



Determinants of Access to Education: Factors Preventing Girls from Being Sent to Upper-Secondary Education in Rural Areas

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Abstract

This study aimed to identify the reasons why most girls living in rural areas are not able to pursue their upper-secondary education. The study group consisted of 10 girls living in the rural areas of Tokat province and had not been sent to upper-secondary education, 10 parents who did not send their daughters to upper-secondary education, and 66 teachers and school administrators. The data were collected via interviews. During the interviews, demographic data of the girls and families, as well as the reasons why the girls were not sent to school, were collected. The data were then examined via content analysis. Measures to ensure validity and reliability were taken during data collection, processing, and analysis. In the study, 21 reasons, which were further categorized into 4 themes, were identified. Our findings have determined patriarchy, distrust, conservatism, poverty, use of child labor, child marriage, distance to school, and peer pressure as the main reasons preventing the girls to pursue their upper-secondary education. Furthermore, most answers consisted of a combination of two or more reasons. Thus, we recommend that public institutions and NGOs, especially the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, and the Ministry of Health, should focus on studies that aim to change the gender perception of rural families for equality.

Keywords

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Introduction

Education is a human right, and it is considered as a prerequisite for the exercise of other rights. In cases where the right to education cannot be provided, it cannot be mentioned about the effective use of political, social, economic or cultural rights of individuals. The right involves a social demand and a social responsibility to meet this demand and can survive under conditions where people are equal (Gök, 2004). However, gender inequalities in terms of the exercise of the right to education have remained to be prevalent. Despite a number of legal regulations and efforts, this inequality is still one of the most pressing educational problems of the twenty-first century. Furthermore, these inequalities that are often thrown against women, causing them to be left behind socially, economically, and politically, are also applied in terms of compulsory education level. The net enrolment rate in secondary education, which is within the scope of compulsory education in Turkey, indicates that one in five girls is out of school (Ministry of National Education [MoNE], 2018). Besides, this rate is even higher for girls living in rural areas; thus, this problem should be of top priority. So, what are the reasons why girls living in rural areas cannot access upper-secondary education?

In Turkey, the duration of mandatory education has increased to 12 years as of 2012. With this regulation, publicly known as 4+4+4, upper-secondary education is now included in the scope of compulsory education; the primary school starting age has decreased to 60 months, the lower secondary level of Imam Hatip schools has also reopened; and the duration of primary, lower-secondary, and upper-secondary education levels was rearranged (İlköğretim ve Eğitim Kanunu ile Bazı Kanunlarda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun, 2012). A significant part of these regulations has fueled important debates in public and academic circles. The age of starting primary school was one of the most debated issue (Ankara University [AÜ], 2012; Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı [AÇEV], 2012; Başar, 2013; Boğaziçi University [BU], 2012; Eğitim Reformu Girişimi [ERG], 2012; Küçüker, 2016; Middle East Technical University [METU], 2012). Extending compulsory education to 12 years is an important step in terms of raising the mean years of schooling in Turkey; compared to other developed countries, the mean years of schooling of the population in Turkey are low (Eurydice, 2012). As per the address-based population registration results of 2017, the mean duration of schooling of the population aged 6 and above was 7.8 years: 7.1 years for females and 8.2 years for males (Turkey Statistics Institute [TURKSTAT], 2019a¹). Therefore, one of the ways to increase this rate is to include all children in the education process and complete the compulsory education period. Provision of quality compulsory education to the entire age population and full development of individuals' skills is crucial to the development of Turkey, in order to raise the living standards of its people.

In 2012, another significant change accompanied the 4+4+4 regulation. The law included a provision stating that the last 4 years of the 12-year compulsory education period can be completed in the open high school based on parents' will. However, this regulation has resulted in cutting off short the duration of compulsory education to 8 years for some disadvantaged groups, especially girls. Indeed, data supporting this argument are available in secondary school enrolment rates. Although 5 years have passed since the extension of compulsory education years, approximately one in five girls of secondary school age still remained unenrolled in school, not even in the open high school. On the other hand, the rate of enrolment in open high school is an important indicator of the secondary school enrollment rate. Of the girls going to public secondary education institutions in Turkey, 31.0 % are open high school students (MoNE, 2018). Therefore, it can be argued that one of the reasons why some girls are not sent to upper-secondary education institutions is this legal regulation. Thus, the number of girls who have not been sent to any upper-secondary education institutions, even to open high school, and the fact that this regulation does not similarly affect all parents necessitate examining other variables related to the process.

Two aspects of the right to education should be examined: first is access to education, and second is quality education. Both of these factors might be affected by similar variables. The provision

¹ Calculated by the researcher based on 2017 Address Based Population Registration System results.

of access to education does not necessarily mean that individuals' right to education is fully met. Meanwhile, to discuss about quality education, access to education must be addressed first. Therefore, access to education makes up the prerequisite for the right to education. In the literature, two basic factors have been identified affecting individuals' access to education. First is the individual decision process that operates based on the socioeconomic and sociocultural characteristics of individuals, which can be defined as the demand for educational services. The second covers the activities of the public involving basic infrastructure investments, which mainly involves education. This can be defined as the supply of education by the public (Bakış, Levent, İnel, & Polat, 2009) or as a public policy of education.

Bourdieu has been one of the first researchers who examined the correlation between the right to education and the socioeconomic and sociocultural variables. Bourdieu (2015) says the success or failure of children in the educational process is the product of the social class they come from, rather than the result of their abilities, and conceptualizes this as the "reproducibility" function of education. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (2018, 2019), the qualities that education transforms into "personal talent," the qualities it seeks in the student, and the skills it aims to impart are actually "naturalized" or "absolutized" states of some privileged classes in the face of culture. Therefore, individuals from these privileged classes have been determined to have a higher chance of success at school. It is also possible to make sense of this argument through access to education. Poor children of low socioeconomic status can be said to have lower access to education and thus lower progress, survival, and success in the system compared to the wealthy ones. Furthermore, Coleman's (1988) emphasis on how family can affect the academic success of a child supports this argument. In this study by Coleman, sociocultural and socioeconomic variables related to the family were determined to be more decisive in the success of the child, rather than the variables related to school. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that both Bourdieu and Coleman's findings regarding the academic success of the child are applicable in terms of discussing the issue on access to education, which is identified to be a precondition for the right to education.

Previous studies examining the right to education also confirm this argument. In the literature, the problem of access to education is discussed as the demand for education in various studies and is expressed as an individual decision process. Although an individual's demand for education, which is defined as an individual's will and possibilities for enrollment in any educational institution (Serin, 1979; Ünal, 1996), seems to be an individual decision, it somehow reflects a social trend. However, it can be said that access to or demand for education is shaped as a result of the conditions of individuals rather than their free will, especially for the poor or disadvantaged groups; most studies report that child's access to and demand for education is affected by a number of socioeconomic and sociocultural variables such as the income level of the family, the educational level attainment of parents, the number of children in the family, expenses on education for the child, the social status of the household, the cost of education to the family, and the educational environment and opportunities created for the child (Acemoğlu & Pischke, 2000; Bakış et al., 2009; Barutçu, 1995; Bingöl, 2004; Canton & Jong, 2005; Duchesne & Nonneman, 1998; ERG, 2009; Gürler, Turgutlu, Kırıcı, & Üçdoğruk, 2007; Hübner, 2012; Mutaf, 1995; Ono, 2004; Sarıkaya & Khorshid, 2009; Tamm, 2008; Tansel, 1998; Tomul, 2008; Yolcu, 2011).

The relationship between the cost of education for the individual and family/household income is among the most studied socioeconomic factors. Studies show that as the cost of education for the individual or the family increases, the rate of access to education decreases. The opposite can also be possible (Serin, 1979). As the income level of the family increases, individuals' access to education increases as well (Gürler et al., 2007); yet, as the number of children in the household increases, access to education is negatively affected and the level of education falls (Lankford, 1986). The effect of income on access to education is also reportedly shaped by the need for the individual's labor; for instance, access to education decreases and school dropouts increase especially in poor families who require their child to work at an early age, to augment the family's income (Taş, Selvitopu, Bora, & Demirkaya, 2013). Also, some studies have demonstrated that periods of economic crisis affect schooling rates negatively (Kavak & Ergen, 2007). For example, in a study conducted in Great Britain, the probability of graduating

from high school among children of a family whose household income decreased by 33.0 % was found to decline between 3.3 % and 6.7 % (Blanden & Gregg, 2004, as cited in Bakış et al., 2009). In Turkey, the socioeconomic features were found to be more decisive in a child's participation in secondary education, compared to primary education (ERG, 2009). The educational level of parents, on the other hand, was the most examined family-related sociocultural variable. There are also studies in the literature describing the relationship between parents' educational level or profession and children's access to education, wherein a positive relationship was determined; this implies that with parents having higher educational status, the educational level of their children also increases (Aslan, 2014; de Haan & Plug, 2006; Dumas & Lambert, 2005; ERG, 2009; Hayden & Carpenter, 1990; OECD, 1978; Sander, 1992; Tansel, 1997; Ünal et al., 2010). Moreover, the educational level of parents has been found as a significant factor in the child's enrollment to secondary education (Oral and Mcgivney, 2014).

