partly under 'education'). The CIVICUS report states that despite the low rates of activity in women's rights, "the recent increase in their impact and visibility is noteworthy" (İçduygu, Meydanoğlu, & Sert, 2011: 60).

Furthermore, the *Civil Society Index* in Turkey provides a list of civil society actors (İçduygu, Meydanoğlu, & Sert, 2011: 62). Within these types of organizations, we could place the working area of gender and sexuality in education within different types, namely: 'organizations working for the protection of human rights', 'educational organizations' and 'women's organizations'. The civil society working areas are very diverse and innovative, such as "organic farming and ecology; summer camps for autistic children; gay and lesbian rights; peace movements; consumer rights; women's shelters; literacy; migration; and EU policy and reform" (Bikmen& Meydanoğlu, 2006: 115). With respect to gender and sexuality, according to the *Civicus civil society index country report* for Turkey "civil society is not considered to be a very gender equitable arena in Turkey; women are largely absent from civil society leadership roles" (Bikmen& Meydanoğlu, 2006: 87-88). However,

in promoting awareness on gender equality issues, the contributions of civil society organizations in Turkey are of great significance.

To sum up, one can argue that the role of civil society has been of great importance in order to achieve opportunities and solutions of complex social problems, such as gender and sexuality inequalities in education (as I will discuss below). Important efforts of civil society organizations in Turkey include the success of women's organizations "in their plight for gender-based reforms to the Turkish Penal Code" (Civicus civil society index country report for Turkey, 2006: 128).

3.2.2 *Funding*

Philanthropy in Turkey has its roots in the Ottoman Empire in which "foundations served as a major instrument for delivering public goods in a decentralized manner" (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio, 2014: 17). While foundations nowadays are playing active roles in achieving diverse social causes, programs and policy initiatives, in history they played a central role in "supporting numerous social institutions, like hospitals, schools, art-culture centers" (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio, 2014: 17). As one of the most important strategies for realizing social change in society, grantmaking became the most used strategy by the private sector. According to the TÜSEV report (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio,2014: 17) the following organizations have established grant programs: *TEMA* (Local Solutions to Local Problems: Environmental, Engagement Grant Program), *Vodafone-Turkey Foundation* (Grant Program), *WWF–Turkey* (Turkey's Life Grant Program), *Ashoka Fellowship Program*, *Anadolu Kültür* (Support to the Armenia-Turkey Normalization Process), *Bolu Community Foundation* (Grant Program), *Community Volunteers Foundations* (Youth Bank Grant Program), Hrant Dink Foundation (Turkey-Armenia Travel Grant), *Journalists and Writers Foundation* (Peace Projects Program), Open Society Foundation (Grant Program), Sabancı Foundation (Social Development Grant Program) and *SAHA Association* (Arts Grant Program). The organizations in which gender and sexuality (in education) projects and initiatives are granted include *Open Society Foundation*, *Sabancı Foundation* and *Ashoka Fellowship Program*.

Şimşek, argues that NGOs such as the *Insan Hakları Derneği* (Human Rights Association), Helsinki Citizens Assembly, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı* (Economic

Development Foundation), *Türk Tarih Vakfı* (Turkish History Foundation) "are improving their projects in close cooperation with relevant EU institutions" (2004: 70). This is mainly the case, because these NGOs are conducting projects and initiatives which are in line (hence not always in line with the state) with the objectives of the EU.

There are also international foundations, headquarted in Turkey that fund initiatives which fall outside of government support or interest. LGBTI organizations for instance are mostly funded by these types of foundations. The non-governmental organization SPoD[46] for instance, is mainly funded by *Friedrich EbertStiftung; Open Society Foundation; United States Embassy; Support Foundation for Civil Society (Sivil Toplum icin Destek Vakfı); ILGA Europe; Swedish Consulate; Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Heinrich Boell Stiftung.* As we can see, almost all of their funders are international institutions, with departments based in Turkey. Another NGO, *the Red Umbrella Association of Sexual Health and Human Rights*, standing for trans sex workers has only funders of international origin, is funded by*The Open Society Foundation*; *Swedish Consulate; Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands; Red Umbrella Fund; Planet Romeo Foundation; Urgent Action Fund For Women's Human Rights; Transgender Europe; Arcus Foundation; US Ministry of Foreign Affairs* and *Sivil Düşün EU Programme* launched by the *Delegation of the European Union to Turkey.*

When we focus on gender, several foundations can be mentioned in their supportive attitudes. *Friedrich EbertStiftung* for instance,supports LGBTI organizations such as *KAOS GL, SPoD;* women's organizations such as *Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation, Kadın Emeği ve İstihdamı Girişimi, KAMER foundation, The Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (KAGIDER), Women's Labour and Employment initiative (KEIG); Association for Support of Women Candidates (KA-DER);* human rights organizations such as *Amnesty International;* educational organizations such as *ERG Education Reform Initiative* and *Children Studies Unit (ÇOÇA).* The fields of activity of *Friedrich EbertStiftung* are democracy and rule, just, sustainable economy and foreign policy. The foundation stands for promoting democracy and development, contributing to peace and security.

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[46] Social Policy Center İdentity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association

Sabancı Foundation on the other hand, awards grants through the *Social Development Grant Program* which "aims to advance social development" ([47]). Besides, in "Turkey's Changemakers" program, Sabancı Foundation "aims to promote social development and awareness and ultimately mobilize active citizenship by inspiring and encouraging others" ([48]). Both of the grant programs include gender projects. Moreover, gender has been an area in which Sabancı Foundation has been and still is active. In their words, "Sabancı Foundation has been a supporter of long term multi-stakeholder initiatives that aim to contribute to gender equality in Turkey" ([49]). One of their major projects has been the Purple Certificate Program, carried out by the Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum (Gender Forum). This program was initiated as part of the "*UN Joint Program to Promote and Protect Human Rights of Women and Girls*" in 2006, in which diverse stakeholders have taken part "such as Ministries, local governments, foundations, NGOs, teachers, schools to promote social development and promote women's rights" ([50]). The UN Joint Program ran from 2006 till 2010 "in collaboration with the General Directorate on the Status of Women, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UN Women and Sabancı University; and the Ministry of Interior, Turkey Union of Municipalities and the Ministry of National Education composes of gender budgeting, Sabancı Foundation Grant Program and the Purple Certificate Program" (GDSW[51], 2015: 12). Since 2010, with Sabancı Foundation support, Gender Forum has continued the Purple Certificate Program in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education.

In analyzing gender and sexuality initiatives in education, it is essential to focus on the funding part of the story. What kind of projects or initiatives does the state fund and support, and to what extend do they intervene in the content of the projects undertaken by NGOs and universities? If similar questions demonstrate a negative attitude towards specific projects and initiatives by the state, the question should be: To what extend is it possible to achieve the goals of a project/initiative with (financial) support and collaboration of non-governmental organizations, if the state/governmental organizations

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[47] http://www.sabancivakfi.org/media/toplumsal-gelisme-hibe-programi-2016-deneyim-paylasim-toplantisi
[48] http://www.sabancivakfi.org/page/grant-program-6
[49] http://www.sabancivakfi.org/page/unjp-3
[50] http://www.sabancivakfi.org/page/programs
[51]The General Directorate on the Status of Women (GDSW)

do not recognize the same problems, do not support the solutions offered or oppose making policy in relation to these issues? An example is the heteronormative character of the curricula of primary and secondary school textbooks. If an NGO, with support of another NGO or (private) non-governmental foundation, makes an attempt to enhance the content of textbooks by proposing a gender-responsive curriculum that moves beyond heteronormativity, how could this NGO make a difference without the involvement of state institutions, most significantly the Ministry of Education? After all, innovative pilot-projects or short during initiatives, do not solve structural problems. Only with policy making can NGOs ensure the achievement of large-scale objectives. On the other hand, it is worth noting that this discussion does not imply that work done by NGOs without any support from the state are meaningless. The point of this discussion is that to solve structural problems of gender and sexuality in education short-term pilot studies would not be sufficient.

3.3 Politics of naming

According to Çok & Gray "media and language, influence and reflect Turkish society's outlook on sexuality" (2007: 131). This outlook also reflects in educational settings, and limits the possibility of creating a gender-responsive education environment.

3.3.1   Turkish language and gender

Language is significant in the way pupils conceive gender and sexuality related issues in social life and in their education. According to West, Lazar and Kramarae "language does not merely reflect a pre-existing sexist world; instead, it actively constructs gender asymmetries within specific sociohistorical contexts" (1997: 120). Amerian & Esmaili refer to Bell, McCarthy & McNamara (2006) who argue that "gender is a contextual-dependent concept that contributes various linguistic strategies to males and females" (Bell et. al., 2006 quoted in Amerian & Esmaili, 2014: 5). The expectations of society regarding men and women roles are similarly established by society, depending on social, political, cultural, economic and religious factors (Bell et. al. 2006). Many European languages, for instance, approach "the terms 'man', 'mankind' and 'he/him' as universals" (Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 2001: 1). Hollway (1984) suggests that "women were being excluded and made to feel that they did not belong to the human race" because of these

masculine use of terms (Hollway, 1984 quoted in Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 2001: 2).

Çayır explains the importance of language regarding gender and sexuality as following: "language is a phenomenon that reveals the unequal role distribution between genders and that enables this inequality to continue. In other words, language is another of the areas in which the gender regime perpetuates itself, as the words in a language are sometimes used in a way that signifies a certain gender" (Çayır, 2014: 91). Çayır uses the word for 'scientist' as a significant example, which is *'bilim adamı'* in Turkish, meaning man of science. The relation made with manhood shapes the social imaginary of pupils for example who are exposed to this kind of language usages in Turkey. Although the term *'bilim insanı'* has become widespread, also in educational materials, sexist language remains a major issue. Çayır mentions a few examples from Turkish textbooks that demonstrate sexism: "In the textbooks children are asked "if you were a businessman…(*iş adamı*); the word spaceman (*uzay adamı*) is given as the equivalent of astronaut; and the form of address *bayan* (miss/lady) is chosen over the word *kadın* (woman)"(2014: 93).

The socialization of children and youth is not merely through education. Family, friends and media are other important elements of their socialization. Çok & Gray argue that "when it comes to the Turkish language, words having subtle sexual implications are spoken in daily conversations and there is a conspicuous use of sexual slang" (2007: 131). Thus gendered and sexist language in textbooks reinforces the gendering of daily language, and vice versa.

Beside daily language, language used in media also contributes to gendered and sexist use of the Turkish language. Patriarchal, homo/transphobic and sexist language is commonly used by politicians, for instance. In many cases, gender inequality is legitimized by politicians in Turkey. Then Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, for instance made a statement on 24 November 2014 suggesting that: "You can't bring men and women in equal status because this is against nature [*fitrat* in Turkish; a tenet of Islam that attributes distinct and divinely ordained natures to men and women]" (BIA News Desk, 2014[52]). The patriarchal structure of the Turkish society and the way media are dealing with this has

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[52] http://bianet.org/english/women/160213-erdogan-bringing-men-and-women-to-equal-status-is-against-nature

great influences on the common knowledge, perception and sense of the Turkish citizens regarding gender and sexuality. In this context, gender-responsive education becomes even more significant. As Çok & Gray suggest, "if accurate sex information is provided at school it may begin to mitigate negative and misleading information currently present in the media and reinforced through the cultural use of subtle phrases and innuendos" (Çok & Gray 2007: 131).

The Turkish Language Association defines 'gender' as follows: "giving a distinct role to an individual in reproduction and distinguishing *man* and *female i*n the feature of creation, sex, genus of, sex" ([53]). A few significant elements can be criticized regarding this definition. Firstly, the definition is based on the biological concept of reproduction. There is no such explanation about the cultural or social meaning of gender. The difference between gender and sex is not distinguished in this definition, in fact they become identical. The biologic concept on the other hand is also defined in a narrow way, solely with the focus on reproduction. This is a culturally loaded meaning of sex and its biologic function. In other words, it seems that the function of sex serves only reproduction. Secondly, in this definition, a distinction is made between man and 'female' (*dişi*). This is problematic because of a few reasons. Instead of 'woman', 'female' is chosen in the most biological use, as 'dişi' is an adjective that defines an individual who creates eggs, or gives birth to a baby. Thus the 'female' in this definition is presented in her 'function' of giving birth, reducing women to reproducing biological bodies. Secondly, the assumption of the existence of merely two sexes that come together for reproduction, contributes to a heteronormative framework, excluding intersex and transgender individuals, as well as non-heterosexual and non-reproductive sexuality. The denial of other gender identities than man or woman, makes the definition of gender an even more culturally loaded concept. Lastly, the definition appeals to the concept of creation. This also contributes to the marginalization, if not exclusion, of the social construction of gender. Thus, the role of gender in society is not important in this definition, but merely the meaning that is given (sex) by the biological creation of the human being.

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[53] http://www.tdk.gov.tr/

3.3.2 Gendered naming of initiatives

There are many projects by civil society organizations in Turkey related to different issues such as health, economics, politics, and so on, with gendered names. Several examples of gendered names of NGO projects with another scope than gender and sexuality in education of are the following: The *Ankara Lösemili Çocuklar Vakfı* (LÖSEV) [Ankara Children with Leukemia Foundation] has a project named *'Annemin de Yüzü Gülüyor'* [Now My Mum Has a Smiley Face]. The project aimed "to encourage especially mothers to defend their rights, to raise healthy children, and contribute to the family budget through their increased levels of knowledge and awareness" ([54]). Despite the problem that not every child is being raised by its mother, or not every child has a mother, the focus on mothers in naming the project enforces the assumption of the responsibility of women as 'mothers'. On the other hand, this project aims "to organize educational activities for the fathers in order to increase their awareness of the disease, change their negative attitudes, and correct their misbeliefs, resulting in blame and pressure applied to the mothers whom they accuse of being the cause of their child's illness" ([55]). Although fathers also get training through this project, the name of the project does not include them. In this case, parent would be more gender-neutral. Another project held by the same foundation, named *'El Kızından Gelinim Olsun Sağlıklı Bebeklerim Doğsun...'* [Let me have a bride who is a stranger, but healthy babies]. These titles are clearly linked to the Turkish culture; 'el' means 'stranger' or 'outsider' and the bride is mentioned instead of the groom, because in the traditional Turkish culture the girl leaves her fathers' home and the groom 'takes' the bride. Thus they do not use groom in the title of the project. The project aims to restrain people from marrying their family members, because of the risk of unhealthy babies. Looking at initiatives and organizations with a gender and/or sexuality scope, there are also examples of gendered naming. To mention one, a governmental supported project of the NGO *Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği* [Association for Supporting Contemporary Life] named *Anadola da bir kızım var, Öğretmen olacak* [I have a daughter in Anatolia, she will be a Teacher] which offers scholarships to girls until their university period and support them in becoming a teacher. The relation between being a woman and becoming a teacher,

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[54] http://www.losev.org.tr/v2/en/content.asp?ctID=746
[55] https://www.losev.org.tr/v2/tr/content.asp?ctID=721

contributes to the stereotype of the profession of teaching being a woman's job. The funding does not support young girls who want to become engineers, for instance. Although the project aims to contribute to women's educational attainment, the predetermined career of girls is presented as teaching, which is gendered in itself.