Another dimension that needs to be considered is the public access to education or public policy/educational policies related to education. Educational policies implemented in a country can be handled as institutional variables that affect access to education. These factors can be addressed under different headings such as quotas, admission conditions, support policies for students, or school tuitions (Aslan, 2014; Ünal, 1996). For example, in Turkey, access to secondary education is totally determined by test achievement and quotas for schools pursuing academic selectivity. On the other hand, as another policy shaping the access to education at secondary education level, we can mention the open secondary education institutions taken to the scope of compulsory education and the exercise of address-based placement in secondary education institutions. In cases where the cost of education is supported or limited by public policies such as scholarships or educational loans, the rate of access to education may tend to decrease or increase. Therefore, public policies that are implemented in the field of education are considered direct determinants of access to education.

Like in many parts of the world, one of the main variables that determine public policies on education in Turkey is the change/transformation processes that the capitalist system has undergone. The capitalist system, which plunged into a crisis in the mid-1970s, started to pursue a series of policies to bounce back. These policies, expressed as neoliberal policies, included the abolition of the social state in developing countries and the welfare state in developed countries. In developing countries such as Turkey, policies for the abolition of the social state and the resulting decline seen in the public services have directly affected the provision of public services such as education, health, and social security (Aslan, 2017b; Ercan, 1998; Kiraz, 2016; Önder, 2002; Ünal, 2002). Provision of education as a right and its exclusion as a privilege based on individuals' socioeconomic and sociocultural characteristics was one of the basic policies during the foundation of the Republic (Gök, 2004); however, with the neoliberal policies, we have witnessed how quality education has gradually turned into a privilege. It is enough to look at two data for this finding. The first is the public resource allocated to education investments, and the second is the observed increase in private education expenditures of families. The proportion of educational investments within the total education budget has fallen from 19.9 % in 2000 to 8.9 % in 2015. This data shows that the state has largely cut the budget intended for education investments. However, the number of students attending full-time education institutions increased from 13.375.825 to 17.519.233 between 2000 and 2016 (MoNE, 2017; Yükseköğretim Kurulu [YÖK], 2017). If there is a positive correlation between education spending per student and quality education, these data can be interpreted as an indication that the quality of education provided in public schools in Turkey has declined. On the other hand, the same data can also be considered as an indicator of increasing private education expenditures of the households coupled with the ever-growing education burden on families. According to the results of the household budget survey, the share of education expenditures in consumption expenditures rose from 1.3 % in 2002 to 2.3 % in 2016. A 67.3 % difference has been determined between the education spending of the lowest 20 % income group and that of the highest 20 % income group (Turkey Statistics Institute [TURKSTAT], 2017). These data show that the poor will be the most affected as the state withdraws from education and that this will also affect the access of disadvantaged groups, especially girls living in rural areas, to education.

On the other hand, educational policies implemented on rural areas can also have an overall impact on access to education. The starting point of enlightenment and modernization during the foundation of the Republic was determined as the rural areas, especially with practices such as Village Institutes and Village Teacher Schools, and education were accepted as a public service until the 1950s (Gök, 2004). Nevertheless, with the transition to multi-party life, the policy of “reviving the village” launched together with the Village Institutes started to fade away quickly. To realize social policies aiming to ensure the access of peasant children to education, the public had to wait until the First Five-Year Development Plan (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı [DPT], 1963). However, one cannot say that social policies in development plans regarding equal opportunities have been successful in eliminating education, villages-cities, girls-boys, and regional inequalities (Aslan, 2015a, 2016; Dursun, 2018; Küçükler, 2008, 2012).

Many of these factors preventing the individual from accessing education also apply to women. However, depending on the gender perception of society, some factors only prevent women to pursue their education. The reasons discussed above may even work differently for girls and boys. For instance, in a poor family, while household income does not affect the access of boys to education, this may hinder the educational opportunities of girls. Indeed, in a study conducted in Turkey, household income was determined to be decisive for girls’ participation in education at the upper-secondary school level, and households with limited income were most likely to send boys than girls to school. Therefore, girls are less likely to continue secondary education in such families (ERG, 2009). Sometimes the reasons why these two genders cannot access education may vary. For example, while girls may not be sent to school so that they could help her mother in household jobs and take care of her siblings or elderly people at home, boys, on the other hand, may have to work outside to bring income to the family. Also, reactions to certain policies implemented so that rural children can benefit from educational environments and opportunities may differ by gender. For example, a conservative family living in the countryside sends their boys to secondary education through bussed education, whereas the same family does not send their daughter to school this way. So, what are the variables that cause differences in girls’ or boys’ access to education?

The main factor that creates a difference between the access of girls and boys to education can be said to be gender perception of the family. Gender perception, which has been defined as the roles that society expects from women and men, is not a problematic area in terms of education of girls and boys as long as it is fed by an egalitarian opinion. Indeed, gender does not make a difference in terms of benefitting educational environments and opportunities in countries that can achieve gender equality to a large extent (OECD, 2018). In patriarchal societies or families, on the other hand, where women are especially defined by their traditional roles, the value given to women is often shaped by her fertility, and this can turn into a process that solely defines a woman based on her domestic roles, which in turn leads to subordination and depreciation. This role perception can turn into a barrier to girls’ education to the extent that this process is based on the understanding that the male is superior and that the female needs to be protected (Aslan, 2011, 2015b; Aslan & Taşkıran, 2018; Sayılan, 2012; Tan, 2008; Tan, Ecevit, & Üşür, 2000). Apart from access to education, this gender perception has also other negative consequences for women.

The sexist attitude faced by girls/women in society, family, or school does not only result in inequalities in education and employment but also causes girls/women to face a number of social problems. In addition to the injustices it creates in the field of education and employment, sexist attitudes cause many problems from child brides to domestic violence, polygamy, and exploitation of labor. Furthermore, some studies show that the education system, which is expected to abolish this sexist attitude and put equality into effect, too, reproduces the same patriarchal structure that nurtures this attitude. For example, in a study conducted by Aslan (2015b), prospective teachers were found to define women through metaphors related to traditional roles supporting the patriarchal structure. Apart from this, many studies claim that the content of textbooks, which are expected to develop an egalitarian attitude, is sexist too (Arslan, 2000; Esen, 2007; Gümüsoğlu, 2000; Tanrıöver, 2003).

Education has been identified as one of the most effective areas of intervention to transform social values and dynamics to ensure gender equality. Learning and teaching processes in schools have

the potential to transform values and attitudes to support gender equality. Yet, data show that education in Turkey was able to activate this transformative potential at a very limited level. In a study, the positive effect of the higher educational attainment of the father on the possibility of girls' participation in education was found to be less than that of the boys. The likelihood of attending secondary education among boys whose father had 1 year more education was found to be higher (15 %) than girls (10 %). In the study, the education of the father was found to be less effective on daughters, which was interpreted as deficiencies in eliminating behavioral stereotypes associated with gender discrimination in Turkey through education (ERG, 2009). When we look into domestic violence, which is one of the main indicators of gender inequality, one out of every three men with upper-secondary school education has been found to at least once inflict physical violence on their spouse. In this context, no significant difference was found between men with upper-secondary school education and those who had primary school education in Turkey (Altınay & Arat, 2007). Therefore, we can conclude that the education system in Turkey has problems in terms of achieving gender equality, more specifically providing access to education as well as the transformation expected in people's values, attitudes, and behaviors with this regard.

National or international policy documents highlight the equal utilization of educational opportunities for women and men, their participation in the development of their respective countries, decision-making mechanisms, and business life alike, and the benefits these attempts provide. Also, education is considered as one of the driving forces of sustainable development; it is also used as a tool to fight against poverty, with education of girls considered as one of the leading indicators (UNICEF, 1991; State Planning Organization [DPT], 2010; Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı-Dünya Bankası [DPT-DB], 2010; UNDP, 2008, 2019; Kavak, 2012). Therefore, the path to sustainable development requires an education system that ensures gender equality. Individuals who join the work force, who have failed to achieve the expected success from education and gain related skills or who have left school early, are less likely to participate in employment and be productive. As a result, this often leaves an individual with low income, difficulties in adapting to professional life in rapidly changing knowledge-based economies, high unemployment risk (Oral and McGivney, 2014), and poverty (DPT-DB, 2010). In 2017, the rate of women's participation in the labor force was estimated to be around 37.2 %, whereas for men, it was 78.2 %. As the level of education increases, the rate of women's participation in the labor force increases as well. The rate of participation in the labor force among women with higher education was 74.0 % in 2017 (TURKSTAT, 2019b). Increased level of education helps women to take part in labor markets more, thus contributing more to development.

On the other hand, although the rate of women's participation in the labor force increases as their education level increases, there are still data available showing problems in girls' access to education in Turkey and many parts of the world. Gender equality in access to education has been found to be achieved in only 59 of the 181 countries, where the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was able to obtain data in 2005 (UNESCO, 2007). According to calculations done including the open high school and open university student population in the 2017–2018 academic year in Turkey, no significant differences have been found between the net enrollment rate of male and female students from preschool period to higher education in terms of average values in Turkey. However, problems have been noted in terms of access to education among both boys and girls. For example, according to the calculations done on net enrollment rates in the 2017–2018 academic year, the girls' age population who could not access education were as follows: 61.8 % in preschool education (aged 3–5), 8.3 % in primary school, 5.3 % in lower-secondary education, 16.6 % in upper-secondary education, and 52.6 % in higher education. The problematic level in girls' access to education was observed in the upper secondary education among the primary, lower-secondary, and upper-secondary education levels, which are within the scope of compulsory education. Also, the level of access to secondary education differs significantly by provinces, too. For example, the proportion of girls who could not access education in secondary education level in Muş was 52.4 %, 45.9 % in Ağrı, 45.7 % in Bitlis, 44.8 % in Şanlıurfa, 39.6 % in Siirt, 39.1 % in Şırnak, and 38.5 % in Van (MoNE, 2018). So, why can some girls not attend upper-secondary education although it is compulsory?

According to literature, distrust is one of the most emphasized reasons why girls are not sent to school or why they drop out of school. The distrust that shapes girls' access to education can be attributed to various reasons such as family's distrust in the child and the environment, perception of school as an unsafe place, difficulties in travelling to the school, the distance from home to school, and the adolescence age of the child. Besides, reasons such as child marriage, preferences of poor families with many children on behalf of boys, low educational expectations of the family from girls, coeducation, religion, traditions, and customs also restrict girls' access to education (Börkan, Levent, Dereli, Bakış, & Pelek, 2014; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Küçüker, 2018; Makwinja-Morara, 2007; Sekine & Hodgkin, 2017; Şimşek, 2011; Tan, Ecevit, Üşür, & Acuner, 2000; United Nations Development Fund For Women [UNIFEM], 2000; Uysal, 2008). All these reasons appear to be directly related to the gender perception of the family. This is why girls are not sent to school at all; their families sometimes take them out of school before they complete compulsory education; and sometimes, families only send their daughters to the open education as part of legal obligations.

In the literature, many studies have already examined the reasons for school dropouts among girls and boys from different educational levels (Aküzüm, Yavaş, Tan, & Uçar, 2015; Bayhan & Dalgıç, 2012; Hoşgörür & Polat, 2015; Küçüker, 2018; MoNE & UNICEF, 2009; Özdemir, Erkan, Karip, Sezgin, & Şirin, 2010; Şimşek, 2011; Şimşek & Şahin, 2012; Taylı, 2008; Uysal, 2008). The reasons for dropouts found in these studies undoubtedly provide important clues for girls. Besides, the reasons for dropouts among girls and them being deprived from school can indirectly be associated with similar problems. In this context, while research into dropouts guides the education of girls, it is clear that direct research on the problem is deemed necessary. However, when studies of some national or international institutions and organizations are put aside, the field research in academic circles is limited (Adıgüzel, 2013; Dilli, 2006; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Öksüz Çal & Karaboğa Balcı, 2017). Moreover, three of these studies were conducted before the extension of compulsory education to 12 years. No direct research on the reasons why girls are not sent to upper-secondary education institutions has been found since the duration of compulsory education was changed. This study can be said to be unique in three aspects. First, it brings all sides of the problem together. It discusses the opinions of parents who make the decision whether their daughters should be sent to school, girls who are the victims of the process, and teachers and school administrators who indirectly observe the process. This allows a holistic study of the issue and both a direct (student and parent) and indirect (manager and teacher) analysis of the problem. Second, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first field study focusing on the problem in Turkey after secondary education has been made compulsory. Moreover, qualitative methods are more appropriate especially in women's studies rather than quantitative methods. The study has also tried to meet the need for in-depth data. The third is the methodological difference. In the study, based on the opinions of girls and parents, both a singular-case analysis was conducted for each child, and a cross-case analysis was performed based on the opinions of all participants. The reason(s) why each girl was not sent to school was schematized individually concerning each other. Therefore, an individual pattern network of the reasons why each child was not sent to school and common patterns (themes) based on the opinions of all participants was determined over a cross-case analysis.

The possibility that the last 4 years of the 12-year compulsory education period can be completed in the open high school raises the enrollment rates of this level. However, the deprivation of girls especially living in rural areas from upper-secondary education, which is almost their only socialization area, may mean ending up with 8 years of compulsory education instead of 12, the disappearance of the transformation potential of traditional roles through education, inability to use education to empower women, and persistence of the patriarchal structure. One of the biggest barriers to modernism and a bright society is gender-based inequalities or sexist attitudes in the educational process. In this study, our aims are as follows: to determine the reasons why girls living in rural areas are not sent to compulsory upper-secondary education, to work out solutions, and to guide those will conduct similar studies in the future. The research will be deemed to have reached its goal to the extent that it contributes to the provision of one single girl's right to education and access to more quality education.

Method

Research Model

This study, which aimed to determine the reasons why girls living in rural areas were not sent to upper-secondary education, used the case study design, which is one of the qualitative research methods. Case studies examine a current phenomenon in its real-life context. According to Yin, a case study approach is particularly appropriate for cases where it is impossible to distinguish the variables of the phenomenon from its context (Yin, 2008, as cited in Merriam, 2013). This study focused on two cases. The first was the meaning of being a young girl in rural life, and the second included not being sent to upper-secondary education in this context. Accordingly, the phenomenon the study centered on was that young girls living in rural areas were not sent to upper-secondary education. In the study, an in-depth analysis of the deprivation of young girls from school was done within the framework of the statements of girls who experienced the phenomenon, the parents, and teachers and school administrators who had the opportunity to observe the issue indirectly.

Study Group

This study is a qualitative research which utilized the purposive sampling technique. This technique is also called judgment sampling. In this type of sampling, the researchers rely on their own judgment on whom to select, and they recruit the ones that best suit the purpose of the research. The advantage of this approach is that the researchers use their previous knowledge and skills in the selection of subjects (Balci, 2004). While determining the participants to be interviewed, the opinions of teachers, school administrators, or other participants were utilized, and the snowball sampling method was then employed. Open secondary education institutions were not included in the study. Therefore, the participants of the study are limited to parents who do not send their daughters to secondary education institutions that provide face-to-face education and girls who cannot go to these institutions. The study was carried out in the villages and towns of Tokat province. The reason why the study was conducted in this province was the ease with which the researcher reached the study group. Therefore, the study featured the preference of the topic rather than the setting. In deciding on the subject, the researcher turned a phenomenon, which she initially discussed with many teachers and administrators in the graduate programs that she carried out, into a research topic. The most important issue that teachers and school administrators working in rural areas raised in the lessons was the problems that young girls experienced in terms of access to education. The teachers and school administrators stated that these problems were more prevalent especially in some villages or towns and that there was a resistance against sending girls to upper-secondary education. The typical feature of these villages or towns was that the literacy rates were relatively low among men and women. These places were settlements where men usually worked in different counties as shepherds or construction workers and people usually migrated to the central county of Tokat or other provinces. In selecting the students and parents to be included in the study group, we opted for girls who had not been sent to upper-secondary education after 2012 and parents who had not sent their daughters to compulsory upper-secondary education. Also, to include the opinions of both girls and parents and to enrich the opinion pool with different perspectives, the girls and parents included in the study group were recruited from separate families. In selecting teachers and administrators, those who were working in villages or towns, mainly in places where the girls and parents who were interviewed lived, were preferred. During the selection of teachers and administrators, variables such as title, seniority, gender, and different school levels were taken into account. The contact information of the girls who had not been sent to upper-secondary education was provided by school administrators working in the related villages or towns. Then, the girls, the parents, and the teachers and school administrators working in the related villages and towns who agreed to join the interview voluntarily were included in the study group. In total, the study group consisted of 86 participants in the 2016–2017 academic year, including 10 children, 10 parents, 20 teachers, and 46 school principals or vice principals. The personal information of the study group has been summarized in Appendix 1, Appendix 2, and Appendix 3.

Data Collection

The data were collected via interviews. Three semi-structured interview forms prepared by the researcher were used. While designing the data collection tools, the related literature was first reviewed, and the opinions and recommendations of the teachers and school administrators involved in the study were considered. As a result, three different draft forms for children, parents, and teachers and school administrators were submitted to experts. Thus, we tried to ensure the content validity of the semi-structured form in light of the opinions and suggestions of both the teachers and school administrators involved in the study and the field experts. Thus, the form for young girls who had not been sent to upper-secondary education involved seven questions, the form for the parents involved eight questions, and the form for teachers and administrators involved seven questions. Also, one question about the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education was added to each of the three interview forms. Based on the opinions of both the researcher and experts, the question related to reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education was found to be inclusive; therefore, no other questions were needed. However, during the interviews, the participants were asked some probe questions, such as "Can you give more details about this?", "What do you mean here?", etc. The main approach of the researcher during the interviews was to allow the participants to make sense of the process of why girls were not sent to education holistically.