3.4 Organizations and networks

3.4.1 Women (gender) networks in Turkey

There are a number of networks and coalitions that bring together women's organizations across Turkey (Dinç, 2007: 275). Kadın Koalisyonu (Women's Coalition), formed in 2002, for instance, currently has 110 members that come together around gender related political issues. *TCK Kadın Platformu* [Turkish Penal Code women platform] (before TCK Women's Working Group), also founded in 2002, conducted a successful campaign to change the Turkish Penal Code from a gender perspective. Independent women's organizations from different regions in Turkey, independent gay, lesbian, transgender organizations and women's commissions of the bar association have come together in this platform.

Cinsel Şiddete Karşı Kadın Platformu [Platform of Women Against Sexual Violence] active since 2009, *Kadın Emeği ve İstihdamı Girişimi* [Initiative for Women's Labour and Employment] established in 2006, and *Barış için Kadın Girişimi* [Initiative of Women for Peace] established in 2009 constitute networks which focus on specific gender-related issues.

3.4.2 Development of LGBTI organizations

Organizing around gender orientation and gender identity in Turkey goes back to the 1970s. "By the end of 1970's gays and lesbians who had more economic and educational independence began to establish communication with other gays and lesbians" (Gecim, 2009[56]). In 1987 police harassment towards transgender enlarged, which resulted in a group of transgenders starting a hunger strike in protest of the harassments. After these struggles, in 1988 a clause was added to the Turkish Civil Code:

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[56]Website ILGA: International Lesbian and Gay Association (http://ilga.org/a-brief-history-of-the-lgbt-movement-in-turkey/)

> "In cases where there has been a change of sex after birth, documented by a report from a committee of medical experts, the necessary amendments are made to the birth certificate" (Gecim, 2009).

In 1993, Lambda Istanbul[57] emerged as the very first LGBTI organization in Turkey and member of ILGA, "right after governor of Istanbul banned the Christopher Street Day Sexual Liberation Activities that were attempted to be held in July 1993" (Lambda Istanbul[58]). "Together with the AIDS Prevention Society in Turkey, they prepared the first Safe Sex Brochure addressing gay men" (Gecim, 2009). Lambda Istanbul aims "a society free from all kinds of discrimination, but the main focus is heterosexism" (See footnote 20, Lambda Istanbul).

Subsequently in 1994 a second LGBTI group, Kaos GL[59] [Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association], started to publish the first magazine which covers LGBTI issues. The goal of Kaos GL is defined as follows:

> "to support Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans individuals in embracing libertarian values, realizing their own existence, and in cultivating themselves in order to contribute to the development of social peace and welfare together with the development of their individual, social and cultural life and behavior" (Kaos GL[60]).

1994 was also the year of the establishment of the first Turkish lesbian group: *Sisters of Venus,* in need of separating from the feminist movements which was focusing mainly on heterosexual women's issues, but also from the LGBTI organizations, because of their lack of focus on lesbians. LEGATO[61], the first LGBTI group for Turkish students came into life in 1996 and gathered at ODTÜ[62] [Middle Eastern Technical University (METU)]. Later, in 2001 "for the first time in modern Turkish Republic's history, Kaos GL participated in a May 1 Labor Day demonstration in Ankara with its own group, bans and signs" (Gecim, 2009). Their appearance in public place was for the first time as such, where after the first gay-pride parade emerged in 2003, which was also the first in a Muslim-majority country in history. Since 2015 the annual LGBTI-pride parade has once again been banned by the state.

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[57]LGBTI Solidarity Association
[58] http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/s/lambdaistanbul-lgbti-solidarity-association/
[59] Kaos Gey ve Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği
[60] http://www.kaosglndernegi.org/home.php
[61] Lezbiyen Gay Topluluğu
[62]Orta doğu teknik üniversitesi

Several LGBTI organizations have been established since 2003 at national as well as regional level, including LISTAG[63], a group focusing on the family of lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender/sexual individuals (established in 2008). The challenges parents and family face in the entire process of finding out that their kids have different sexual orientations and/or gender identities is a matter of discussion and a call for help. In order to raise awareness and knowledge, LISTAG organizes informative meetings in collaboration with CETAD[64] [Society for Sexual Education Treatment and Research]. Their main aim is, as stated in a leaflet as following:

> "We are trying to have our voice heard, increase visibility and raise awareness to work against prejudice based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and to educate people against discrimination"[65]

An important achievement of spreading their voice have been the production of the documentary *Benim Çocuğum* [My Child] in 2013, regarding the views, problems and challenges parents have faced during their acceptation of the different sexual orientation and/or gender identity of their child(ren). What makes this film particularly significant for the purposes of this thesis is that it has already been screened in many universities and informal teacher education programs. Another LGBTI organization that is important to mention here is SPoD (Social Policy Center Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association), which was founded in 2011 to advocate full equality for LGBTI individuals in Turkey with a special emphasis on social and economic rights and works for the elimination of all forms of discrimination including discrimination based on gender identity, sexual orientation and gender expression. SPoD produces reports and conducts research on the challenges faced by LGBTIs in different aspects of their lives, including education.

The governmental and non-governmental organizations databases used for this research differ in their search engines. Some of the databases, which provide searching based on topic or scope, have included the topic LGBTI in their search engines.

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[63]Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Trans, İnterseks Bireylerin Aileleri ve Yakınları Derneği
[64]Cinsel eğitim ve tedavi araştırma derneği
[65] (www.listagwordpress.com)

The database of STGM [Civil Society Development Center], provides the possibility to search for 'LGBT'[66] as 'area of activity', which results in a number of 45 organizations. However, in this list several university units, local organizations or organizations with other main scopes but who are also active in the field of LGBTI are enlisted. Moreover, there are organizations enlisted who are far from the area of LGBTI initiatives, such as *Kuşadası Kent Konseyi* [Kuşadası City Council] with the main aim to develop the city of Kuşadası; *Uludağ Üniversitesi Atlı Spor Topluluğu* [Uludağ University Equestrian Community] with no any aims, projects or initiatives regarding LGBTI mentioned in its regulations; *Masiva Refugee Support Association*, established in 2016 and aiming to provide services for migrants and refugees in Turkey, is also enlisted but shows no initiatives regarding LGBTI topics. Furthermore, organizations working in different areas but conducting projects regarding LGBTI-communities are enlisted. One example is *Ceza Infaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Dernegi (CISST)* translated as Turkey's Center for Prison Studies (TCPS), who published a report *'Being A Disabled, Foreign or LGBTI Prisoner'* in 2015 as part of the project named *'A CSOs Network on Prisoners with Special Needs'*. Because organizations are mostly multi-layered instead of one-issue organizations, searching for LGBTI focused organizations working in other areas, also gives certain results. A search for the topic 'women' results in 615 organizations, varying from local organizations to human rights organizations with also workings in women's rights issues. When searching on 'youth', 423 organization appear, including youth organizations with an LGBTI scope. Even searching on 'solidarity' as a topic, results in 1138 organizations, including several LGBTI organizations. Moreover, the areas of activity such as 'politics'; 'other'; 'research'; 'aid'; 'education'; 'health'; 'human rights' and 'law' are also including LGBTI organizations.

The database 'Youth Area Map' of the Community Volunteers Foundation includes the search term 'Gender diversity/LGBTI rights' which results in 16 organizations. Several university units working on gender and LGBTI issues are enlisted and most of the organizations are local youth organizations. The search for 'Gender equality/Women rights' results in 42 organizations, with also organizations with an LGBTI scope.

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[66] The I of LGBTI, meaning intersex, is not included in the searching engine topic list of STGM

3.5 Databases

3.5.1 Arrangements and shortcomings

3.5.1.1 <u>Civil society development center (STGM)</u>

The search engine of this database is divided into 48 areas of activity which are also searchable by city or region. "Gender and/or sexuality (in education)" as an area is not mentioned. However, one can find gender and/or sexuality (in education) activities in the following areas; 'Family', 'Education', 'Human Rights', 'Women', 'LGTB', 'Health' and 'Other'. Sexuality is absorbed in the themes 'LGTB' and 'Human Rights' whereas gender is available under the themes 'Women', 'LGTB' and 'Human Rights'. In principle there is no objection to use the areas of gender and sexuality in 'LGTB', 'Human Rights' or 'Women' themes. However, gender is not solely a 'women' issue. There is no search available for 'men' or 'masculinity' in this database. Moreover, LGTB is not a common group, Lesbians, Gays, Transgenders/Transsexuals, Bisexuals are different groups to mention. However, it is widely accepted to use these groups as one community. Although 'Intersex' as the abbreviation 'I' within the currently used LGBTI is not mentioned in this database, the organizations and groups who are fighting for LGBTI rights are all included. Lastly it is notable that 'Health' is a criterion in which LGBTI-communities are included. There are also organizations available in this list with 'reproduction health' programs and projects.

3.5.1.2 <u>The directorate of foundations of Turkish prime ministry</u>

The lists on the website of the directorate of foundations of Turkish prime ministry is (T.C. Başbakanlık Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü) merely focused on foundations. The website splits the foundations into the following groups: 'Our Foundations' which are the foundations related to the Turkish prime ministry, 'Fused Foundations', 'Annex Foundations', 'Community Foundations' and 'New Foundations' in which the foundations are only sorted by province. The absence of more criteria to search in the database (for example enlisted by 'scope') is a shortage of the website. Furthermore, it is important to note that, by entering the website in July 2016, a notification of the 'the decree of the 667 numbered law clause' dated on 23-07-2016 is showing a list of 25 closed foundations

which are 'detected' as a threat for the national security. This 'cleansing' started as a result of the coup attempt of 15 July 2016 in Turkey.

3.5.1.3 Non-governmental organization guide

The *Non-Governmental Organization Guide*, a book published by *Tarih Vakfi* [Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey] in 1996 (with a later edition in 2005) has three indexes, divided into geographical, status and subject indexes. The status index of 1996 contains 'Citizen initiatives and platforms', 'Union of cooperatives', 'Professional chambers', 'Trade unions', 'Foundations' and 'Associations'. The status index of 2005 contains 'Cooperatives', 'Initiatives and platforms', 'Industrial-trade chambers', 'Professional chambers', 'Unions', 'Foundations' and 'Associations'.

The subject index is large and with small differences in year of publishing. 'Family Planning', 'Unspecified', 'Child', 'Education', 'Youth', 'Human Rights' 'Woman' and 'Health' are the subjects in which organizations are implemented with various projects addressing gender and sexuality (in education). The absence of 'gender' as a subject in itself, sexuality or LGBTI is a major shortcoming of this database. Although this database was published in 1996 and 2005, there were already LGTBI organizations since 1993 in Turkey. The LGTBI organizations are also not separately enlisted in the database, but involved in projects and initiatives of human rights organizations. The absence of these organizations in the database is a shortcoming regarding the gathering of all organizations addressing gender and sexuality.

3.5.1.4 Turkish NGO directory

In the *Turkish NGO Directory*, published by *Türkiye Çevre Vakfi* [Turkey Environment Foundation]in 1995, the grouping of NGO's according to relevant subjects are 19 subjects in total (Science, Environment, Religion, Concept and Philosophy, Education, Economy (Industry, Trade, Consumption), Service - Philanthropy/Charity - Solidarity, Woman – Child – Family, Development, Culture, Profession, Politics, Health, Arts, Social, Sports, Agriculture, History, Tourism - Promotion). The subjects 'woman', 'child' and 'family' are gathered under one headline, which is highly problematic from a critical gender perspective.

3.5.1.5 'Youth Area Map'

As part of the project *'Senin Hakkın, Gençlik Hakkı!'* [Your Rights, Youth Rights!] *Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı* [Community Volunteers Foundation] and *Gençlik Servisleri Merkezi Derneği* [Association of Youth Services Centre] conducted in partnership the 'Youth Area Map'. Youth Area Map is a comprehensive online database and information source of youth organizations in Turkey which is also used for this research. However, there are restrictions available in using this database. Firstly, this database is merely focused on youth organizations. Secondly, the database is comprehensive because of its local focal point, which is not the base of this research. Local initiatives are only selected if they are funded or supported or in cooperation with international or national governmental, non-governmental organizations or institutions (such as the European Union or Sabancı Foundation). The youth organizations are classified (and could be simultaneously chosen) according to the criteria 'city', 'type of organization' (foundation – association - (con)federation/network - youth council - youth center - university club/community – political party youth arm/organization - the youth organization of an NGO), 'geographical coverage', 'basic scope' and 'basic activity format'. The options under the criterion 'basic scope' in which we can find organizations active in gender and/or sexuality (in education) are the following; 'Family/Parenthood', 'Domestic/Sexual violence', 'Combating discrimination', 'Gender diversity/LGBTI rights', 'Gender equality/Women rights', 'Children/Children rights', 'Education', 'Human Rights'. Notable is that in this search engine 'gender' is used, but loaded with the assumption that gender diversity and LGBTI rights should be under the same heading. Similarly, gender equality and women's rights appear under one heading.

3.5.1.6 Electronic government website guide (E-devlet)

Organizations related to the government is available on the electronic government website guide (E-devlet) of Turkey. These civil society organizations are divided into 'Foundations', 'Associations', 'Unions' and 'Professional organizations' and enlisted in alphabetical order. The absence of more criteria to search in the database (for example enlisted by 'scope') is a shortcoming of the website. Besides, there are no LGBTI organizations included in the list.

3.5.1.7 Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TÜSEV)

One would expect TÜSEV to provide a comprehensive overview of the 'third sector' (i.e. civil society organizations) in Turkey, however, the infobank at the website consists merely of 28 organizations (either associations or foundations). The search terms are based on activity or city. There are 27 activities selectable including 'human rights'; 'family'; 'research'; 'child'; 'education'; 'youth'; 'woman' and 'health' which could be possible areas in which organizations with a scope on gender, sexuality and education could be found. Also no specific LGBTI organizations is enlisted, except for foundations who are active in gender issues, such as AÇEV and TAPV. This list is thus not usable in order to compare with others, or to analyze, because it is lacking many organizations within the civil society.

3.5.1.8 Information system of associations (Ministry of Interior)

On the website of the Ministry of Interior Department of Association[67], there are several information systems available. An information system of associations; of unions; of political parties and an electronic archive. Focusing on the information system of associations, there are several partitions existing. Firstly, the number of associations is separated as active and inactive associations and are kept up-to-date. Secondly, the active associations are distributed as per province. The number of associations on a map of turkey per province is given, but there is no possibility to see which associations there are available in that specific part. Besides, there is a list of 'public-benefit associations' with in total 338 associations. However, it is multi-interpretable what 'public-benefit' means. In the list there are various areas of associations, enlisted by alphabetic order. It includes associations in the areas of education, environment, health, sports, religion, animals, language, etc. However, associations within the area of sex, sexuality, sexual-health and gender (except for women's associations) are not included in the list.   Furthermore, there is a list with associations (445 in total) who use subject to authorization words in the names of the associations. Thus the state has to permit to use several words in naming the association. However, all these words consist nationality based, militarized words. The following words are mentioned: 'cumhuriyet' [republic], 'ulusal' [national], 'Türk'

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[67] https://www.dernekler.gov.tr/en/default.aspx

[Turkish], 'Türkiye' [Turkey], 'milli' [national], 'türkçe' [Turkish] and 'Atatürk'.