The interviews with the parents were conducted in their families' homes in April–May 2016, whereas the interviews with the girls were held during non-formal education activities in schools, in order to provide them a comfortable environment to express themselves. The responses of the participants were recorded by taking down notes since audio recording was not allowed. The interviews took around 20–30 minutes. Interviews with the parents were conducted in an environment where both parents were present, but only the father responded to the questions. During the interview, seven personal information questions were asked to the children and eight to the parents. The girl respondents were asked the question, "Why did your family not send you to upper-secondary education (high school)?" while parents were asked, "Why did not you send your daughter to upper-secondary education (high school)?" The teachers and school administrators were also asked the question, "What do you think are the reasons why girls are not sent to upper-secondary education based on your professional experience and observations?" Teachers and administrators preferred to give a written response to the questions because they said they were too busy then. Therefore, written responses were obtained from the teachers and administrators.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The study data were then analyzed using the content analysis technique. Content analysis is often used in cases where the study cannot be explicitly expressed theoretically, or a more in-depth analysis is required (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011). In the data analysis process, the responses of the children, parents, teachers, and school administrators to the questions were first transferred to a computer database. Then, these data were coded, and concepts and themes that reflected the views of the participants were determined. To examine the reliability of coding, the data were submitted to the opinion of a faculty member who is an expert in the field of educational sciences and qualitative research, and an inter-coder reliability analysis was conducted on the themes obtained. For this procedure, the formula, $\text{Reliability} = [\text{Consensus}/(\text{Consensus} + \text{Disagreement})] \times 100$ (Miles & Huberman, 1994), was utilized, and the level of inter-coder reliability was calculated as 85.7 %. After making the necessary corrections, the themes were tabulated and then presented with the participant codes. Participant codes were organized as C1, C2, ... C10 for the girls; P1, P2, ... P10 for parents; and A1, A2, ... A66 for teachers and administrators. No separate codes were used for teachers and administrators.

In this study, a singular-case analysis was conducted based on the views of children and parents; each case was analyzed within its own context, so the reason (s) why each child was not sent to school was drawn out, and the causes were then tabulated. In this way, the number of reasons that collectively affected not sending girls to school was determined. In this context, based on the opinions of the girls and parents who are the direct addressee of the problem, the reasons for not sending/not being sent to upper-secondary education were visualized in relation to each other. This analysis was based only on the responses of the girls and parents as administrators and teachers were considered to not have any direct experience on the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education; rather, they were indirect observers. Their observations and experiences were not possibly based on these reasons; instead, their views reflected a general perspective, given their seniority, too. On the other hand, a cross/mixed-case analysis was also conducted in the study. The views of girls, parents, and teacher-school administrators on the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education were analyzed separately for each group.

Validity and Reliability Measures

In qualitative research, "validity" refers to the accuracy of scientific findings, whereas "reliability" refers to the reproducibility of the scientific findings (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011). In this context, some measures were taken to increase the validity and reliability of the study. These measures included the following steps. First, a comprehensive literature review was conducted while developing the semi-structured interview forms to increase the internal validity (credibility) of the study. School administrators helped in identifying the girls who had not been in school for a while as well as in contacting the parent participants. Considering that girls might be reluctant to express their views near their families, after obtaining the approval of the parents and the girl, the interviews were conducted in the offices of school administrators during various non-formal education courses such as sewing or embroidery, which were carried out in primary schools in villages where the girls lived. The interviews with parents were held in their homes, and because the researcher was female, both the mother and the father were asked to participate in the interview together considering the family structure in rural areas. However, the interview questions were mostly answered by the fathers due to the parents' preferences, and no other individuals such as grandmother or grandfather were involved in the interview. Thus, the parents were provided with an environment where they could express themselves more comfortably. Besides, the approval of each school was obtained for teacher and administrator interviews. The teachers and school administrators were informed about the purpose of the study so that they could express their opinions sincerely without any concerns. Thus, care was taken to ensure that the data collected during the interviews reflected the real situation. Secondly, to increase the external validity (transferability) of the study, the research process and the procedures implemented in this process were explained in detail. In this context, the research model, study group, data collection tool, data collection process, and data analysis and interpretation were thoroughly described. Also, methodological diversity was provided to increase the external validity of the study. To do this, the diversity was strengthened by analyzing the findings obtained from the thematic analysis of the interview data with different techniques (content analysis, singular-case analysis). Thirdly, to increase the internal reliability (consistency) of the study, all of the findings were presented directly without any comments and were further supported with direct quotations of opinions of the participants. To increase the reliability of the study, expert opinion was utilized at every stage of the study. Also, a faculty member from the field of educational sciences who is experienced in qualitative research methods coded the data independently, and the rate of fit between codes was calculated by comparing the codes. Finally, a detailed description was made to increase its external reliability (confirmability). The findings were written in detail, and the codes of the participants were arranged and presented to allow the control of the consistency of the data in the Findings section.

Results

This section presents the findings obtained from the analysis of the data collected in the study. In section, the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education institutions are presented based on the opinions of the girls, the parents, and the teachers and school administrators. Also, the results of the mixed-effects analysis showing the combined effects of the causes are presented.

Opinions of the Girls on Why They Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education

To get the opinions of the girls, they were asked the question “Why did your family not send you to upper-secondary education (high school)?” Their views on the topic are summarized in Table 1. As seen in the table, cultural and social reasons were the leading causes for not sending girls to school, and “distrust” was the primary cause in this group. This was followed by “social pressure,” “conservatism,” “patriarchy,” and “the lack of role model,” respectively (Table 1). From the statements of these girls, it can be said that conservatism, patriarchy, and social pressure are manifested as distrust through “masculine domination.” According to Bourdieu (2018), masculine domination is a perfect example of paradoxical obedience. Symbolic violence is always observed in the imposition of domination and the way it is endured, soft and invisible violence that is not even felt by victims. This unusually typical social relationship is a form that is recognized and accepted by the side that is dominated as well as the side dominating. It would not be wrong to claim that this masculine form of domination expressed by Bourdieu is crowned with a gender-based division of labor because this point of view defines home as a safe place for women, while everywhere outside the house is defined to be unsafe. This structure can, therefore, legitimize any form of domination on the girl/woman under the name of “trust.” Social events/realities can also support this. Therefore, it can be argued that distrust is one of the concepts in which the perspective of the conservative and patriarchal structure toward the girl/woman is socially embodied and women internalize all kinds of masculine domination in the name of “trust.” In this study, the statements of the girls indicated that the reasons for not sending the girls to upper-secondary education were intertwined, and multiple reasons were prevalent in this topic. Some of the statements related to sociocultural causes were as follows. (The meaning of the remarks in square brackets: [...] show expressions that are not included here, while the notes show expressions or encodings changed by the researcher.)

[...] Besides, my father says, “girls will go to school, and so what?” [Patriarchy] They’ll hang out here and there, and bring indignity.” He says, “Wandering shoes bring dirt”. He also says, “I don’t want to be disgraced in the village” [Distrust, C10] [...].

[...] The girls are not sent to school here because people think you will hang out with tramps or impecunious people. That’s, they don’t trust us [Distrust]. [...] I have no right to say anything about my own future. Let alone me, even my father doesn’t have a right to speak near my grandfather. This is the tradition; we can do nothing. We have to do what they say [Patriarchy, C8].

[...] Because our village is generally full of ignorant parents. I was just about to settle the issue with my parents, but my uncle said “no” [Social pressure]. “You don’t know those places”, he said. “She will go there, she will hang out with tramps or impecunious people, and gossips will follow her’, he added [Distrust]. ‘She must stay here and go to the Quran Course in the village’, he said [Conservatism, C7] [...].

Table 1. The Reasons Stated by the Girls Participating in the Study About Why They Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 10)

Reasons	Codes of the Participants
Sociocultural	
Distrust	C2, C4, C5, C6, C7, C8, C9, C10
Social pressure	C3, C4, C5, C6, C7, C9, C10
Conservatism	C1, C2, C5, C7, C8, C10
Patriarchy	C2, C5, C8, C9
Lack of role models	C7

Table 1. Continued

Reasons		Codes of the Participants
Economic	Poverty	C5, C9, C10
	Use of child labor	C8, C9
Institutional	Distance to school	C4, C5, C6, C9, C10
	Place of residence	C2

Among the economic factors stated by the girls regarding the reasons why they were not sent to school were “poverty” and “use of child labor.” Also, the institutional reasons included “distance to school” and “place of residence.” Some of the examples taken from the interview notes relating to these reasons are listed below:

We are a poor family. Men in our family work as shepherds in other villages in summer and construction workers in winter. [Poverty] There is no high school in our village. [Place of residence] You need to go to Tokat, which means expenses. Also, in families like ours, it’s not only the father who decides whether the daughter goes to school. Everyone is involved: grandparents, uncles, and elder brothers. All the men in the family, even those who are not relatives, are involved in the decision [Social pressure] [...]. Doing household chores, caring for children, and looking after the old are the most important jobs of girls here after the age of seven and eight [Use of labor, C9].

One of the remarkable findings in the interviews with the girls was that multiple reasons were determined why most parents opted to not send their daughters to school (Fig. 1). As seen in the figure, only 2 out of 10 children (C1, C3) in the study group were not sent to school due to one single reason. Majority of the answers consisted of at least three items. The number of reasons for not sending the girls to school was as follows: three for two girls (C4, C6), four for three girls (C2, C7, C8), five for one girl (C10), and six for two girls (C5, C9).

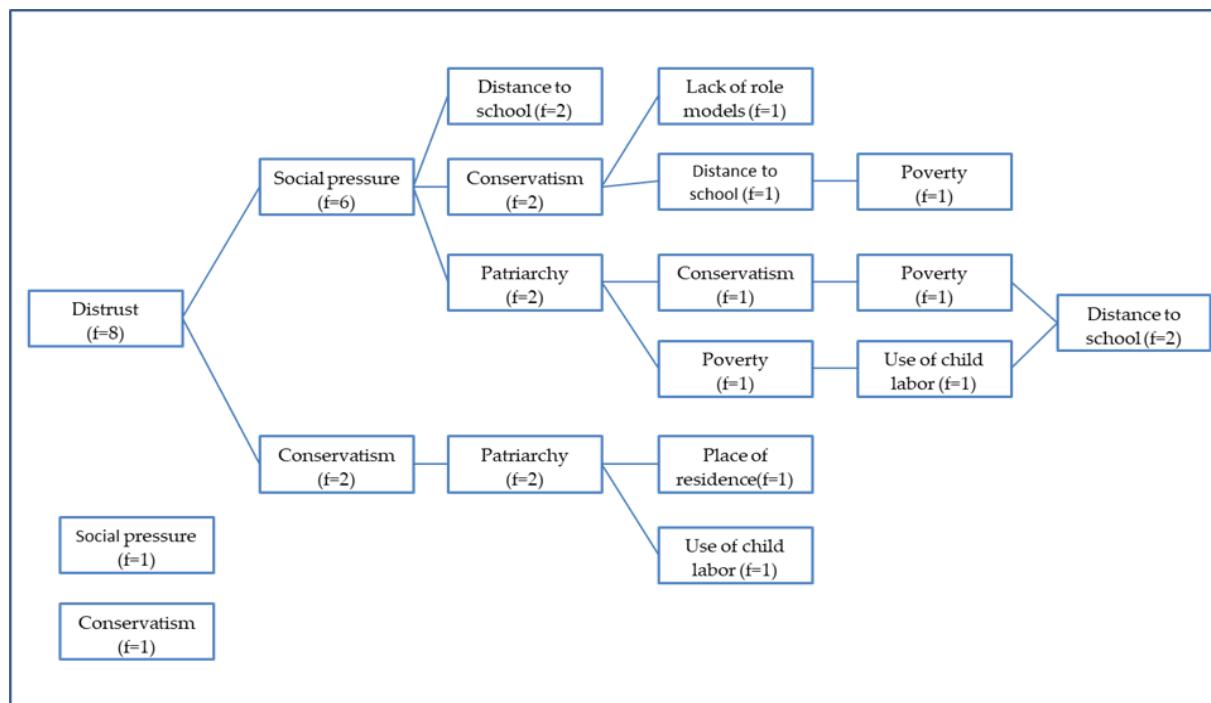


Figure 1. The Reasons Stated by the Girls Participating in the Study on Why They Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 10)²

² Schemating was done depending on the frequency of the causes.

Opinions of the Parents on Why They Did Not Send Their Daughters to Upper-Secondary Education

The parents were asked the question “Why didn’t you send your daughter to upper-secondary school (high school)?” Although the girls and parents who participated in the study were from different families, their views on why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education were consistent. As can be seen in Table 2, cultural and social causes were the main reasons why parents did not send their daughters to school. Accordingly, distrust, social pressure, patriarchy, conservatism, and lack of role models were among this group, respectively. Distrust was expressed by all parents and was based on many reasons. Parents who did not send their daughters to high school due to distrust worried that their daughters would make wrong friends and acquire bad habits; they would be defamed; people would gossip about them, and that they would lose honor. Parents also expressed bussed education as a reason for distrust because the school was far from home. Some of the parental opinions about distrust were as follows:

[...] I didn't send one of my older daughters to school because she got engaged. I could not make sure how an engaged girl would take care of herself if she left the village and went to the city. There are always rumors about girls who leave the village. I do not know if they are true or false, but I was afraid that they would slander against my daughter. I did not send her to school. Also, the family whose son my daughter got engaged with did not want her to go to school (P3).

[...] My daughter cannot go to distant places alone. There are examples in the village; girls going to school and marrying in a runaway match. The state, on the other hand, has a claim that they are carrying out a bussed education. These girls leave home in the early morning and they are here and there until the late hours of the evening. My brothers and grandparents will all reject it [...] (P6).

[...] Let's say I will send my daughter to high school, but I can't send her to university anyway. You will say why. In distant places, there is no one to take care of her. We cannot make sure whether she encounters the good or the bad there. What if she loses honor; it has severe consequences here [...] (P8).

[...] We see that girls smoke when they leave high school in the evening, and they make bad friends. Our girls are pure and ignorant. If we send them to high school, they will be allured easily [...] (P2).

Table 2. The Reasons Stated by the Parents on Why They Did Not Send Their Daughters to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 10)

Reasons		Codes of the Participants
Sociocultural	Distrust	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10
	Social pressure	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P9, P10
	Patriarchy	P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P10
	Conservatism	P1, P2, P8, P9, P10
	Lack of role models	P2, P3, P9,
Economic	Use of child labor	P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9, P10
	Poverty	P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P10
Institutional	Distance to school	P1, P3, P6, P9, P10

On the other hand, among the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary school, patriarchy, conservatism, and social pressure were observed to nurture each other, thus becoming intertwined.

There are a lot of children at home. I can't afford to send them all to school. If I could afford it, boys would go to school [...]. Girls get married at an early age in the village. They should not stay with their family too long [Patriarchy, P2].

I got married at a young age. This was because my sister was planned to get married to the brother of the girl whom I got married to. I will have my daughter get married to the brother of the girl who my son will get married to. I will have fewer wedding expenses. Also, a girl should get married before she becomes shrewd or she will object to everything in the future. [...] [Patriarchy, P5].

[...] The people in the village will say a lot of things about it. A girl is not sent to school; shame and sin. She should be at home, get married, and have children. [...] We do not want to lose our honor. There are many examples in our circles. Traditions and customs taught us this way. She will go to school and lead an undesirable life, and then we will not be able to cope. [Conservatism, P6]

In terms of economic reasons, parents mentioned “poverty” and “use of labor,” and they mentioned “distance to school” for institutional reasons. The statements of the parents indicated that child labor was utilized; that girls supported their mothers, especially in household chores; and that the economic aspect of this support was important. Some of the examples related to these reasons taken from the interview notes are listed below:

[...] I could not send my other daughter to school due to financial difficulties: dresses, books, and notebooks; all mean a lot of expenses. I can hardly feed my family; how will I afford to send her to school [...] [Poverty, P3].

[...] [In the village] there are at least five or six children in each household. We have a lot of household chores because the family is crowded. So my daughter helps with housework. Her mother cannot handle everything alone; making bread, doing the laundry. There is often no running water at home and the laundry is hand-washed [...] [Use of labor, P10].

I send my children to elementary and middle school, but I cannot send them to high school because there is no high school in our village [...]. In our village, some children go to high school by bus and almost all of them are boys [Distance to school, P1].

In Figure 2, the reasons why parents did not send their daughters to upper-secondary education are presented together. As seen in Figure 2, these reasons indicated a multiple-item structure. Accordingly, of the ten parents in the study group, two had four reasons (P7, P8), five had five reasons (P1, P2, P4, P5, P6), two had six reasons (P3, P9), and one had seven reasons (P10) (Figure 2).

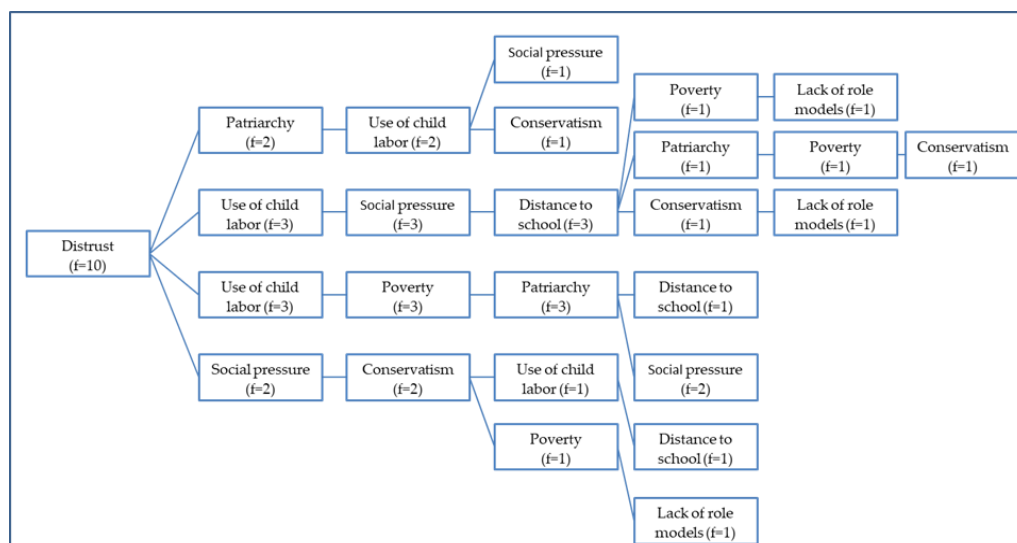


Figure 2. The Reasons Stated by the Parents on Why They Did Not Send Their Daughters to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 10)³

³ Schemating was done depending on the frequency of the causes.