Moreover, there is a list in quota per province available regarding public benefit associations. Overall establishment information is provided in the form of statistics on active federations, confederations and associations, also by number of active associations per years. However, in all the mentioned list above, there is no further information provided. The information about the associations themselves are distributed by type, city and activity area. The problem exists though, that the searching engine for area of activity becomes only active, after choosing the city. There is no option to conduct a national search. The areas of activity are distributed as follows: 'environmental and wildlife animal protection associations'; 'child associations'; 'solidarity with foreign Turks associations'; 'disability associations'; 'educational research associations'; 'sustenance of community values associations', 'associations who operate in food agriculture and livestock'; 'rights and advocacy associations'; 'reconstruction, city and development associations'; 'human aid associations'; 'associations supporting public institutions and staff'; 'culture, arts and tourism associations'; 'professional and solidarity associations'; 'associations operating in the field of health'; 'relatives of martyrs and veterans associations'; 'sport and related to sports associations'; individual learning and societal development associations'; international entities and cooperation associations'; 'associations for the elderly and children'; 'associations operating for the realization of religious services' and 'opinion based associations'. After choosing an area of activity, the option to choose a detailed area of activity is available, among 60 areas. The areas related to gender and sexuality in education initiatives are as following: 'socio-political operating associations'; 'associations related to children'; 'branches and representative offices of non-governmental organizations headquartered abroad'; 'societal development associations'; 'youth'; 'associations for the protection of society and people health'; 'specialized health and research associations'; 'solidarity associations related to a particular area'; 'human rights'; 'associations for gender differences'; 'women's rights' and 'educational research associations'.

It is significant to note that this is the first governmental related list which involves LGBTI organizations and incorporated associations related to sexual violence, sexual health and gender differences.

3.6 Analysis of initiatives of gender and sexuality in education in Turkey

The initiatives sorted by modality in this part are the selected ones out of the database in the Appendix. This database consists of Turkey's main initiatives by governmental and non-governmental organizations with a gender and/or sexuality scope *in* education or *through* education (by enabling training programmes, seminars etc.). These initiatives are nation-wide, supported by international organizations or local with support of (inter)national governmental or non-governmental organizations. In this section the distinction between governmental and non-governmental organizations is not highlighted, because the focus is on the modality of their operations. In the last chapter, (Chapter 4: Conclusion), the initiatives will be reviewed and evaluated with the distinction between governmental and non-governmental initiatives.

By modality we mean the combination of the technique, measure and purpose of an initiative. Main modalities are increasing access to education, awareness raising, education of educators, rewriting textbooks, lobbying, networking, solidarity building and mainstreaming.

The proliferations of initiatives regarding the enforcement to increase girls' enrolment to education and enabling gender equality in education, carried out together or separately by public institutions, (inter)national and/or civil society or private sector organizations is the most important feature in the past decades.

By creating equal opportunities for girls regarding educational attainment, *Kardelenler-Çağdaş Türkiye'nin Çağdaş Kızları* [Snowdrops - Modern Girls of Modern Turkey] is one of the first national projects (2000) in Turkey which enabled girls to enroll in education in large numbers. A similar campaign is *Haydi Kızlar Okula!* [Let's go to school girls!] which began in 2003 with the aim to close the gender-gap in primary school enrolment. This aim is the leading trend in almost all governmental initiatives, because girls constitute the most disadvantaged group regarding educational enrolment and attainment. These kinds of projects mainly aim at increasing access to education, but one can argue that they also constitute a type of awareness raising and solidarity building.

As part of the pre-accession *Final Assistance Programme of Turkey-European Union* of 2005, the project *'Promoting Gender Equality'* was established "with the aim of

enabling women to benefit from social opportunities on an equal basis with men and protecting women's human rights" (GDSW, National Action Plan, 2008: 5). As part of the project *"Promoting Gender Equality Project-Strengthening Institutional Capacity Twinning Project",* a National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013 was prepared. In this action plan, education in relation to women (gender equality) was also implemented. Outcomes were governmental projects, such as KEP I (*Kız Çocuklarının Eğitimi Projesi*), *Kız Çocuklarının Okullulaşma Oranının Artırılması Projesi* [Project for Increasing Enrolment Rates Especially For Girls] started in 2011, also based on ensuring equality in attainment to education between girls and boys. The second campaign KEP II (started in 2015) is more focused on the attendance rates, because of the high numbers of drop-outs in Turkey, particularly of girls. Main problems regarding the low rate of enrolment of girls in education, exist in relation to the patriarchal structure of families and poverty, especially in rural areas. Campaigns are therefore (until nowadays) still focused on awareness regarding the importance of attending school by girls. *'Baba Beni Okula Gönder'* [Father, allow me to go to school] is such an awareness raising campaign, erased in 2005 which uses tools as financial support for families, training and seminars of families and establishments of dorms for girls. The focus of gender in education shifts slowly from quantity to quality education. Between 2005 and 2008 Education Reform Initiative (ERG), Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV), and the Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates (Ka-Der) collaborated in a project called 'Raising Women: Reducing Gender Disparity in Education' through functional and political literacy, parent training, collective action and advocacy. The monitoring of gender inequality in education is a strong intervention in this project, because of its impact on national policy and legislation in order to overcome gender inequality. These initiatives are a step towards gender mainstreaming, as well as awareness raising.

Projects focusing on the quality of education are mainly stressed with the content of educational materials and curricula. The Project for *Promoting Human Rights in Primary and Secondary School Textbooks* established in 2002 under the auspices of the Turkish Academy of Sciences by the History Foundation of Turkey and in cooperation with Human Rights Foundation of Turkey aimed "to determine the human rights content of school textbooks, formulate recommendations for their improvement, and to foster awareness of

and respect for human rights norms in school textbooks and the school environment, among school teachers, textbook writers, parents, and educators in general, at both the grass roots and the official levels". This project was followed by Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II (in 2004) and III (2012). The main aims of these following projects were the institutionalization of the monitoring of textbooks in Turkey, and "this study enables a systematic analysis of the narrative of national identity and the concept of citizenship in Turkey within the framework of fundamental rights and freedoms" (Çayır: 2014, ix). Çayır argues that "textbooks are one of the most important components of education, and through them it is possible to discuss the limits of a country's official discourse, power relationships, and the relationship between education and democratization or social conflict" (2014, ix). This approach which makes the research of textbooks worthy and the importance of especially gender and sexuality contents in textbooks is the last decade widely acknowledged by Turkish academicians (See: Esen & Bağlı (2002), Tanrıöver (2004), Altınay (2004), Tan (2005), Kancı (2007), Çayır & Gürkaynak (2008) Gümüşoğlu (2008) Sayılan (2008), Bora (2012), Esen (2013), Özkan (2013), Yaylı & Kitiş Çınar (2014) and Çayır (2014).

SEÇBİR (Center for Sociology and Education Studies) as part of Istanbul Bilgi University, has conducted other research with respect to textbooks. The 'Textbook Analysis Project' started in 2011, by a group of sociology students as well as SECBIR experts "aimed to analyze "Life Information" and "Social Information" class textbooks from 1st through 8th grade as well as the 8th grade "Citizenship and Democracy Education" textbook using a qualitative measure" ([68]). This project is different as such, because it did not solely analyze textbooks published by the Ministry of National Education, but also of private publishing houses in Turkey. The Promoting Human Rights in Textbook project was more comprehensive in subjects compared to the project conducted by SECBIR. The textbook analysis of SEÇBIR focused on Gender and Militarism. With this project the researchers "aim to establish the progress and problems regarding the handling of human rights, gender, militarism, and similar topics in textbooks, analyze the visual use of

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[68]http://secbir.org/en/project

textbooks and to present suggestions on how to improve these textbooks" (see: footnote 30).

Besides textbooks, curriculum is also an important focus of the initiatives of governmental and non-governmental projects. In terms of the implementation of 'sexuality' in the curriculum, there is still a lack of coherence between approaches of the government and civil society organizations. Bıkmaz & Güler argue that there are important aspects missing from the school curriculum especially in the areas of physical development, sexuality and sexual development, despite some other positive developments such as the inclusion of the negative effects of population growth or marriages between relatives (2007: 288).

In Turkey there are several organizations active in educational awareness of sexuality. One of those NGOs is TAPV (Family Health and Planning Foundation) with the objective "to work towards a foundation of gender equality in order to improve women and girls' access to education and raise the quality of life of all individuals" ([69]).

The introduction of sex education by TAPV (in collaboration with other governmental and non-governmental organizations) goes back to 1994. *The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation* (Türkiye Aile Planlaması Derneği, TAPV) and *the Human Resources Development Foundation* (İnsan Kaynağını Geliştirme Vakfı, IKGV), held for the first time in 1994 a conference that focused on sexual education: "Youth, Sexual Education and Reproductive Health". This conference is included in the database because it brought together different actors to discuss sex education (contributing to networking and lobbying, as well as awareness raising) and led the way to new initiatives. One of the major outcomes of the conference was the identification of the need for sex education for students and teachers across Turkey. With the identification of this need, in 1994, the Ministry of Education (MoNE), initiated a project regarding sex education for the first time in Turkish educational history. The project was named *Change: First Step into Adolescence.* With the financial support of UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) this project aimed to identify three faculties of education, in which the students (teacher candidates), were provided sexual health information courses as an elective course. In the

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[69] http://www.tapv.org.tr/en/tci/8/MISSION

spring semester of 1999-2000, a total number of 900 teacher candidates of Dokuz Eylül University Buca Faculty of Education and Uludağ University Faculty of Education were provided sexual health classes. Besides, it is assumed that they have reached over two million girls aged 13–15 years who were provided with basic education about sexual health" (Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 2). In 1999 the project was expanded with support from Procter & Gamble (Orkid) and Toprak Holdings. Aiming to include male students the project was renamed as *Change during Adolescence Project* (ERDEP). "Its focus was on the provision of sexual health information with a focus on the physical changes during adolescence" (Çok & Kutlu, 2010 quoted in Çuhadaroğlu, 2016: 2). In 2001 sponsored by The Human Resources Development Foundation IKGV, in collaboration with the United Nations (UNFPA), MoNE initiated the project *Ergenlerin Sağlık Bilincinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi* [Development of Adolescent Health Awareness Project]. During pre-service and in-service educational seminars, this project aimed to train primary and secondary school teachers to teach sexuality issues in effective ways (IKGV, 2002). The manual *Öğretmen ve öğretmenler adayları için cinsel sağlık eğitimi*[70] [sexual health education for teachers and teacher candidates] was produced as an outcome of the project. While contemporary projects in Turkey (such as ETCEP[71]), do not focus on homosexuality and sex in relationships, this manual is on the contrary, filled with various knowledge and information regarding sex, sexuality and gender identity. To what extent the teachers who were provided with this information were able to actually incorporate it in their pedagogy remains a question. Nevertheless, this manual is one of the first, and probably the only manual within a governmental project, focusing gender and sexuality with this kind of inclusive approach. These two projects bring together different modalities, most significantly, 'educating the educator', and 'raising awareness'. Although these projects mark a historical shift, it is important to note that they have not been followed up with further work in sex education. To the contrary, contemporary projects fall much behind these projects in terms of including sexuality in gender-responsive education.

In recent years, TAPV has been conducting a sexual health program for schools, especially because these topics are not integrated in curricula. However, the organization is

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[70] http://www.ikgv.org/pdf/saglik_kitabi1.pdf.
[71] Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project

not allowed to promote these subjects in public schools, but only in private schools. Introductory seminars are held at the schools before the Sexual Health Education Program (SHEP) are carried out to inform the parents and the teachers about the contents of the training in order to raise awareness about children's sexual developments, needs and expectations. The Sexual Health Programme for Schools consists of different themes, such as "I am growing up' (Primary level), 'Getting to know my sex' and 'My body is precious' for Grade 3; 'I am growing up and I am curious' for Grade 4. For the Secondary School Level; 'I am changing'; 'Getting to know my body and I take good care (look after) of my body' for Grade 5; 'Bodily changes and Privacy and boundaries' for Grade 6; 'Rights and wrongs and Social roles and gender' for Grade 7; 'Aspects of sexuality and Sexual health' for Grade 8; High School Level: 'Sexual Health & Safe Sex'; 'Mid-puberty period and Aspects of sexuality' for preparation year; 'Teenage Safe Sex and Sexually Transmitted Disease (STDs)' for Grade 9; 'Physiology of sex and Male/Female Sexuality' for Grade 10; 'Birth Control and Rights and wrongs of sex' for Grade 11 and Safe Sex Guideline for Grade 12". A similar education project with teachers and students has been conducted by KAOS GL, a LGBTI organization based in Ankara, that visits schools through several projects in order to raise awareness regarding LGBTI issues.

Education of educators has also become an important trend in the last decades. One of the first certificate programs is the *Purple Certificate Program*, launched in 2007 and still ongoing, targeting high school teachers with respect to raising awareness regarding gender and sexuality. This program, conducted by the Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum (Gender Forum) was initially integrated in the United Nations Joint Program to Protect and Promote the Human Rights of Women and Girls and was simultaneously supported by all United Nations organizations in Turkey. The UN Joint Program ran from 2006 till 2010, and since 2010, with Sabancı Foundation support, the Gender Forum has continued the Purple Certificate Program in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education.

A similar initiative for the education of teachers was started in 2013 by SECBIR and Education Reform Initiative (ERG) and lasted for a period of 13 weeks in the form of a teacher's workshop entitled 'Discussing Controversial Issues in an Educational Setting' Certificate Program. The topic 'Gender, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation' was also a

part of the program. Not only educating educators but also the training of potential educators is highly important. SEÇBIR has also conducted (in collaboration with the Gender Forum) a version of the *Purple Certificate Program* for students of the Education Faculty in 2016.

Lastly, in order to transform the educational content and the approach of teachers as well as creating a gender-responsive learning environment, a comprehensive project was conducted in 2015 in the name of ETCEP (Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project). ETCEP aimed "to promote gender equality for girls and boys in schools and contribute to promoting equality and gender sensitive approach throughout the education system" ([72]). However, LGBTI organizations or issues are not included in this governmental project. The government maintains its resistance towards sexuality in general, and LGBTI issues in particular, which makes it hard to implement such issues in governmental projects. ETCEP focused solely on equity between men and women, although in a comprehensive manner, including a media campaign for awareness.

3.7 Report analysis of governmental and non-governmental organizations

3.7.1 Governmental

A policy document titled *'Women and Education'* (GDSW, 2008b),[73]published by the General Directorate on the Status of Women, provides the basis for the *National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013*. The general reasons mentioned as hindrances for equal opportunities between the sexes in education are existing gender roles stimulating the traditional culture and patriarchal family structures regarding sending girls to school; forced early marriages of girls; low-income families who prefer to send boys to school in order to educate at least of their children; children who do seasonal work; regional development; problems with registration of the population; distance and limited transport to schools; the low level of infrastructural facilities which are inappropriate for the needs of girls; and a lack of female teachers as role models in rural areas (GDSW, 2008: 26).