Opinions of the Teachers and Administrators on Why Girls Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education

The teachers and administrators were asked the question “What do you think are the reasons why girls are not sent to upper-secondary education based on your professional experience and observations?” Most of the opinions of the teachers and administrators gathered under four themes (sociocultural, economic, institutional, and individual reasons). The sociocultural reasons expressed by teachers and school administrators on not sending girls to upper-secondary education are given in Table 3.

As seen in the statements of the teachers and administrators, patriarchy, conservatism, child marriage, distrust, lack of education, lack of role models, and social pressure were discussed under the sociocultural reasons theme. Participants’ statements that were directly related to patriarchy and those which were about the place and the role of girls or women in society were evaluated under the theme of patriarchy. Similarly, in addition to the participants saying conservatism was the reason for not sending/being sent to school, the statements related to religion, adolescence, and coeducation were also classified under this theme. The reason why adolescence and coeducation were handled under the conservatism theme was that these two reasons were not found to pose a problem to all families. It is generally an inherent feature of conservative families. Besides, the participants who cited reasons for not sending/being sent to school due to coeducation stated that their preference had religious motivations. Similarly, the physiological development of girls in adolescence is a problem only for some families. Therefore, this situation emerges as a sociocultural feature.

Table 3. The Sociocultural Reasons Stated by the Teachers and School Administrators on Why Girls Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 66)

Reasons	Codes of the Participants
Patriarchy	A1, A2, A6, A7, A8, A0, A11, A12, A13, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A20, A21, A22, A23, A24, A24, A26, A27, A28, A30, A31, A32, A34, A36, A37, A38, A39, A40, A42, A43, A44, A45, A47, A49, A51, A53, A54, A55, A56, A58, A60, A63, A64
Conservatism	A1, A3, A6, A9, A10, A11, A12, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A21, A23, A24, A25, A28, A29, A30, A31, A32, A33, A34, A36, A37, A39, A40, A43, A44, A45, A47, A50, A51, A53, A54, A55, A56, A57, A58, A59, A60, A62, A65
Child marriage	A1, A2, A3, A4, A8, A10, A11, A13, A14, A16, A21, A22, A24, A25, A26, A28, A29, A30, A33, A35, A36, A37, A39, A40, A44, A45, A46, A48, A54, A57, A58, A59, A60, A61, A62, A63, A64, A65
Distrust	A6, A7, A11, A13, A14, A16, A17, A19, A20, A23, A24, A25, A28, A30, A32, A33, A34, A36, A37, A39, A40, A41, A42, A43, A44, A45, A47, A48, A52, A53, A54, A56, A59, A60, A63, A64, A66
Lack of education	A4, A6, A7, A10, A15, A17, A19, A26, A28, A33, A34, A37, A39, A41, A51, A53, A57, A59, A64
Lack of role models	A14, A15, A21, A25, A34, A35, A36, A37, A39, A44, A45, A47, A48, A51, A53, A56, A59, A61
Social pressure	A12, A15, A17, A27, A45, A53, A60, A61, A66

As seen in Table 3, seven different sociocultural reasons were determined on why girls were not sent to school, and these were patriarchy, conservatism, child marriage, distrust, lack of education, lack of role models, and social pressure, respectively. Examples of the reasons cited by the teachers and managers regarding some of these themes are listed below:

[...] *Due to traditional reasons, girls are prevented from going to school. The material and spiritual efforts spent on boys are not spent on girls. The reason is the understanding that the girls should get married and become a mother and that they will not need education for this reason. This view seems more dominant in the countryside. As a society, we subconsciously have the understanding that a boy is more valuable [Patriarchy, A3].*

[...] *Another and most important reason underlying the problem is the early marriage of girls. Marrying a girl in Tokat is called "selling". That's selling the girl. This impolite saying comes from a rotten tradition like bride price [...] Solving the problem of "child brides" will increase the schooling of girls, especially in rural areas [Child marriage, A35].*

[...] *Cultural reasons, on the other hand, are thoughts that have not yet been fully broken in the society, such as, girls don't go to school, they become shrewd if they go to school, they find a boyfriend at school and they are defamed, girls cannot be sent out alone because bad things can happen to them, and they will marry sooner or later, so they should marry as early as possible. Although these thoughts have almost disappeared nowadays, they are dominant in rural areas [Distrust, A20]*

The biggest barrier to the schooling of girls is the mindset that girls should stay at home and that they will lose their morals if they go to school [Conservatism, A9].

The economic reasons expressed by teachers and school administrators about not sending girls to upper-secondary education are given in Table 4. According to their statements, reasons such as poverty, use of child labor, multiple children family structure, and bride price were categorized under the "economic reasons" theme. Particularly, the reason why multiple children family structure was addressed under this theme was that most participants identified the number of children in the family as the basis for not sending girls to school, due to the economic situation of the family. On the other hand, while child marriage is considered under sociocultural reasons, the bride price was categorized on economic reasons theme because, according to the teachers and administrators, the bride price was seen both as a decrease in household consumption and as a source of income for the family, especially in poor families. Likewise, the use of child labor either by doing household chores or looking after the elderly or children is seen as an inherent feature in poor families. Therefore, all of the other sub-themes listed under the theme of economic reasons were also directly or indirectly related to the theme of poverty.

Table 4. The Economic Reasons Stated by the Teachers and School Administrators on Why Girls Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 66)

Reasons	Codes of the Participants
Poverty	A4, A6, A9, A11, A12, A15, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A20, A21, A22, A23, A24, A24, A27, A30, A32, A33, A34, A36, A37, A39, A41, A44, A45, A48, A49, A51, A53, A54, A56, A58, A59, A60, A64, A65, A66
Use of child labor	A1, A2, A5, A11, A14, A15, A16, A17, A21, A25, A29, A30, A33, A34, A36, A37, A39, A40, A44, A45, A46, A47, A54, A57, A59, A61, A63, A66
Multiple children family structure	A5, A15, A16, A26, A39, A51, A59
Bride price	A13, A16, A26, A46, A51, A56

Some of the views stated by the teachers and school administrators regarding economic reasons are as follows:

People generally earn their livelihood by agriculture and animal husbandry; nevertheless, their income can only meet their basic needs. People do not send their daughters to secondary education due to reasons such the absence of secondary schools in their villages or towns, which otherwise requires using bussed education and meeting the expenses, the cost of school equipment necessary for their education, and the loss of labor in agriculture when the girl is at school [Poverty, A11].

In families with many children, girls help the mother with housework from the age of 8 or 10, and their full role in looking after their siblings is motherhood. This is a barrier to participation in education. Besides, the presence of relatives in need of care in the family is one of the barriers to school enrollment of girls [Use of child labor, A45].

[...] *Inadequacy in family planning is one of the biggest problems for girls' schooling. Unfortunately, as the number of children in the family increases, we see that the rate of girls' enrollment, especially in secondary education, decreases* [Multiple children family structure, A59].

Institutional reasons cited by the teachers and school administrators on why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education have been summarized in Table 5. According to their statements, distance to school, bussed education, accommodation problem, wrong policies, unemployment, and insufficiency in school security and guidance services were determined under the theme of institutional reasons. One of the opinions given by the teachers and administrators regarding institutional reasons is as follows:

In our country, the most important obstacle to the schooling of female students is the absence of secondary education institutions in rural areas [distance to school], which affects families and causes them to not send their daughters to school through bussed education. Bussed education is already carried out in rural areas under difficult conditions and children have to leave home very early and return to their home very late, which affects their success adversely. All of these cause the education life of girls, who are already sent to school with a thousand difficulties, to end [Bussed education]. On the other hand, the insufficient number of dormitories and inadequate services and social activities provided in dormitories also reduce the demand for these places [Accommodation problems, A41].

Table 5. The Institutional Reasons Stated by the Teachers and School Administrators on Why Girls Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 66)

Reasons	Codes of the Participants
Distance to school	A11, A12, A17, A21, A23, A30, A34, A36, A37, A39, A40, A41, A42, A44, A47, A48, A49, A52, A56, A57, A59, A63
Bussed education	A17, A21, A25, A34, A37, A39, A41, A44, A45, A47, A48, A51, A54, A56, A57
Accommodation problems	A26, A34, A37, A39, A41, A42, A52, A59, A64
Wrong policies	A30, A31, A37, A46
Unemployment	A1, A26, A42
School security	A37, A44
Deficiencies in guidance services	A34, A37

The teachers and school administrators claimed that wrong policies implemented by the government have made up another reason why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education. Among these, they talked about issues such as the inclusion of the open high school in the scope of compulsory education, failure to impose legal sanctions on parents who do not send their children to school, and explicit statements of authorities or practices supporting child marriages. Moreover, access to this level of education among girls was affected because of unemployment experienced among secondary education graduates, which was stated by three participants, and perception of school as an unsafe place, which was cited by two participants.