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[72] http://www.britishcouncil.org.tr/en/programmes/education/technical-assistance-projects/etcep
[73]Politika dokümanı: Kadın ve Eğitim(http://kadininstatusu.aile.gov.tr/data/542a8e0b369dc31550b3ac30/egitim.pdf)

In the *National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013* of the General Directorate on the Status of Women, the gender approach of the governmental project is described as following:

> "In the more theoretical context of gender equality policies, the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' is used. 'Sex' refers to the universal biological distinctions between men and women, while 'gender' is the social translation of these distinctions. The concept of gender is used to identify the social relations between men and women in a specific context. This means that the content of these concepts differs, depending on place and time. It refers to the relationship between men and women, boys and girls, and how this is socially constructed. Gender roles are dynamic and change over time" (GDSW, 2008: 15)

With respect to the approach of gender in the *National Action Plan*, sexuality is not mentioned and sex is defined in solely two ways, namely 'man' and 'woman'. This presents the way the government is 'eliminating' the LGBTI-community out of society and education.

Furthermore, "In the National Action Plan, which was prepared in 1996 by the then so called General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women with participation of related parties, on the implementation and monitoring of the results of the Fourth World Conference on Women's Rights in Beijing (1995), the following actions were defined" (GDSW, 2008: 26):

> "To ensure that women benefit from formal and non-formal education on equal footing with men; To cleanse education materials from sexist components; To reach a 100 per cent literacy rate for women; To provide environmental and political education to women; To eliminate the discrimination against girl children in education and training; To eliminate negative cultural approaches and implementations against girl children" (GDSW, 2008: 26).

According to a report of UNICEF in 2003 regarding gender and education in Turkey, rural children are, due to seasonal agricultural work, needed to help and therefore kept out of school in certain periods. This is significant in terms of gender equality, because gender differences are either way greater in rural areas than in urban. As a result of migration from eastern rural to western urban regions "the problem of female illiteracy is carried out to towns" so the report states (UNICEF, 2003: 24). The report concludes that despite all the international agreements and stipulations Turkey signed (Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

Against Women; the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Education for All), "the illiteracy rates of Turkey show that the obligation to ensure equal access to education for women has not been fulfilled by the State" (UNICEF, 2003: 24). However, the gender gap is as shown in the report, highly decreased since the new Basic Education Law (4306) in August 1997, which extended the duration of compulsory schooling from five to eight years. The gender gap between boys and girls was 10.7 % in 1997-1998, while this number decreased to 4.5% in 2002-2003 academic year. The enrollment of boys into school is most likely compared to girls, when a choice between the two has to be made by the families. The reluctance to send or keep a girl in school still prevails in rural areas with a traditional perception. Other reasons for keeping girls out of school are also physical distance of the school, financial and social barriers like early marriage (UNICEF, 2003: 29). A very significant conclusion of the report is that education is being seen as "in conflict with the accepted roles of women in society" (UNICEF, 2003: 32). This view makes the barrier for attaining education for girls even higher.

Turkey has signed the 'Final Resolutions of Beijing +5' and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) for the provision of greater gender sensitivity in education. The first document contains a section called 'Girls and Education' and underlines that "The insistent utilization of gender stereotypes in the education materials impedes the accessibility and persistence of girls in school" (UNICEF, 2003: 27). Besides, this document describes the states' responsibility for "designating policies in order to free education from insistently retained stereotypes, within the framework of changing gender roles and responsibilities of boys and men" (UNICEF, 2003: 27). Likewise, in Article 5 of the CEDAW the state is held responsible for "the abolition of all custom, practice, tradition behavior and prejudices that serve the degradation of one gender with respect to the other, or envisage roles based on stereotypes". The document also requests for review and redesigning teaching methods school materials and curricula in order to reach this aim (UNICEF, 2003: 27).

Schools in Turkey contribute to the reproduction of gender roles through teaching, which is also seen in literacy courses and its material of adults, concludes the report (UNICEF, 2003: 27). It calls for an urgent need of policies for inspection of education materials regarding gender and the elimination of sexist elements in texts. Moreover, the

report discusses the learning environment as a stressful place as such because of its controlling mechanisms regarding personal appearance such as "fingernails, hair, clothes and inter-student relationship" (UNICEF, 2003: 29). Especially girls are under strict control by teachers who add further limitations such as "loudness of speech and manners" (UNICEF, 2003:29).This makes girls being reluctant from contributing to class discussions in order to avoid attention.

Possible interventions according to the UNICEF report 'A Gender Review in Education, Turkey' (2003) regarding gender inequality and content of education are "the development of media programmes and motivational programmes; national girls' enrolment days; gender sensitivity training for parents and local leaders; better parenting programmes; a campaign for marriage registration; upgrading of schools as child-friendly learning environments and promoting community and parental involvement in girls' education" (UNICEF, 2003: 31-32). Educational interventions should be "a gender review of quality in education; gender-sensitive curriculum reform through training of authors and producers of learning materials, cleansing materials that reinforce stereotypes and life-skills based learning including rights" (UNICEF, 2003: 34).

3.7.2 Non-governmental organizations
3.7.2.1 Gender inequality in education

Eğitim-Sen, [Education Union] has several reports regarding sexism in education in Turkey, published in 2014, 2015 and 2016. In a report of Eğitim-Sen dated2014 (*Eğitimde cinsiyetçilik raporu*[74]*)*, the writers state that gender inequality is observed in educational settings. Coeducational settings became more a matter of discussion, which shows the endeavors to enforce segregation, by opening Girls Schools and Boys Schools and trying to limit women from public spaces, such as economic, political and social environments. Furthermore, the writers refer to the Global Gender Report, in which Turkey declined its rank from 120 to 125 based on all categories and from 104 to 105 among 142 countries in the area of education. Examples of reasons of this decline are; girls' attainment to education is 93% in contrast to boys' attainment (95%); the highest gap of schooling remain at the

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[74] http://egitimsen.org.tr/egitimde-cinsiyetcilik-raporu-2015/

university level between girls and boys (boys are 11% more enrolled into university education than girls); 92% of women in contrast to 98% of men, know how to read and write.

The lower numbers of school enrollment, attainment and drop-outs are mainly seen in economically poor areas and Kurdish districts. Language is a great barrier in the enrollment of especially girls and numbers demonstrates that education in the mother-tongue (Kurdish) is essential in order to reach gender-equality between boys and girls in educational attainment.

3.7.2.2 Sexuality education

When transgenders in Turkey start to express their own identities or live openly according to their gender identity, they are confronted with social exclusion. Some begin to experience suppression and violence by their family members, face also bullying by their peers in school during their educational life and encounter repressive attitudes and behavior by school authorities. In the cities they live, drowning in concepts of social conservatism, patriarchy and heterosexism, the family and educational life of many transgenders comes to an end.

The exclusion of educational life deprives transgenders from knowledge and skills needed for employment, beside the discrimination they face during job applications because of their gender identity. Discrimination and violence enforces transgenders into alternative employment, which leads mostly to 'underground' sectors like the sex and entertainment industry (Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği, 2016). Also in a manual for parents of LGBTI-children by the organization LISTAG (Families and Friends of LGBTIs in Turkey) the writers stress the education system in Turkey, which is still ignoring towards other sexual orientations than heterosexuality.

3.7.2.3 Gender/Sex Discrimination in Education

Women in Turkey gained their equal education opportunities in 1924 and, before many countries, their political rights in 1934. Moreover, comprehensive national legislation and international conventions preserving the principles of equality of rights and opportunities between men and women are implemented. However, according to a report of TÜSEV, the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey, vulnerable populations in Turkey are not adequately

protected by the Turkish government (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio, 2014: 12). These populations, "including women, children, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals" are frequently exposed to "societal abuse, discrimination, and violence" (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio, 2014: 12). "While the passage of a new domestic violence law showed progress, violence against women, including so-called honor killings, remained a significant problem. Child marriage persisted" (Kılıçalp Iaconantonio, 2014: 12). Even the government recognizes the need for progress, change and development regarding the status of women in Turkey and made progress in "tracking gender equity across various domains of public policy" (World Bank, 2012: 3) significant gender disparities still maintain "particularly in terms of economic opportunities and participation in political life and representation" (World Bank, 2012: 3).

In a monitoring report of 2013, *Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Based Human Rights Violations* the NGO SPoD argues that access to education by LGBTI communities, as well as human rights violations in these settings, such as the incorporated training programs, should be monitored by the state (Kara et. al. 2013, 44).

Educating people about sexual orientation and homosexuality will reduce prejudices. Accurate information is, besides raising awareness, also important for young people who are in conflict with their own sexual identity.

3.7.3   International organizations
3.7.3.1 Gender equality in education

Beside problems with access to primary and secondary education, "girls face in-school disadvantages in forms that include biased treatment, harassment and sexist stereotypes in educational content. Boys are less likely than girls to be excluded from education based on their gender, but they also face in-school issues that contribute to higher repetition and dropout rates" (UNESCO, 2012: 99). It is a necessity to have an eye for in-school problems girls and boys are dealing with. Furthermore, policies are also important in the access, continuation and success in education of boys and girls. The UNESCO World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education (2012), addresses how policies could affect gender equality in education. The report argues that female role models of teachers contributes to the success of girls in schools (UNESCO, 2012: 99). This is an influential factor, because

girls are then exposed to powerful messages, will be invited for safer learning environments and encouraged to pursue their education. In order to reinforce this factor, more girls should continue in secondary education, to raise the female enrollment in teacher training programmes. Another mentioned factor is the distance to school, which affect both girls and boys, but still maintain a higher obstacle for girls' attendance, in particular at the lower secondary level (UNESCO, 2012: 104).

The report concludes that achieving gender equality in education is not simply a matter of a higher enrollment of girls in education, but is also a matter of policies. Girls are still discriminated in access to primary education, but once they attain education, the level of persistence is higher with respect to boys. The dropout rate of boys is therefore an important issue (UNESCO, 2012: 107).

In order to close the gender gap in education, according to a report by the World Bank (2012: 5), three policies are central in achieving this goal in Turkey: the 1997 policy of extending compulsory education to 8 years, the conditional cash transfer program of 2003 with a focus on positive discrimination towards girls in (especially secondary) education and nation-wide campaigns, such as *Hey Girls, Let's Go to School!* Important policy frameworks for improving gender equity include the 'Gender Equality National Action Plan 2008-2013' and 'the Prime Minister's Circular on Increasing Female Employment and Achieving Equality of Opportunities (2010)'.

3.8 Conclusion

Rates, information and data regarding gender are mostly, in reports of the civil society as well as the government, focused on the position of girls and women. These statistics contain mainly the enrolment of women and girls to education, their literacy and educational levels, rates of employment and decision-making in politics and their representations in the government. Rates, information and data pertaining to sexuality (LGBTI-population) are mainly placed under the headlines of human rights. In chapters about gender (equality) these groups are frequently not mentioned which presents the understanding of the concept of gender and gender identity in Turkey by civil society as well as the government.

Although there are a large number of women's organizations, gender platforms, cooperations with international organizations and collaboration between universities, non-governmental and governmental organizations with respect to gender and sexuality in education, there is still a need for effective communication between the mentioned groups in order to complement each other's gaps and accomplish effective work on the ground. By sharing their research, results and outcomes and bringing them together in one platform, solely focused on gender and sexuality in education, they will benefit from each other's experiences, knowledge and perspectives. In order to achieve common reform objectives, with a rise in the number of civil society organizations, such a platform is needed with respect to gender and sexuality in education. This is also emphasized by a report regarding the civil society in Turkey as following; "civil society organizations remain concerned about the limited extent of cooperation and communication between other organizations nationally and internationally" (Bikmen & Meydanoğlu, 2006: 116).

Projects regarding gender and sexuality in education are, looking at the governmental initiatives, not shifted towards a gender-sensitive and gender-responsive understanding of education, in which the content and context goes beyond a heterosexual, two-sex approach. Although one of the first projects initiated by the government regarding educating educators in sexuality and sexual health was provided with this information, contemporary projects are solely focusing on two genders.

Non-governmental projects on the other hand attempt to fill in this gap, but are unable to implement their policies within projects in governmental projects, and public schools. However, networking (through conferences), raising awareness among teachers (through certificate programs) and students (rewriting textbooks projects) are undoubtedly influential initiatives within the spectrum of gender and sexuality in education.

CHAPTER 4:

CONCLUSION

4.1 Introduction

Education is a human right and also one of the main ways to achieve equality, development and peace. When education becomes equally accessible for everyone, it contributes significantly to equality in society. Concerning the institutionalization of gender equality in a society, public education could be seen as one of the main socializing institutions in the creation of perceptions regarding gender identity and sexual orientation. It is important to note that education contributes to a common sense and memory with respect to the mentioned topics. Besides, by providing equal access opportunities to public education, the societal status through education will be redistributed, and the transfer of social inequality to next generations will be prevented. Turkey continues to face problems with closing the gap between girls and boys regarding educational attainment. Internationally compared, despite the huge number of projects and initiatives by the government, civil society and the private sector, the gender inequality ranks in education seems according to the actual reports by international institutions highly great. Furthermore, the content and context of education with respect to gender identity and sexual orientation; the common (and individual) construction of gender and sexuality perspectives and acknowledgment through education is as important as the accessibility to education for all citizens, regardless of their sex, gender identity and sexual orientation. Education is after all one of the environments in which children and youth develop their knowledge and understandings regarding gender identities. Therefore, it is significant to focus on gender equality in accessibility of education as well as the content of education in quality and quantity regarding gender and sexuality.

In this research the changing paradigms in Turkey regarding gender and sexuality in education has been studied. This final chapter is an attempt to demonstrate the current situation of gender and sexuality (in) education in Turkey by summarizing the research findings, introduce a critical analysis of the shortcomings in the academic field, propose new directions for further research as well as for NGO/GO practices within this area. A

selected overview of initiatives, with also good practices involved, is analyzed and challenges of the education practices in Turkey are discussed.

4.2 Gender Equality in Education

After the application for full membership of the European Union in 1963, Turkey signed several agreements and translated these into national legislations in order to comply to the criteria of the European Union regarding 'constitutional guarantees of equality'. In the National Action Plan Gender Equality, prepared in 1996, based on policies of the Ministry of National Education, the objectives and strategies for action in order to eliminate gender disparity in education were defined. Based on the National Action Plan, several initiatives by the state were taken and the practices of civil society organizations were mainly based on these objectives. However, the function of the civil society, as well as the private sector became of great importance in the past decades in combating and transforming educational practices from gendered and sexist environments into gender-responsive sites and structures. This is partly because the implementation of neo-liberal policies, and thus the decentralization of the nation state, shifted the authorization of social responsibility projects to both national and international organizations, such as IMF, World Bank, WTO, NATO, and the UN.

In 1990, UNESCO launched the *Education for All* (EFA) initiative through collaboration among international agencies such as The World Bank and national governments, non-governmental organizations (Gümüş & Gümüş, 2013: 18). Turkey adopted in 2000 two educational goals pertaining gender and education:

> "(1) ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls in difficult circumstances and those who belong to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality; and (2) eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015 with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality" (Gümüş & Gümüş, 2013: 18).

Both the EFA goals as well as the *Millennium Development Goals* of the UNDP[75] consist of two goals: "gender parity goals [achieving equal participation of girls and boys in all

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[75] United Nations Development Program

forms of education based on their proportion in the relevant age-groups in the population]
and gender equality goals [ensuring educational equality between boys and girls]"
(Subrahmanian, 2005: 395). However, the understanding in Turkey of gender equality in
terms of policy "rests on gender parity and the gap between girls and boys in enrolment".
Although this objective is important, Cin & Walker refer to Unterhalter (2005) who argue
that it "does not address structural problems girls face, such as how they engage with
school, how they are treated at school, or what and how they learn at school" (Unterhalter,
2005 quoted in Cin & Walker, 2016: 134).

4.3 Gaps in existing research and practice

Despite the complex structure of gender and sexuality (in) education in general, as
well as in the context of Turkey, research by academia in the Turkish context is often
limited both in terms of quantity and in terms of scope. What is the connection between
gender and issues such as ethnicity, nationality, disability, age, language, political ideology,
religion and so on? Although there are certain studies regarding gender in education with a
focus on nationality, ethnicity and religion, this thesis argues that there is still need for
more studies on discriminatory practices within educational settings in Turkey through an
intersectional lens. This approach goes beyond gender, and focuses on the *intra*-action of
several systems of power. Moreover, field-studies should take part in an intersectional
research approach, in order to understand context-specific (educational environments)
experiences.

Textbook research became more important in the last decade in Turkey. However, I
have argued that curricula should be more comprehensively studied pertaining to gender
and sexuality, especially in classes without textbooks, such as physical education (PE),
music and arts. Moreover, curricula, constructed by the state, continues to neglect the
existence of the queer community, and this is hardly mentioned in the reports written on
textbooks.

Other shortcomings are the limited studies on 'patchwork families', the depiction of
animals and fairytales related to gender and sexuality in pre-school education as well as in
primary and secondary education. Besides, there is a lack of focus on men, boys and
masculinity in research regarding Turkish educational contexts. PE is an area in which

masculinities are studied the most. However, instead of focusing on mainly girls' experiences, the experiences of boys in classrooms regarding patriarchal practices is significant for inquiry. Also, female teachers as role models are more studied than role of male teachers within the gender spectrum. These gaps among others will be discussed in this section.

4.3.1   Intersectional Analysis

There are many forms of discrimination existing in education in Turkey. Firstly, language-based discrimination is prevalent especially in Kurdish regions. Discrimination, based on religion or belief, color an ethnic origin is also persistent in education in Turkey. Beside, discrimination in education because of a disability is still a common practice. Focusing on discrimination, based on gender identity or sexual orientation, it is notable that there are plenty of examples in which gender/sexuality-discrimination is also simultaneously with other types of discrimination. Thus a disabled student who faces discrimination could be in a more disadvantaged position because she is a girl at the same time. A Kurdish speaking girl could also be exposed to discrimination because of language, ethnicity as well as gender. This is still a less studied issue in Turkey. It could be seen as a shortcoming, because the study of gender and sexuality in education is more complex than rather discrimination between girls and boys, or inequality between hetero- or homosexuals. The reason of this complexity is due to the existing discrimination practices reflected in education. Being a girl in a patriarchal system, a gay in a heterosexist construction, a man in a hegemonic masculinity structure of education and at the same time being a minority in language or ethnic origin, color or believe, is a phenomenon which has to be implemented in the research and initiatives of academics, civic society organizations and government.

A large number of gender projects and research in Turkey are characterized by the predominant focus on girls and women. The gender issue is apparently interpreted as a women's issue. Instead of research regarding the gendered content of education and curricula, sexist or gendered school and learning environments or structures, gender-biased, sexist teachings through language, most of the governmental and non-governmental studies regarding gender and education in Turkey are relying on gender equality between girls and

boys in education, and the low rates of school attainment of especially girls. However, gender and sexuality in education is more than gender equality and not solely a problem of girls and women, but also boys, men, LGBTI people, ethnic minorities, teachers, parents and school management.

4.3.1.1 LGBTI (Queer communities)

According to a report of *Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği* [Red Umbrella Sexual Health and Human Rights Association] starting from elementary school to university, all students should be given trainings in order to raise awareness and prevent discrimination regarding sexual orientation and gender (Ördek, 2016: 34). This is significant, because LGBTIs are still excluded from the Turkish society, as well as from educational materials, curricula and the formal system.

Çayır argues (2014: 95) that families in Turkish textbooks are meant to be "the modern nuclear family" or in other words a heterosexual family. The opposite sex does always refer to 'man' or 'woman'. The only difference in family structures are solely seen in the form of 'extended families', such as children who live with their mother or father because their parents are divorced (see also patchwork families). However, marriage is encouraged and promoted in the form of a heterosexual relationship. This reproduces a discrimination system with an exclusionary/alienating structure towards LGBTI people.

It is important to note that the lack of appearance of the LGBTI communities in the content of education does not mean that there are no LGBTIs in the education system. Because children and youth are not exposed[76] to LGBTI lives and issues through their educational content (i.e. textbooks and teacher's discourses), the presence of LGBTI people in real life in contrast to the absence in educational processes enforces the 'otherization' of the LGBTI community members. Although LGBTIs are not mentioned in textbooks or curricula, the negative and stereotyped discourses towards LGBTIs remain high. They include the use of sexist language by teachers and students and oppressive approach

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[76] Except for children and youth who are studying in private schools who could be exposed to such contents, because LGBTI initiatives of NGOs area active in educational settings such as private schools.

towards 'girly' boys, for example in PE. Because this is not studied in-depth, we lack other examples and a solid analysis.

4.3.1.2 Patchwork families

In the contemporary era, more children live in what is called "patchwork" families. "These are families in which the children live and grow up with single fathers or mothers, with step mothers or step fathers, with lesbian mothers or gay fathers. These might be single mothers or fathers with their children; divorced or widowed mothers or fathers who have new partners and the children have to come to terms with the new step father or step mother; lesbian or gay marriages or partnerships where there are children and families with transsexual or transgender people" (Gender Loops Project, 1998[77]). These different forms of families are not represented in textbooks and school curricula, except for the 'extended families' which are in the Turkish context heterosexual divorced or widow parents. The extended family with divorced parents is available as mentioned before, but this is yet the only family form that is represented different than the heterosexist, mother-father and children tableau. For instance, there is no mention of LGBTI parents and the families that they have formed.

4.3.1.3 Gender = Women. Where are the men?

Human rights issues in Turkish textbooks are widely studied and different tools are used in order to investigate these issues, including gender. In the summed criteria for a qualitative analysis of textbooks in '*Human rights issues in textbooks: The Turkish case*' 'sexism' and the 'social role attributed to women' are separately mentioned topics, while the 'social role attributed to men' is not included (Ceylan & Irzık, 2004: 211). This focus depicts that the gender issue is interpreted as a women's issue. Although gender and sex are terms embracing all different gender identities, gender is mostly perceived as a 'women' problem and men are therefore approached in analysis in relation to women. However, it is significant to approach men as men, although comparison is needed in some research contexts. The point is that the hegemonic masculinity structure of the Turkish culture, thus society, thus educational content and settings, is not only resulting in discriminatory

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[77] Gender Loops Project. (1998). Retrieved from: http://www.genderloops.eu/

practices and oppressions of girls/women, but has also its consequences for boys/men or LGBTI people. The expectations regarding boys by teachers in educational settings, in PE classes and other educational activities, by their peers and parents and so on, could be a significant area for inquiry. There are already masculinity studies within education available, especially regarding PE classes. However, expansion of research and focus is needed.

4.3.1.4 Masculinity in textbooks and curricula

Connell (1995: 238) argues that there is "surprisingly little discussion of the role of education in the transformation of masculinity", noting that within the area of 'gender and education', there is a devastating concentration on the education of girls and issues about femininity. By emphasizing the importance of school curricula, she states that any curriculum must address the diversity of masculinities.

The underrepresentation of women in textbooks for instance, says also something about the representation of men. Yet, in order to understand the representation of men, a more comprehensive focus is needed. Evans & Davies (2000: 257) note in this line, that studies prior to 1980 "male characterizations were not viewed as an area worthy of comment beyond noting that depictions of men and boys overshadowed that of women and girls". Most of the studies were solely focused on the portrayal of girls. Evans & Davies (2000: 258) refer to Henshaw et.al. (1992), who states that boys adhere more closely to gender-appropriate behavior than girls, which makes the investigation of portrayals of males in textbooks even more important.

Çayır (2014: 131) argues that "the identification of masculinity with the army, militarism and martyrdom, thus glorifying masculinity to the detriment of femininity" in textbooks and curricula is a common practice in Turkey. A comprehensive study of the construction of masculinities of textbooks and curricula in Turkey remains an unexplored area,

4.3.1.5 Learning environment and Educational Content

According to Cin & Walker, the curriculum changes in 2005 in Turkey, shifted the focus on "building a constructivist, student-centered and technology-based approach to learning…but very few of these changes addressed gender, ethnic and identity based

discrimination or sexist implications and teachings in textbooks" (2016: 136).

The underrepresentation of women and girls in textbooks, the depiction of patriarchal structures in society regarding the role distribution of men and women in social life, also related to nationalistic and militaristic approaches, the absence and acknowledgment of the existing queer community members, patchwork families, people with disabilities and the relation with gender discrimination, diverse sexual orientations in society and the stereotypes of masculinities and femininities in use of language as well as presentation even of animals, are the most striking examples of educational content and curricula in Turkish formal education.

Although there are several steps taken towards a more gender-responsive educational content, the curricula, constructed by the state, remain neglecting the existence of the queer community and learning environments – such as in Physical Education or more specific in classrooms and other spaces within school – the enforcement of masculinities are still a daily practice in Turkey. Despite the call by academia for transformation of the curriculum in order to address the diversity of masculinities, sexual orientations and depictions of gender-neutral role distributions between the sexes, solely little changes are achieved in content of textbooks as well as curricula.

Next to the absence of the above mentioned groups and shortcomings regarding these issues, hidden curricula are great reinforcements of the construction of the hegemonic masculinity identities of pupils in educational learning environments. Thus, the hidden codes through teachers' practices, textbooks and learning environments is next to the legislation of the government regarding curricula, as well as the states' prohibited incorporations of several gender-responsive perceptions, an important issue in this area.

4.3.1.6 Animals and fairytales

Fairytales in pre-school and elementary education are used frequently in the teaching practices of Turkish schools. Therefore, it is significant, to what extend fairytales are influential in the stereotyping and construction of gender identities and roles by children and youth. There are several studies existing within the spectrum of this topic. However, more comprehensive research is needed, especially in the long-term effects of fairytales.

Şahin (2015: 4) who studied this issue in comparison with English fairytales,

stresses that "traditional social norms or traditional gender roles trait young minds with stereotypical gender patterns so early in so-called fairy tales for children". Looking at the depiction of female characters, Şahin explains the following:

> "The fairy tales produce passive female and active male behaviors idealized in patriarchal society that female characters are stereotypically portrayed as submissive, dependent, powerless, incapable and obedient while male figures are typically portrayed as dynamic, independent, powerful and disobedient" (2015: 4).

Another study by Köseler (2009) of 200 story books and 50 fairytale books, used in preschool education in Turkey, women in profession are presented limited or not specified enough, or mostly as mothers who take care of their children. Girls help their mothers in doing housework, while boys are helping their mother with shopping. Besides, even animals who are 'humanized', are presented in the traditional gender roles. Fathers go to collect food and firewood, while the mothers stay in kitchen at home. Thus the traditional gender roles of men and women are the main outcomes of this study.

Furthermore, it is significant to focus also on animals in fairytales, but also in general in textbooks. Gender-stereotypes depicted through human beings, could also be analyzed by means of taking animals as a unit of analysis. So far, there are no comprehensive studies regarding the depictions of animals in textbooks and fairytales, used in educational settings (pre-school as well as elementary and secondary school) conducted.

In her book, 'Tales and Gender' (2010) [*Masallar ve toplumsal cinsiyet*] Sezer gives examples of gendered fairytales and stories, and involves also animals in her study. For instance, in some stories, animals who need a kiss in order to spoil the magic, become always a handsome prince, not a princess. This is the opposite of the Turkish phrase 'erkeğin güzeli olmaz' [there is no beautiful man] and implies that a marriage which is not attractive, later 'a man will look beautiful when he marries to a woman' or he will change. However, this is only possible if his wife is lovely, patient, and successful in her femininity. This promise is making the exchange 'economy' of their daughters by their families easier according to Sezer. Thus the obedience of the woman is emphasized here, in terms of accepting 'even a man who is not beautiful'. This example among others, is the relation of animals' depictions with the gendered societal discourses, beliefs and perceptions. Unconsciously, children are interpreting and internalizing such stereotypes at a very early

age, which results in the engendered perceptions towards the role of man and women. Educational content and context, such as the patriarchic and gendered in the case of Turkey, will enforce these stereotypes even more. Hence, it is significant to look at fairytales and stories with representations of gender roles and distribution, also through animals, because these stories are one of the first textual learning tools for pre-elementary children and the exposure of gendered heroes and animals through sexist language and pictures, will influence children in how they perceive gender identities. Therefore, as Şahin states;

> "Stereotypical fairy tales in the edge of sexism, gender discriminations transmitted from the one generation to the other by oral speech and written narratives will not be very good for children's psychology and development treated and grown up by these kinds of motifs and dogmas" (Şahin, 2015: 10).

4.3.1.7 Physical Education / Sports

"Of all the curriculum areas of contemporary schooling, PE provides the optimum opportunity for detailed attention to the reproduction of gender inequities between girls and boys" (Koca, 2009: 167). Atkinson refers to previous research in which physical education class environment is being perceived as "a site of ritual masculinizing practices through which boys learn, embrace, embody, and may be damaged by, particular codes of dominant masculinity" (2014: 134).

Koca & Öztürk (2014: 15) showed in their research that Turkish physical education works as a "masculinized community of practice". It supports "social hierarchies" and is focused on male dominance. The experiences of Turkish boys in physical education are near to the hegemonic masculinity construction of the Turkish society. An example is the responsibility function boys get by their, such as boys with athletic abilities choose the teams for football match. Teacher play a significant role in the reproduction of this hegemonic masculinity in physical education as mentioned before. It excludes boys who are not accepted as a member of the masculine community because of their lower valued physical capitals. Koca & Öztürk suggest that in order to acknowledge the pedagogic shift in physical education context; "the need to challenge the hegemonic nature of sports and masculinized sports must be emphasized in physical education teacher training programs" (2014: 16).