The individual reasons stated by the teachers and school administrators why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education are provided in Table 6. The most interesting finding of this study was that the girls and parents who participated in the study did not express their own individual reasons. Similarly, only three of the teachers and administrators mentioned two individual reasons such as "adaptation problems" and "failure." This finding was significant in that it indicated individual causes had almost no effect on sending girls to upper-secondary education institutions.

Table 6. The Individual Reasons Stated by The Teachers and School Administrators on Why Girls Were Not Sent to Upper-Secondary Education (n = 66)

Reasons	Codes of the Participants
Adaptation problems	A5, A6
Failure	A15

Discussion, Conclusion and Suggestions

Today, the issue of gender equality has “turned into a showcase ornament in the hands of governments” as Stromquist emphasized (Stromquist, 2006, as cited in Aslan, 2015b). One of the ways to stop this problem is to focus on research that defines the problem in all its dimensions and to further develop and implement policies based on research results. At the same time, political powers should systematically monitor the results of the policies and develop strategies appropriate for the new situation. In this study, the education of girls, which is regarded as one of the main indicators of gender equality, was discussed in the context of upper-secondary education and in the context of Turkey in particular. In this study, we tried to determine the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education. Based on the interviews, 21 reasons under four themes were identified. Accordingly, the leading reasons were patriarchy, distrust, conservatism, poverty, use of child labor, child marriage, distance to school, and social pressure. Five of these reasons belonged to the sociocultural theme, two belonged to the economic theme, and one belonged to the institutional theme. Lack of role models, lack of education, busied education, accommodation problem, multiple children family structure, bride price, incorrect policies, unemployment, school security, lack of guidance services, adaptation problems, failure, and place of residence were other less effective reasons for not sending girls to upper-secondary education.

Patriarchy was found to be one of the leading reasons why girls were not given the chance to pursue higher education. Participants (the girls, the parents, the teachers, and school administrators) talked about the perception that boys were seen as superior over girls in rural areas. The idea of male superiority dominates the basis of the patriarchal social organization system based on the male authority, and the rules of the social order are determined by men. Indeed, the statements of the girls who were not sent to school or their parents revealed that the decision to not send girls to school was mostly made by fathers or the men in the family (grandparents, uncles, and uncles-in-law). Women are generally defined within a certain area in the patriarchal structure; and this area defined for women is home, and their roles are domestic, for example, the role of being a mother and a wife, which continues throughout her life. Therefore, patriarchy constantly reproduces itself through these gender roles. This structure that nurtures inequality is reproduced through perceptions/messages involving the idea that women are considered less valuable than men (Aslan, 2015b). On the other hand, education has been identified as one of the main factors providing vertical mobility in modern societies. The patriarchal structure may cause vertical mobility to remain at a limited level for women in proportion to the effect that it has on the decision to not send girls to school. In societies where access to education is problematic, individuals are positioned within society only according to their inborn status; women living in such societies can only take on roles such as being mothers and wives.

A significant number of participants used expressions describing this patriarchal structure and showing how it constituted a barrier to sending girls to school. For example, the forms of perception that define this structure, such as not including girls to the number of children in some families and almost ignoring them, seeing their contribution to household income insignificant, assigning the responsibility of family's livelihood to the man, and seeing the education of girls as unnecessary, can turn into a barrier to girls' education. These forms can sometimes manifest themselves as the preference for the education of the boy in some families. The emphasis of the participants on the place and role of girls or women in the society shows that girls were often marginalized and downgraded, especially in families living in rural areas; the masculine was perceived as superior; and this turned into a disadvantage for girls. The study of Gündüz Hoşgör (2008) supports the above findings. Their study determined that some of the girls in rural areas did not even have population registration and that there were problems regarding their basic rights, especially education. Tezcan (2014) stated that girls in Anatolia were seen as a “temporary entity” at home and that this caused the reluctance of Anatolian people to send their daughters to school.

This situation, which can be defined in the context of individuals' perception of gender, also forms the basis of gender inequalities. The most tangible indicator of this perception regarding the education and working life of women can be seen in the form of never being sent to school, being taken out of school, or not participating in the work force. Indeed, the secondary school enrollment rate in Turkey is only at 83.4 % for girls. This finding shows that approximately one in five girls cannot access secondary education. Moreover, this proportion is much lower in many cities compared to the average rate of Turkey (MoNE, 2018). Aside from the quality of the education provided in official secondary education institutions, one out of every three students attending these institutions goes to the open high school, which may only mean imprisonment of girls at home. This is the continuation of the perception that defines women with their domestic roles, thus nurturing the patriarchal structure. According to the statements of the participants, another reason supporting this finding, showing why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education, indicated that girls help their mothers with household chores or in child or elderly care, which was classified under the "use of child labor" theme. This situation can be seen as a process that reproduces the patriarchal structure because, just like women, girls socialize as part of domestic roles, and they are perceived as "second mothers" in terms of their roles in many families in rural areas.

Meanwhile, distrust ranks second among reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education. While the girls said their parents did not trust them, the parents stated that they did not trust both their daughters and school or society. The parents thought that their daughters could easily be allured into the outside world or places far from them. The opinions of the teachers and school administrators supported have this finding. The main problem about distrust was based on concerns that girls would make friends with undesirable people (like boyfriends) or gain unwanted habits (such as smoking), that people would gossip about them, and that they would lose honor. Similar findings also ranked first among the reasons for school dropout of girls in the study conducted by Küçüker (2018). On the other hand, the perception regarding the definition of the concept of honor through women and the need for the protection of women is also significant in terms of showing that there is a relationship between patriarchy and distrust. It can be said that in the background of the patriarchal structure, which defines women with their domestic roles, exists the concept of honor as the product of an understanding that sees life outside as dangerous. However, distrust towards girl has a dimension that is associated with the realities of Turkey as well as with patriarchy. This is because many events involving abuse, rape, death, and violence in Turkey confirm the concerns of parents who see the life outside as dangerous for their daughters, further strengthening their distrust and insecurity. Indeed, violence against women is growing every other day in Turkey. A study that mapped the murders shown in the media determined 1964 woman murders between 2010 and 2017 in Turkey (Kadın Cinayetleri, 2019). Accordingly, home cannot be said to be always a safe place for women either, as women are mostly killed by their husbands, fathers, brothers, or friends, that is, by a person closest to them. On the other hand, the perception toward schools that are expected to be the safest institution for children is not different at all. According to a study by MoNE and UNICEF (2009), 1 out of every 10 children in primary education does not feel safe at school. Some studies, too, have shown that insecurity is a barrier to girls' schooling (Adıgüzel, 2013; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Tan, Ecevit, Üşür, & Acuner, 2000) or a reason for dropping out of school (Küçüker, 2018; Özdemir et al., 2010; Taş et al., 2013).

Another reason for not sending girls to upper-secondary education was found to be conservatism. Conservatism was defined through the opinions of participants who wanted religious education for their daughters, who were against coeducation, and who stated that the physiological development (adolescence) of girls was a reason for taking them out of school or not sending at all, or who thought that going to school would corrupt the moral values of girls. More than half of the participants who participated in the study stated that girls were not sent to secondary education in rural areas due to the reasons listed above. Another important finding of the study was observed when personal data about girls and parents were examined (Appendix 1-2). According to the data, all families who did not send their daughters to school were found to send their sons to school. This finding supported both patriarchy through the family structure and the definition of the conservatism related

to these families, showing a strong relationship between patriarchy, conservatism, and insecurity. A similar finding was found in the study conducted by İlhan Tunç, who studied girls who were not sent to school in 2009 in Van province. In the study, just as in this present study, all families who did not send their daughters to school were determined to send their sons to school. The study found that girls were not sent to school in Van province due to economic reasons, religious belief, and traditional understanding that considered boys are superior over girls (İlhan Tunç, 2009). Besides, the reasons why girls were not sent to school and the reasons for school dropout of girls were observed to overlap. Moreover, Küçüker (2018) found that conservatism was among the critical causes of girls' dropouts. Apart from these, some studies determined that the problem was economic (Kalaycıoğlu & Toprak, 2004).