However, it is important to note that the gendered constructions in physical education are mutual processes of education and society. Koca & Atencio discuss for instance that "young men's previous understandings and engagements with masculinity, in relation with their local community and families, affect how they learn masculinity in physical education" (2011: 68). These engagements are made through the patriarchal family model in Turkey, "whereby the husband is named as the head of the family; he has the first say concerning the family's place of residence, and has primary responsibility for taking care of his wife and children" (Koca & Atencio, 2011: 68). Besides, "families encourage their daughters to be dependent and obedient, whereas boys are allowed to be more aggressive and independent since they are expected to cope with the outside world" (Koca & Atencio, 2011: 68). Koca & Atencio suggest that "this traditional patriarchal model directly structured the hierarchical and male-centred practices operating in the physical education community of practice" (2011: 69). Moreover, Cengiz, Tol, & Küçükural have found that "Turkish young men believe that enacting violent and humiliating practices towards women is normal" (Cengiz, Tol, & Küçükural, 2004 quoted in Koca & Atencio 2011: 69). According to this assumption, it is not stunning that in cases when young women are allowed to play with the young men during Physical Education, they were physically harassed and intimidated. These findings ask for further research within the field of PE in relation with gender and sexuality.

Several questions could be raised, for example: when young men or boys behave aggressive towards girls/women, along with the patriarchal model, how do girls/women perceive and understand these behaviors? Are their reactions also consistent with the stereotypical roles of the Turkish patriarchal society? How do teachers react when these aggressive activities happen in PE? Do they normalize the aggressive attitude of boys? How do teachers react when girls are behaving aggressive alike? These and similar questions are important milestones for further research in order to undertake a comprehensive study, involving all the actors in order to compare and to draw the structure.

Furthermore, there are the challenges faced by LGBTI. Their interaction with both their peers and teachers in similar cases should be significant to research and could work as a control group. LGBTI students in PE classes could also be studied more in-depth, for instance: What are the experiences of Intersex and Trans students in the dressing room of

PE classes? How do teachers approach homosexuals with feminine characteristics and lesbians with masculine characteristics? And furthermore, challenges for this field, such as: To what extend and in which way PE can contribute to the elimination of discrimination based on gender and sexuality? Although there are several studies persisting in Turkey, this field should be explored more, in order to understand the patterns within PE and LGBTI students.

4.3.1.8 Disabilities, gender and sexuality

The utilization rate of the disabled population, with the right to education, compared to individuals who are not disabled can be considered as fatal when it comes to differences. While their peers are able to make use of their educational rights without any obstacles, the disabled pupils cannot make use of this within the framework of the principle of equal opportunities.

According to data in 2002, an estimated number of 1 million 158 thousand were between 0-18 years out of the 8.5 million disabled population in Turkey (Akbulut, 2012: 156). Since this is a large group, it is significant to evaluate the issues regarding gender and sexuality in education. Raising gender awareness among youth with a disability, especially the more 'vulnerable' girls, sex(uality) education for youth with a disability, the depiction of disable people in textbooks in terms of gender, and similar discussions should be emerged in the field of gender and sexuality in education.

Although there are many controversies in education with respect to sex and sexuality, regarding "what should be taught and who should be responsible". Boehning adds that it is "even more controversial than sex education in general education is educating students with disabilities about sex" (2006: 59). Therefore, taking into account this issue, the construction of specialized curricula is significant. Because sex(ual) education is often offered indirectly, it should be noticed that "students with disabilities are less likely to benefit from indirect curriculum instruction. Exceptional students with emotional behavioral disorders, learning disabilities, and/or mental retardation may not be able to follow a themed curriculum" (Boehning, 2016: 61). Establishing a curriculum based on the needs of students with disabilities is significant. Boehning agrees with this and states the following regarding sex education:

"Educators, parents, and health professionals must not only be available, but also must find the necessary curriculum to establish healthy living skills…in general and more specifically for students with disabilities" (Boehning, 2006: 59).

Sexual education is compassing different aspects of life, such as "anatomy, health, personal hygiene, reproduction, relationships, the sexual response cycle, religion, and expression of love" (Boehning, 2006: 59). Also students with disabilities confront these aspects of life and need to be trained and supported, especially because they already face many obstacles in their educational life. Taking into account the high rates of sexual abuse of youth with disabilities, the necessity of sex(uality) education for especially students with disabilities is incredibly high, mainly because "leaving students with disabilities to figure out sex on their own can lead them down challenging, dangerous, and sometimes deadly pathways" (Boehning, 2006: 60).

Boehning mentions two different issues which demonstrates the need for sex(uality) education concerning students with disabilities. Firstly, the relation between "the incidence of sexual abuse with sex education to see if sex education helps students with disabilities steer clear of unwanted sexual contact and sexual exploitation". Secondly, "sexuality itself; individuals who are heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, transgendered may be able grappling with their sexual orientation and may need such education to fully comprehend their own sexuality" (Boehning 2006: 65). In addition, we can mention the discriminatory practices based on gender identity or sexual orientation in addition to the already existing discriminatory practices within educational settings, which contributes to the hard life of student with disabilities. Gender and sex(uality) education regarding students with disabilities, provided for students without disabilities could help limit these discriminatory practices.

Discrimination is available in many ways, such as the structure of the architecture of schools which are not appropriate for disabled children and youth and the lack of employment of specialized or professional educators. Even though legally there is no discrimination, as Akbulut argues (2012: 157), ethical, there is no other option then accepting this as discrimination. Although in recent years important steps are being taken, the general situation does not show signs towards a wide and effective end of discrimination of disabilities in the near future. These steps contain efforts of a raise in

special classrooms and professional educators, the promotion of mainstream education and increasing the quality of rehabilitation services (Akbulut, 2012: 157). Moreover, it is important to issue in the area of disabilities and sex/gender (in) education the performance of teachers, their knowledge and skills in how to approach students with disabilities related to gender and sex(uality) issues.

On the one hand, there are shortcomings in knowledge and skills with respect to teaching in gender and sexuality topics. As mentioned before sex education is not implemented in curricula of formal education in Turkey. Except for short-during projects and initiatives by GOs and NGOs, the focus on sex(uality) education at Teacher Training programs, is limited and not a part of the training. On the other hand, there are shortcomings in knowledge and skills regarding teaching students with disabilities. Except for specialized educators, within the present Turkish education system, the faculties of education and their counterparts, there is no program available which trains the educators in how they need to approach students with disabilities. The vast majority of the mainstream education system contains teachers who do not know how to treat physical disabled or visually impaired students and how to approach their specific problems. Taking these shortcomings within teacher trainings together, it would be a great challenge for teachers to teach students with a disability in sex(uality) education.

The limited research available in this area in Turkey should be improved by the issues mentioned above.

4.3.1.9 Hidden messages in curricula and school environment

With the implementation of compulsory education of 8 years in 1997, the education system in Turkey has been restructured and reorganized. It has to be noticed that this policy was already accepted in 1975, but it took 25 years in order to implement it. With this reorganization, a review of the curriculum has been undertaken as a part of a comprehensive education reform aiming centered education. However, there is also a hidden curriculum, both in content of school materials as in the teaching practices of teachers in the classroom. This 'hidden', or 'unofficial' curriculum is defined by UNESCO as:

"whatever involves all the incidental lessons that students learn at school. This takes into consideration 'behavior, personal relationships, the use of power and authority, competition and sources of motivation among others" (UNESCO, 2015: 58).

Arıkan states in this line that schools are not institutions in which knowledge is acquired or learned but also socialization mechanisms where students are given or taught open or hidden agendas". In his study regarding hidden curricula in Turkish primary and secondary schools his findings show that "hidden curricula work so as to transmit social codes and values including gender as a patriarchal system and social classes through which students often have hard time to get by" (2004: 1). Thus the transfer of gendered messages through textbooks, teacher practices and school learning environments a matter of issue.

Resistance towards integrating gender and sexual diversity issues in the school curriculum includes several arguments such as faith-based, or considered as private matters. However, according to Meyer (2010) these resistant families and educators do not realize that "there is already a very powerful hidden curriculum that is teaching very narrow and restrictive lessons to students about sex and gender as well as what sexualities are valued at school, and by extension, society as a whole" (Meyer 2010: 61). Also Esen argues that "the contents of all the activities which are taking place at school and in the classroom atmosphere convey both hidden and clear messages about gender stereotypes" (2013a: 757). She emphasizes the significant role of schools in reinforcing and recreating gender differentiation through these hidden messages. Focusing on gender and sexuality in education, it is of great value to translate these hidden messages into critical analysis.

Gender differentiation can be observed in all daily practices of the educational system in Turkey, because the cultural politics, curricula, textbooks and schools normalize the gender inequalities available in the society. The reproducing function of school makes her to ask the following question: "Who can claim that schools can grow equal and independent citizens with such an educational system? So it is necessary to be aware of the clear and hidden messages of the educational politics and attitudes, to show how education is a basic, effective and common way to reproduce the traditional ideology and to face with this conduct" (Esen, 2013a: 759).

Important indications of hidden messages in school environments are according to Esen mostly seen in the language and pronunciation used by male teachers towards girls.

By frequently pointing them through hidden messages at their traditional role as a mother or wife, this cultural pressure will exclude the girls from educational processes and "restricts the potential of the women as being an individual and a citizen in the educational and employment areas" as well as "the development of independence and autonomy feelings" (Esen, 2013a: 758). Esen stresses the outcomes of these practices in society, by pointing that girls and women become distant of active participation from social areas. Also Gümüşoğlu argues that, although there are less openly sexist messages available in textbooks, hidden sexist messages are risen (2008: 49).

Furthermore, in *A Gender Review in Education, Turkey 2003* learning environments are stressed through several dimensions with the focus on gender, in particular girls, as following:

> "School as a psychological environment is by nature a stressful place for students where they are subject to the control of authority not only in the process of learning but also in the details of their personal appearance such as fingernails, hair, clothes, inter-student relationships and so forth. Girls especially are under meticulous surveillance by teachers who frequently add further limitations on loudness of speech, manners etc. Consequently, girls tend to refrain from asking questions or contributing to discussions and decisions in order to minimize the risk of attracting attention and at the same time they also inhibit the necessary interaction required for efficient learning. As a result of this strategy girls have less discipline problems but they also tend to volunteer more in accordance with gender expectancies for cleaning, services, solidarity in extra-curricular activities etc. especially in rural areas" (UNICEF 2003: 29).

According to these research findings, it is necessary to inquiry hidden messages who are sexist, patriarchal, gendered and/or trans/homophobic within the educational context in Turkey. The already existing studies need to focus more on learning environments beyond the classroom at school, such as the interactions between students, teachers and school management could be an issue of inquiry. Also the focus on girls within research needs a shift to all the gender identities.

Civil society organizations, also in cooperation with the government, tried to combat these hidden messages through projects and initiatives with respect to the training of educators, transformation of learning environments and awareness of sexist language and practices in educational settings. However, these initiatives are, the ones supported by the state, restricted to the call of gender-responsive education between the 'two' sexes,

'man' and 'woman'. Despite the willingness of NGOs to promote a more broadened comprehensive concept of gender-responsive education, with implementation of reflections in the society (the existence of LGBTI communities) and sexual orientation/sexuality contents, these initiatives are solely allowed at private schools, which are not under state-control.

4.4   Changes in focus, frameworks, policies and debates

Most of the governmental as well as non-governmental initiatives focus on gender equality in enrolment between girls and boys. The focus on girls and women with respect to gender inequality is highly seen in research and reports in Turkey. The raise and proliferations of initiatives regarding the enforcement to increase girls' enrolment to education and enabling gender equality in education, carried out together or separately by public institutions, (inter)national and/or civil society or private sector organizations has been the most important feature in the past decades. So far, the focus of the initiatives of governmental organizations regarding gender inequality is mainly "a problem concerning the gender gap between boys' and girls' attendance at school" (McClure, 2013 in Cin & Walker, 2016: 137).

In the aftermath, based on European Union standards, research by academia and also civil society organizations, the focus regarding gender and sexuality in education sifted from quantity to quality education. A step towards gender mainstreaming in education became increasingly important, especially in awareness raising of teachers, analyzing and rewriting textbooks, and lobbying for transformation in curricula. Looking at the governments' approach to gender improvements, there is a main shift of a state-centered perspective of modernization and development since the establishment of the Turkish Republic towards a more integrative approach. This shift of physical contributions (hardware) to (software) consists education reforms, protecting and promoting the rights and disadvantaged groups and the development of a more participatory policy development/service delivery system.

Although it is hard to say that there is gender equality regarding educational attainment between the sexes in Turkey, a positive development has been erased. Beside attainment, the illiteracy is also changed due to the raise of years of compulsory education.

Literacy is an important factor in the acknowledgement regarding gender equality, identity and orientation. According to the United Nations, "the literacy of women is an important key to health, nutrition and education in the family and to empowering women to participate in decision-making in society" (B-69[78]). Therefore, the educational attainment of girls, is been an important goal of many NGOs. The focus on literacy and attainment of especially girls is in governmental organizations as well as non-governmental organizations one of the most practiced initiatives. Education has always been put forward as the final and lasting solution for gender inequality problems.

However, what kind of education there should be given and its content is not enough explored. The implementation of sex(ual) education for instance, has been shifted backwards in governmental projects. The project *Change: First Step into Adolescence* initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1993, with respect to sexuality health education, and the following in 1999 named *Change during Adolescence Project* (ERDEP) are merely the only governmental projects, with the focus on educating educators in which sexuality is not merely focused on bodily changes during adolescence, but also on issues such as homosexuality. Although the project ERDEP consists of a "standard instruction given by trained health personnel about puberty changes, reproduction and hygiene" in adolescence as Çok & Kutlu (2010) state, the training manual for educating educators developed for this project consists various elements of comprehensive sexual education. The implementation of LGBTI people and sex(uality) in educational content is namely maintaining a controversy issue in Turkey.

Even though several non-governmental organizations and projects are trying to raise awareness to this problem, especially in educational settings, this problem maintains as a 'taboo' and hardly discussed in governmental research and practice regarding gender and sexuality in education. Sexuality by itself is a term which is hardly seen in governmental work, attempts for research or even discussion. A nation-wide governmental funded project, called ETCEP (Promoting Gender Equality in Education Project), is the most recent (2016) governmental project with an attempt to awareness raising, educating educators, and the promotion for a change in gendered educational materials and settings in

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[78] http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/educa.htm

Turkey. However, the basic gender-related problem according to ETCEP still remains the enrolment rate of girls, despite of many measures and attempts to raise these rates. The main causes of this problem are according to a report of ETCEP (ETCEP, 2016: 18) the traditional perceptions and attitudes of parents, as well as regional differences. The enrolment of LGBTI-members is not mentioned or researched. Next to the attainment of girls in education, the embedded gender biased viewpoints in all levels of the education system is according to ETCEP a second problem of Turkey. Efforts have to be taken for promoting gender-equality within the society and educational institutions (ETCEP, 2016: 19[79]). However, the equal rights of LGBTI are not mentioned again. The emphasis on gender bias is only issued regarding the two sexes 'man' and 'woman'. Hence the approach of governmental initiatives changed from an approach from sex(uality) education, towards a perspective of a heterosexual view of gender identity in education.

4.5   Suggestions and challenges for policy-making and civil society

Taking the literature and research within this study into consideration, several suggestions and challenges for policy-making towards the government, and for practices and research towards the civil society are asserted in this sections.

Quantitative/numerical goals such as equal enrolment and participation of girls and boys is the main focus of especially governmental projects regarding gender and sexuality in education. Subrahmanian argues that these goals are in fact not based on gender equality, but rather on a numerical equal educational attainment (2005: 395). Therefore, Subrahmanian, suggests the following:

> "consideration of gender equality in education therefore needs to be understood as the right to education [access and participation], as well as rights within education [gender-aware educational environments, processes, and outcomes], and rights through education [meaningful education outcomes that link education equality with wider processes of gender justice]" (Subrahmanian, 2005: 395).

The suggestions and challenges mentioned in this section are based on this view of gender mainstreaming within educational settings.

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[79] http://www.britishcouncil.org.tr/sites/default/files/proje_oykusu_ingilizce2.pdf

In order to conform to the international agreements (the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations, and the European Convention on Human Rights) which are incorporated into national law regarding human rights, Turkey should make crucial arrangements in the area of human rights in law as well as in the societal structure, educational system etc. The NGO SPoD (Social Policies, Gender Identity, and Sexual Orientation Studies Association) recommences in a report of 2013 to implement training programs as an obligation of the Turkish state (Kara et. al., 2013: 32). These social and institutional training programs should enable the elimination of human rights violations of queer community member in their access to education in private as well as state institutions. Beside the report stresses the absence and lack of recognition of the expressions "Sexual Orientation" and "Gender Identity" in the Turkish Constitution (Kara et. al. 2013: 32).

Oruç suggests "… a review of policy, media campaigns, education projects and programs that may inexplicitly have an important gender focus include "teacher development", "curriculum reform", "education management" and "institutional strengthening" can be done with workshops on gender-based violence and gender sensitization" (2013: 143). These workshops are essential but not sufficient.

4.5.1   Gender-Responsive Curricula and Textbooks

Beside the content of education, didactic methods by teachers, their approach to gender and sexuality education and their personal interpretation is of high value in learning environments. Esen stresses that "teachers also play a key role in the reproduction of gender inequality in instructional practices and school life" (2013b: 2544). It is important to note that everyone carries its own gender cultural codes, obtained from different socialization mechanisms including the society itself. The tendency "to support students' opinions and behaviors and educational and professional choices shaped by sexist stereotypes" would be a possible contribution to inequality according to Esen (2013b: 2544). Therefore, in order to combat gender equality in education, raising gender awareness of teachers is sufficient. Teachers could only react gender-responsive, or be able to arrange their classes gender responsive, when they are aware of their own gendered cultural codes.

An implementation in policies of awareness raising regarding gender (in use of language for example) in teacher training programmes could create an orientation towards a gender responsive teaching and learning environment. There are already some programs available for teachers, including the *Purple Certificate Program* provided by Sabancı University.

4.5.2   Awareness raising of teacher candidates

Pre-school education is essential in the construction of gender identities and sexual orientation of children. Despite good practices by NGOs in this field, the focus on the use of animals in fairy tales remains a shortcoming within projects. Fairytales should be a priority research issue in pre-school education, because children are socialized through these stories. The implementation of such a focus in initiatives of NGOs should improve this shortcoming.

4.5.3   Screening fairytale books

Screening of fairytale books that are used in elementary school on gender and sexist discourses, could be a good initiative in order to measure the effect on children's' perceptions and constructions of gender identities. A major challenge in this effort would be rewriting fairytales with especially a focus on (depiction of) animals through a gender and sexuality lens.

Cin & Walker argue that "the inequalities girls face in schools is mostly extrapolated from curriculum or policy analysis studies, not girls' and teachers' voices because they are seen as the objects of the educational hierarchy in Turkey rather than as agents" (2016: 137).

4.5.4   Expanding the Scope of "Gender":

In almost all projects regarding gender and education, the research reports, governmental as well as non-governmental, the focus on 'women' or 'girls' is on the forefront. The focus on positive discrimination of girls is highly great in initiatives and gender is mostly perceived as a 'women's' issue. Gender and sexuality in education is not solely a problem of girls and women, but also boys, men, LGBTI, teachers and the whole society.

4.5.5 Increasing Cooperation and Communication

An open attitude of cooperation and effective coordination between the state institutions, university Units, NGOs and international institutions is essential in order to raise funding, to improve effective legislation, to reach objectives of projects regarding gender and sexuality in education and to fill the gaps within the field. Besides, it is important to implement experiences, approaches and views of teachers, parents and school managements in legislation and initiatives. Awareness raising regarding sexist language use and gendered practices in education should not merely be focused on teachers but also on school managers and families.

4.5.6 Empowering Policy Work with Research

The initiatives of GOs and NGOs that focus on LGBTI communities, sexuality or gender education should be more empowered through research contributions of academia. There is need to diversify both the research conducted in this field and to develop better the cooperation and communication between university units, GOs and NGOs. There is also the further challenge of making such research available for the ordinary citizens and the parents of students.

4.5.7 Developing an Intersectional approach

Gök pleads for an approach to education with "an interaction of public and private spheres" and "considering the effect of education as part of the wider sex-gender systems which dictates women's future lives", such as the predetermined role of women in their family and the achievement level at school (1995: 134). In other words, "the relation between success in school and one's place in society is shaped by the sex-gender system" (Gök, 1995: 134). The outcome of this argument is that the increase of the representation of women in schooling, does not automatically yield women's equal participation in social and economic life. Kandiyoti on the other hand, opposes "the women-centered 'checklist' approach" such as women and the law, work, education, politics, the media etc., because "there is no possibility of achieving some cumulative model or understanding of the different facets of gender subordination by enumerating the contexts in which they occur" (1995: 307-308). Therefore, "the exploration of the tensions and contradictions between

gender practices and ideologies implicit in different institutional spheres", could be a potential research approach for feminist research (Kandiyoti, 1995: 308). Discrimination maintains in education based on language, religion or belief, colour and ethnic origin, disability and gender. In order to be able to solute such structural problems, an intersectional approach is needed in research as well as in the objectives of NGO and GO initiatives.

There are diverse issues related to gender and education, and they need to be approached as separate entities which mutually influence and transform each other. Issues within different entities persists according to the *National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013*. The report argues that, beside the reproducing of gender stereotyping in education regarding gender roles, also other obstacles exists regarding gender-responsive education as well as gender equality in terms of opportunities in education (GDSW, 2008: 30). These issues are; the social structure of the Turkish society in terms of patriarchy and traditional norms and values which keep girls away from school; forced child marriages of young girls; low level income of families who prefer to send their sons to school and far distance and transport opportunities are limited. Thus the mentioned problems are all in different type of areas; educational content and curricula, awareness and knowledge in society regarding the education of girls, religious or cultural identity, lack of knowledge regarding marriage ages (lack knowledge of the law), economic and financial problems and infrastructural problems. In order to come to a comprehensive solution, it is significant for the civil society organizations, as well as the government with respect to legislation and policies, to approach this problem through a holistic perspective. Therefore, the mentioned actors need to cooperate, among each other (ministries and GOs/NGOs) and with each other (government and civil society organizations). Recalling the importance of research by academics and their contributions in the forming of a gender responsive approach of educational settings, state and civil society.

There are also organizations with an intersectional approach of ethnicity and gender existing in Turkey. One example is *Hêvî LGBTİ İnisiyatifi* [Hêvî LGBTI Initiative], established in 2013. This non-governmental organization which is focusing on Kurdish LGBTI members considers the Kurdish issue in particular for LGBTI members as a priority agenda. The focus on Kurdishness shows that being a member of LGBTI and being

Kurdish at the same time, are two barriers in the Turkish society and therefore, with an intersectional approach, a need for raising awareness and combating the discriminatory practices in the Turkish society. A second example is *Alevi Hak İhlallerini Araştırma ve Gençlik Derneği (AHİGED)* [Alevi Rights Violations Research and Youth Association] focusing on the discriminatory practices Alevi's face who are having different sexual preferences at the same time. This non-governmental organization is moreover aiming to combat discrimination in textbooks, with special focus on religion classes.

4.6   Conclusion

This thesis aimed to develop a critical analysis of the short history of gender and sexuality in education related policy and governmental and non-governmental work and construct a framework for identifying the gaps, weaknesses and further directions.

The perceptions in Turkish society and its reflections in content and environment of education are predominantly shaped by patriarchy, heterosexism, and a conservative worldview. The different sexes as well as individuals who differ from the dominant sexual orientation or gender identity suffer, through exclusion, oppression, corruption and discrimination by society as well as the state in educational settings. The function of the civil society, as well GOs became the last decades of great importance in combating and transforming education into a gender-responsive content and structure. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, GOs and NGOs have remained limited in their work focusing mainly on gender equality and parity in enrolment numbers between boys and girls. However, this focus has shifted in recent years, mainly with the contribution of research by academia and also civil society organizations, regarding gender and sexuality in education, from quantity to quality education. A step towards gender mainstreaming in education became increasingly important, especially in awareness raising of teachers, analyzing and rewriting textbooks, and lobbying for transformation in curricula.

As I have argued above, the Database that has been created as part of this thesis shows both the increase and diversification of projects on gender and sexuality in education in Turkey, and their limited scope. There continues to be significant gaps in this field, which this thesis has aimed to review and analyze.

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APPENDIX

Database of gender responsive education practices and initiatives in Turkey

Year	Name initiative	GO NGO Both	Status	Name GO / NGO	In cooperation with	Funded by	Scope	Aim	Modality
1993	Değişim, Genç Kızlığa İlk Adım *Change: First Step into Adolescence*	GO	Project	Ministry of Education	-	Sanipak UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund)	Sexual health education	More than two million girls aged 13–15 years will be provided with basic education about sexual health. Spread over 80 provinces, around 10.000 schools, within 6 years, girls will be informed about adolescence.	Educating pupils
1994	Gençlik, Cinsel Eğitim ve Üreme Sağlığı *Youth, Sexual Education and Reproductive Health*	NGO	Conference	TAPV The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation	IKGV The Human Resources Development Foundation	-	Sexual health education	Analyzing and discussing the needs regarding sexual (health) education and the status of educators of sexual (health). Besides, the conference aimed to contribute to the upbringing of future teachers in the field of sexual health education.	Monitoring educators
	Ergen Sağlığı Projesi *Adolescence Health Project*	GO	Project	Ministry of Health and Administration Department	-	-	Sexual health education	Teams have been created to inform youth about changes in adolescence.	Educating pupils
1997	Sexual health information courses	NGO	Project	TAPV The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation	IKGV Human Resources Development Foundation	United Nations (UNFPA)	Sexual health education	3 faculties of education will be selected, in which the students (teacher candidates), will be provided sexual health information courses as an elective course.	Educating teacher candidates

1999	ERDEP Ergenlik Dönemi Değişim Projesi Changes in the Adolescent Period Project	GO	Project	Ministry of Education and Health Department	-	Procter & Gamble Toprak Holdings	Sexual health education	This project contains a standard instruction given bytrained health personnel about puberty changes, reproduction and hygiene inadolescence. The provision of sexual health information with a focuson the physical changes during adolescence is provided for children between 13-15 years old. This expanded project is a follow up from the previous project in 1993 in order to include male students in the project.	Educating pupils
2000	Cinsel Sağlık Eğitim Programı (CSEP): Büyüyorum, Değişiyorum Sexual Health Education Program: I am growing, I am changing	NGO	Program	TAPV The Turkish Family Health and Planning Foundation	Primary schools (private)	-	Sexual health education	Aims to provide awareness, sensitivity and avoidance of risky behaviors in the context of "safe sexuality" and to support the sexual development of adolescents. The target group are pupils between 9-14 years old within primary education.	Educating pupils Educating educators Awareness raising
	Kardelenler: Çağdaş Türkiye'nin Çağdaş Kızları Snowdrops: Contemporary Girls of Contemporary Turkey	Both	Project	Çağdaş Yaşamı destekleme derneği The Association in Support of Contemporary Living	Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Interior	Turkcellİletişim Hizmetleri A.Ş.	Gender parity in education	This project meets the educational expenses of 5000 girls every year and monitors the girls in the program. Besides, the project also provides them with emotional and academic support through a	Awareness raising Monitoring pupils Financial and educational support

Year	Name	Type	Form	Org 1	Org 2	Funder	Theme	Description	Category
								mentoring program. By offering equal opportunity in education to girls that had the determination to go to school but lacked the financial resources to do so this project is providing scholarships to 5,000 female high school students every year and supporting female students that continue their education in University.	
	Anadolu'da Bir Kızım Var, Öğretmen Olacak **I have a daughter in Anatolia and she will be a teacher**	NGO	Campaign	Çağdaş Yaşamı destekleme derneği The Association in Support of Contemporary Living	-	individual donors	Gender parity in education	This campaign funds girls until they graduate from university. By funding girls from poor families, thecampaign aims to equip them for professions, among whichteaching is prioritized.	Financial and educational support
2001	**Ergenlerin Sağlık Bilincinin Geliştirmesi Projesi** *Development of Health Consciousness of Adolescents Project*	Both	Project	Ministry of Education and Health Department	IKGV Human Resources Development Foundation	United Nations (UNFPA)	Sexual health education	During pre-service and in-service educational seminars, this project aimsto train primary and secondary school teachers to teach sexuality issues in effectiveways	Educating educators
2002	**The Project for Promoting Human Rights in Primary and Secondary School Textbooks**	NGO	Project	Turkish Academy of Sciences	Human Rights Foundation of Turkey History Foundation	European Commission Open Society Institute	Gendered textbook content	Its aim was to determine the human rights content, context of school textbooks, formulate recommendations for their improvement, and to foster awareness of and respect for human rights norms in school textbooks	Rewriting/ Monitoring Textbooks

Year	Title								
								and the school environment, among school teachers, textbook writers, parents, and educators in general, at both the grass roots and the official levels.	
	Reproductive health counseling for youth	NGO	Project	International Children Center	Youth counseling units of Boğaziçi University, Ege University, Koç University and Yeditepe University	United Nations (UNFPA) IKGV Human Resources Development Foundation	Reproductive health	Reproductive health counseling for youth and the distribution of contraceptive material and information-education-communication material regarding reproductive health education.	Awareness raising
2003	**Haydi, kızlar Okula!** *The Girls Education Campaign: Let's Go to School, Girls!*	Both	Campaign	Ministry of Education	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund World Bank	Gender parity in education	Increasing enrolment rates for girls in primary education in order to achieve gender parity between boys and girls and to close the gender-gap in primary school enrolment by the end of 2005 through the provision of a quality basic education for all girls in 53 provinces with the lowest enrolment rates.	Awareness raising Financial and educational support
2004	**Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II**	NGO	Project	History Foundation	Human Rights Foundation of Turkey	the Delegation of the EU to Turkey	Human Rights Education and Textbook Research	Following the curriculum reform introduced by the Ministry of National Education in 2004.	Rewriting / monitoring textbooks
	Nasıl Eğitiliyoruz? *How are we educated?*	NGO	Symposium	Turkish Academy of Sciences	History Foundation Human Rights Foundation of Turkey	European Commission Open Society Institute UNESCO	Human Rights Education and Textbook Research	The aim is to evaluate the main findings of the "Human Rights Project in Textbooks" and to develop suggestions.	Networking Awareness raising

	Her Kızımız Bir Yıldız *Every Girl is a Star*	NGO	Project	Çağdaş Yaşamı destekleme derneği *The Association in Support of Contemporary Living*	-	Mercedes–Benz Türk A.Ş	Gender parity in education	Giving scholarships to girls studying in vocational high schools	Financial and educational support
2005	**Baba beni okula gönder kampanyası** *Daddy, Send* *Me to School Campaign*	NGO	Campaign	Aydın Doğan Foundation	AÇEV TAPV Çağdaş Yaşamı destekleme derneği *The Association in Support of Contemporary Living*	Doğan GazetecilikA.Ş. Ministry of National Education	Gender parity in education	In order to ensure that every girl child can benefit from educational opportunities this campaign has been raised all over Turkey. It was designed and implemented as a three-dimensional project in which there were activities for financial support, social awareness development and elimination of structural problems.	Awareness raising Financial and educational support
	Eğitimde ve Toplumsal Katılımda Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Sağlanması Projesi *Achieving Gender Equality in Education and Social Participation Project*	NGO	Project	ERG	AÇEV KA-DER	European Union "Integrating Gender in Development Programme"	Gender parity in education	"To develop and implement a multi-level model aimed at identifying and eliminating key factors which produce gender disparity in primary education and which restrict women's participation in public life and decision-making" (AÇEV, Annual report 2007: 26)	Networking
2006	**Üreme Sağlığı Akran Eğitimleri Projesi (ÜSAEP)** *Reproductive Health Peer Education Project*	NGO	Project	TOG Kırılgan Gençlik Gruplarının Güçlendirilmesi Programı	Sağlıkta Genç Yaklaşımlar Derneği (Y-PEER Türkiye)	UNFPA	Sexual and reproductive health	Aims to create a change in attitudes towards safe and conscious behavior of young people by increasing their awareness and knowledge of	Awareness raising

				Program for Strengthening Fragile Youth Groups				sexual and reproductive health and encouraging young people to use their young life skills. It aims to inform young people aged between 17-25 about sexual health and reproductive health.	
2007	**Mor Sertifika Programı** *Purple Certificate Program*	Both	Program	Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum	MoNE Sabancı Foundation	Sabancı Foundation	Gender education	The program aims "to make gender studies the core of high school education, and to reflect the sensibility on this issue on both various classes and social activities. The program also aims to raise the awareness of high school teachers and students on the human rights of women. Besides, to form a common ground among participants about gender is a goal. Lastly to focus on the principle of 'learning how to learn' and to empower andsupport high school teachers to develop strategies about education with gender awareness". (Website Sabancı Foundation)	Educating Educators Awareness raising
	Eğitimde ve Toplumsal Katılımda Cinsiyet Eşitliğinin Sağlanması Projesi **III. Ulusal konferans**	NGO	Conference	AÇEV	ERG KA-DER	European Union "Integrating Gender in Development Programme"	Gender parity in education	The schooling of girls and the political and social participation of women applicationsare topics of discussion.	Networking Awareness raising

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	Provision of Gender Equality in Education and Community Participation III. National conference							
2008	**Ayrımcılık ve Homofobi Eğitimi projesi** ***Discrimination and Homophobia Education Project***	NGO	Project	TOG	-	Consulate General of the Netherlands	Sex and sexuality education	This project aims the development of the perception of the right to live a sexual orientation as a fundamental human right. Theoretical and conceptual information and awareness raising on issues such as discrimination, sexual orientation, sexual orientation, homophobia, sexuality are the main goals.	Awareness raising Educating educators and pupils
2009	**Türkiye'de Ayrımcılıkla Mücadele Projesi:** **Eğitimde Cinsel Kimlik Ayrımcılığını izleme** ***Anti-Discrimination Project in Turkey:Monitoring Sexual Identity Discrimination in Education***	NGO	Project	İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Hakları Hukuku Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Istanbul Bilgi University Human Rights Law Practice and Research Center	Istanbul Bilgi University	European Union Global Dialogue Foundation	Sexual orientation and gender identity	The project aims to contribute to the improvement of the situation of groups in Turkey who are discriminated on the basis of race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, sexual orientation or gender identity.	Monitoring
	Eğitim Çalışma Grubu **Kaos GL Eğitim Forumunu**	NGO	Forum	KAOS GL	-	-	Sexual orientation and gender identity	Group studies on sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination in education	Networking Awareness raising
2010	**Kars'taki Kızlar İlerliyor** **Girls in Kars Move Ahead**	Both	Project	KAGİDER	Kars Kadın Merkezi Kafkas University	EU MoNE (Özellikle Kız Çocuklarının Okullaşmasının	Gender parity in education	Educational project in Eastern Anatolian city of Kars to contribute to the continuation of girls' secondary school education and enabling their participation in	Awareness raising

			Sabancı University Habitat için Gençlik Derneği TAPV	Arttırılması Hibe Programı)			the labor market. It aims to decrease the gender gap in education by promoting awareness raising among parents and the Kars society on the importance of education for girls.	
Çocuklar için Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği'nin Sağlanması için Ailelerin Güçlendirilmesi *Empowerment of Family Members to Ensure Gender Equality for Children*	NGO	Project	Istanbul Bilgi University ÇOCA	Terakki Foundation Schools	Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education	Gender sensitivity	Training programs and sites for guide and counseling teachers.	Educating educators
Tiyatro Akran Projesi *Theater Peer project*	NGO	Project	Y-PEER (Genç Akran Ağı)	Devlet Tiyatrosu Sanatçıları Derneği (DETİS)	UNFPA H & M	HIV / Aids, Sexual health	Performances on the topic of HIV and AIDS under the guidance of educated young people with theatrical background and sexual health, reproductive health peer training experience, experienced theater and sexual health, and reproductive health educators.	Educating educators Awareness raising
School Managers Development Program	NGO	Program	Sabanci University's Executive Development Unit (EDU)	Sabanci Foundation	Sabanci Foundation	Gender sensitivity	To promote the management capacity of school managers, raising their awareness on the matters of social sensitivity and gender equality, and creating a sense of ownership in their institutions by promoting a stakeholder mindset.	Educating managers

2011	KEP I - 'Kız Çocuklarının Eğitimi Projesi' KEP II - Özellikle Kız Çocuklarının Okullulaşma Oranının Artırılması Projesi, Project for Increasing Enrolment Rates Especially For Girls	GOV	Project	Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Labour and Social Security	-	European Union	Gender parity in education	To decrease the dropout rates of girls in primary and secondary education and increase vocational school enrolment rates to increase the existing labour force. "Primary and secondary school as well as vocational school enrolment rates will be increased.Drop-outs will be decreased in primary and secondary education.Vocational skills and competences of the existing labour force will be increased" (Website MoNE). Awareness of the families on the importance of education will be raised	Awareness raising Financial and educational support
	Cinsellik ve cinsel eğitim *Sexuality and sexual education*	NGO	Conference	TAPV CETAD	-	-	Sexual(ity) education	Topics around the promotion of interdisciplinary cooperation in the field of sexuality, to inform health professionals and educators about sexuality and to contribute to the sexual education of the society.	Awareness raising
2012	Homofobi ve Transfobi Karşıtı Eğitimciler İstanbul'da Buluşuyor *Homophobia and Anti-Transphobic*	NGO	Conference	Eğitim-Sen	KAOS GL LISTAG	Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation	Homophobia and Transphobia	Organizing trainings against homophobic and transphobic discrimination for educators	Educating educators Networking

	Educators Meet in Istanbul							
	Feminist Perspektiften Eğitim Hakkı: Eğitim Hakkını Cinsiyet ve Cinsel Kimlikler Bağlamında Tartışmak *Feminist Perspective on Education: Discussing the Right to Education in the Context of Sex and Sexual Identity*	NGO	Seminar	KAOS GL	-	-	Sexism in education	Discussing topics around the heterosexist and sexist education system and socialization policies.	Awareness raising
	Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II	NGO	Project	The History Foundation	The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey	The Delegation of the EU to Turkey	Human Rights Education and Textbook Research	Following the curriculum reform introduced by the Ministry of National Education in 2004.	Rewriting / monitoring textbooks
2013	**Eğitimde Ötekileştirme ve Dışlanma Paneli** *Panel on Extermination and Exclusion in Education*	NGO	Panel	Psikolojik Danışmanlar Derneği (PD-DER)	Boğaziçi University Ankara University	-	Gender and Sexism in education	Gender and exclusion in education will be discussed	Awareness raising
	Uluslararası Homofobi Karşıtı Buluşma: **Eğitimde Alternatif Patikalar Forumu** *International Meeting Against Homophobia:* *Alternative Pathways in Education Forum*	NGO	Conference	KAOS GL	Eğitim Hakları Derneği Eğitim-Sen Felsefe Grubu Öğretmenler Platformu	-	Sexism in education	Heterosexist and sexist education system and socialization policies will be discussed in a forum. The problems experienced in the field of education and joint solution proposals will be given.	Awareness raising Networking
	Homofobi ve Ayrımcılık	NGO	Workshop	KAOS GL	Antakya Güncel Sanat Derneği (AGÜSAD)	-	LGBTI	Discussing working with LGBT Students and family at	Educating educators

Homophobia and Discrimination							school for educators	Awareness raising
Promoting The Human Rights in Textbooks III **"European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights"**	NGO	Project	History Foundation	SEÇBİR Centre for Sociology and Education Studies at Istanbul Bilgi University	European Union Delegation of the EU to Turkey	Human Rights Education and Textbook Research	"A follow-up to the two previous Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects that were completed by the History Foundation in 2003 and 2009" (Çayır, 2014: vii).	Rewriting / monitoring textbooks
II. Ayrımcılık Karşıtı Sempozyum: **"Eğitimde Cinsel Yönelim ve Cinsiyet Kimliği Ayrımcılığı** *II. Anti Discrimination Symposium:* *"Sexual orientation in education and gender identity discrimination*	NGO	Symposium	KAOS GL	-	Embassy of Germany, Embassy of Switzerland, Norwegian Embassy, Embassy of the United Kingdom, Irish Workers Party, Civil Thinking and SIDA (Sweden)	Sexual orientation and gender identity	Indicating that compulsory education has become obligatory heterosexuality, the Kaos GL Association draws attention to the psychological, social and cultural problems experienced by LGBT students in the current education system and argues that LGBT students are exposed to the problems that heterosexual students live in and all parties are suffering with a mental and physical encirclement.	Awareness raising
O Köy Bizim Köyümüzdür *That's Our Village Over There*	NGO	Project	KAMER Women Center Foundation	Batman ve Siirt Baroları Siirt and Batman Bar Association	Sabancı Vakfı Hibe Programları Sabancı Foundation Grant Programs	Gender parity in education	It aims to contribute to send girls to school, to create social awareness and awareness to prevent early marriage of girls, and to prevent violence against women.	Awareness raising
Ayrımcılığa Karşı Rehber Öğretmenler	NGO	Conference	KAOS GL	Pembe Hayat LGBT Associations	-	LGBTI	Training for counseling teachers regarding LGBT students and the problems they are experiencing in the field of	Educating educators

	Counseling Teachers Against Discrimination			Bakış Kişisel Gelişim Merkezi			education and how they can work with LGBT students' families. Also the heterosexist education policies will be discussed.	
2014	**"Discrimination On Grounds of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in Education"** **As part of:** **Rainbow Coalition Against Discrimination Project**	NGO	Project	KAOS GL Mor Salkım Association	Pink Life LGBT Associations	Sivil Düşün AB Programı Ağlar ve Platformlar Hibe Programı	LGBTI	Difficulties LGBTI people (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex) face in their education life were addressed.	Educating educators Awareness raising
	Cinsel yönelim ve cinsiyet kimliği temelli ayrımcılıkla eğitim ortamında mücadele etmek *Combating discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity in education environments*	NGO	Symposium	SEÇBIR	SPoD	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Istanbul Bilgi University	Sexual orientation and gender identity	Sexual orientation and gender identity in education are topics of discussion.	Awareness raising
	International Symposium on Gender Equality in the Academia: Best Practices	NGO	Symposium	Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum	Women's Museum Istanbul	-	Gender equality in education	To contribute to the processes to establish mechanisms for implementing, institutionalizing and protecting gender equality and diversity in Turkish universities, and towards making permanent, systemic changes in university policies.	Networking
	Eğitimde Eşitliğin İzlenmesi Projesi	Both	Project	Uluslararası Azınlık Hakları Grubu *Minority rights group*	-	The Delegation of the European Union to Turkey	Gender equality in education	Mobilising Civil Society for Monitoring Equality in the Formal Education System in Turkey Project	Monitoring Education

Monitoring Equality in Education Project			*international (MRG)* Tarih Vakfı *History Foundation of Turkey*					
ETCEP **Eğitimde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği projesi** *Promoting* *Gender Equality in Education Project*	GO	Project	European Union – British Council – Republic of Turkey	Ankon Consultancy (Turkey) FCG International (Finland) Fondazione Giacomo Brodilini (Italy) SIPUI (Sweden) TEPAV (Turkey)	European Union – British Council – Republic of Turkey	Gender equality in education Gender sensitive education	To promote gender equality in schools and toincrease students', parents' and teaching and non-teaching staffawareness of gender equality To promote gender equality for girls and boys in schools andcontribute to promoting equality and gender sensitive approach throughout the education system	Awareness raising Educating educators Educating pupils
Ülkem için toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini destekliyorum *I support gender equality for my country*	NGO	Project	Koç Topluluğu şirketler	Koc-Kam, UNESCO, TAPV, AÇEV	-	Gender equality	The goal is to create public awareness of the causes and consequences of gender inequality and to become a role model by developing a more egalitarian approach in business culture and social life with a holistic approach.	Awareness raising
Neden olmasın? Cinsiyet eşitliği için bir ekip oyunu *Why not? A team game for gender equality*	NGO	Workshop	Istanbul Bilgi University ÇOÇA	Sabancı University Purple Certification Program	-	Gender sensitive education	Gender Workshop and Games with University Students for pre-school education.	Educating teacher candidates

2015	**Eğitim fakültesi öğrencileri için toplumsal cinsiyet sertifika programı** *Gender certificate program for students of the faculty of education*	NGO	Program	SEÇBİR	Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum	Sabancı Foundation	Gender equality Gender sensitive education	A certificate program for university student teacher candidates in order to strengthen gender equality in education.	Educating teacher candidates
2016	**Eğitimde İyi örnekler Konferansı** *Best Practices in Education Conference*	NGO	Conference	ERG Education Reform Initiative	Kaos GL Association Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum AÇEV Mother and Child Education Foundation	Sabanci Foundation	Gender in education	Workshops: Heterosexist Structure of Education, Problems of LGBT Students and School Lives *Kaos GL Association* Purple Certified Teachers Share Their Experiences! *Sabancı University Gender and Women's Studies Forum* School-Family Cooperation for Quality Education *Mother and Child Education Foundation* Project for the Promotion of Gender Equality in Education (ETCEP) - "Rewriting Schools Round Table Meeting" "Equal Education" (Social Gender Sensitive Practices)	Awareness raising Networking