Poverty was another reason why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education. Almost half of the girls and parents interviewed in the study stated that children were not sent to school due to poverty. This finding is consistent with the 2011 report of UNICEF about the "Situation of Children in Turkey." According to the report, poverty among young people aged younger than 15 in rural areas of Turkey was 44.9 %, while it was 14.5 % in urban areas (UNICEF, 2011). The examination of the household income of parents who did not send their daughters to upper-secondary education revealed that all of them had an income below the minimum wage. Also, fathers were often farmers or construction workers and mothers were housewives. Poverty can be said to be associated with the low education level of parents because all of the parents were either illiterate or primary school graduates. Some studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between the level of education and poverty in Turkey. Apart from this, 84.0 % of the poor families in Turkey are illiterate or have not completed their basic education. Also, 35.0 % of this group and 19.0 % of those who have not completed basic education live below the poverty line (DPT-DB, 2010). The opinions of the teachers and school administrators on the topic were also found to support the statements of the children and the parents. Besides, 40 out of 66 teachers and school administrators who participated in the study stated that poverty was one of the reasons for not sending/being sent to upper-secondary education. However, this reason was determined to not apply to boys as all of the girls and parents had brothers and sons who were receiving education. This situation can be said to be related to the patriarchal and conservative nature of the families and therefore to the gender perceptions of the families. Moreover, the finding was also consistent with the views that poverty affects the education of girls more (DPT, 2010; Gökşen, Cemalçılar, & Gürlesel, 2006; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Küçüker, 2018).

Another finding consistent with the statements of the girls and the parents regarding poverty was the use of child labor, which was identified as one of the reasons why girls were not sent to school. Although poverty and use of child labor were addressed under two separate themes in this present study to make the reasons tangible, the real reason why girls were not sent to school to help with housework was possibly poverty. All of the participants stated that girls supported families in rural areas, especially in household chores, child and elderly care, and agricultural works. The family structures of the girls and the parents interviewed within the scope of the study also supported this finding. In this study, in which a multiple children and extended family structure (grandfathers, grandmothers, uncle, etc.) was observed, children were poor, not only because their families had low income, but also because they had extended family structures. A strong correlation has also been determined between poverty and the high household population, which is a function of the number of children. The probability of living under the poverty line among those living in households with five to six or more members are more than twice compared to households with one to two or three to four members. When the number of household members exceeds seven, this probability is doubled once again (UNICEF, 2011). In a study conducted in Turkey, a one-person increase in the number of siblings in the family was found to decrease the rate of probability of girls' participation in secondary education by 15 % (ERG, 2009). This data may mean that the multiple children family structure, which is a typical feature of the countryside, mostly prevents girls from accessing secondary education. Nine of the ten parents who participated in the current study stated that they did not send their daughters to school to utilize their labor. There are other studies that claim poverty or low socioeconomic level of the family

leads to the deprivation of children from going to school, dropouts, or failure (Adıgüzel, 2013; Aküzüm et al., 2015; Aslan, 2017a; Bakış et al., 2009; Güllüpnar & İnce, 2014; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Küçüker, 2018; Oral and Mcgivney, 2014; Özdemir et al., 2010; Parcel & Dufur, 2001; Taş et al., 2013).

Another reason why girls living in rural areas were not sent to school was child marriage. This was found to affect more particularly girls at upper-secondary education age and women living in rural areas. Different reasons can be found for pushing girls of child age into marriage. Poverty, gender perception, local values or customs, lack of education, legal deficiencies, and wars are among the prominent reasons (Anık & Barlin, 2017). According to the data of Turkey Family Structure Survey 2011, 33 % of rural women and 26 % of urban women had their first marriage under the age of 18 (Türkiye Aile Yapısı Araştırması [TAYA], 2011). In the literature, the term “child bride” is used for early marriages, and it refers to girls marrying under the legal marriage age. Although international data show that there are child marriages among boys, too, this rate is approximately five times higher for girls worldwide (Anık & Barlin, 2017). According to TURKSTAT data, 89.8 % of the 90.866 registered marriages between the ages of 16–19 in 2018 included girls, and 10.2 % involved boys. When the rate of unregistered marriages is added to this figure, it can be said that the phenomenon of child brides affects girls more throughout the world as is the case in Turkey, thus depriving these girls of education. Indeed, almost half of the participants stated that child marriages were among the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education. There are also other studies claiming child marriage is the reason why girls are not sent to or taken out of school (Adıgüzel, 2013; Anık & Barlin, 2017; Gürol & Dilli, 2007; MoNE & UNICEF, 2013; Sekine & Hodgkin, 2017; Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen’s Association [TUSIAD] and the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey [KAGİDER], 2008).

In this study, distance to school was also determined as another reason. According to the girls and parents, the unavailability of upper-secondary education institutions where they lived was a factor in not sending girls/being sent to school. The opinions of the teachers and school administrators also supported this finding. Parents were afraid that something bad might happen to their daughters on the way because most institutions were far from where they lived, and some conservative parents did not want their daughters to go to school with boys on the same vehicle. Among the reasons why girls were not sent to upper-secondary education were bussed education application, accommodation problems in the city or district centers, and place of residence. These problems can be said to be related to distance to school. Indeed, it is also possible to associate distance to school with distrust. This finding is consistent with the study results of Küçüker (2018). The researcher determined that one of the reasons for school dropouts among girls was distrust, and one of the causes of distrust was the distance to school. There are other studies claiming that distance to school has a negative effect on access to education (Holmes, 1999; Tansel, 1997).

Another barrier to school enrollment of girls in rural areas was social pressure. The statements of the participants revealed that parents in the countryside were not independent when deciding to not send girls to school. The participants stated that their relatives, villagers, and neighbors, too, had an impact on the decision to not send girls to school. The girls or parents mentioned that sending girls to upper-secondary education was not welcome in their environment. Parents were mainly concerned that people would gossip about their daughters and that they would be mocked and excluded from society for sending their daughter to school. On the other hand, it is possible to relate social pressure to conservatism, as well. Social pressure can be said to be more intense, especially in conservative circles. Another factor that was thought to support social pressure in the study was the low education level of parents. Indeed, other studies on the topic show that there is a positive relationship between the education levels of parents and the education of children (Aslan, 2014; de Haan & Plug, 2006; Dumas & Lambert, 2005; Gürler et al., 2007; Tansel, 1997). For example, according to a study conducted by Bakış et al. (2009), girls whose father or mother had year more education was 3.0% more likely to participate in education.

Reasons other than the above-mentioned ones for not sending girls within the scope of the study to upper-secondary education included lack of role models, lack of education, bussed education, accommodation problem, multiple children family structure, bride price, inappropriate policies, unemployment, school security, insufficiency in guidance services, adaptation problems, failure, and place of residence. The lack of appropriate role models for girls in rural areas can directly affect the family's decision. As understood from the interviews, the presence of at least one girl who worked as a teacher, nurse, or officer in a village was observed to increase the rate of schooling among girls in that village. The opposite was observed, too. The presence of a girl in a village who went to the town or city center to study but rumors spread about her, she made boyfriends, or had marriage in a runaway match was observed to reduce the likelihood of girls' school enrollment. It is possible to associate this situation with social pressure among other reasons. While appropriate role models support the school enrollment of girls, negative examples can turn into social pressure on families, resulting in families not sending their daughters to school. On the other hand, it is also possible to relate reasons such as low education level of parents, multiple children family structure, and bride price to poverty. Some parents were found to also consider bride price as an income source.

There were three remarkable points in the results of this study. First, the participants did not mention almost any individual reasons for not sending girls to school. Only three of the teachers and school administrators talked about adaptation problems and failure. This finding was consistent with the findings of other studies reporting that reasons why girls were not sent to school or they dropped out of school were predominated by sociocultural and economic reasons (Adıgüzel, 2013; Gökşen et al., 2006; Gürol & Dilli, 2007; İlhan Tunç, 2009; Kalaycıoğlu & Toprak, 2004; Öksüz Çal & Karaboğa Balcı, 2017). On the other hand, some studies mention the existence of individual reasons for not sending girls to school or for school dropouts (Küçükler, 2018; Uysal, Alp, Şahin, Özden, & Gürcüoğlu, 2006). Second, some teachers and school administrators argued that the inclusion of the open high school in compulsory education was a wrong policy, which posed a disadvantage to girls. According to the participants, with this practice, the compulsory education period of some girls in rural areas was limited to 8 years. The third striking result of this research was that a single reason would not explain why a girl was not sent school. According to the results of the singular-case analysis based on the views of the girls and parents, only two of the participants in the study group (C2, C7) attributed the deprivation of girls from upper-secondary education to a single reason. C2 stated that they were not sent to school due to the place of residence, whereas C7 attributed it to the lack of a role model. In this study, there were 18 girls who provided 3 reasons why they were not sent to school. Research on girls' dropout rates was found to support this finding. In these studies, the reasons for school dropouts of girls were explained with two or more reasons (Küçükler, 2018; Suh & Suh, 2007). In this present study, the reasons for not sending girls to school were observed to show a complex, intertwined, multivariate, and spiral structure.

Furthermore, this present study showed that girls living in rural areas had pressing problems in terms of access to upper-secondary education. Accordingly, necessary measures should be taken related to the patriarchal structure so that girls in rural areas can receive a upper-secondary education they deserve. The starting point here is to initiate measures to transform families' perceptions of gender on behalf of girls and boys in terms of equality. Given the educational level of parents living in rural areas, too, it may be useful to carry out studies communicating the importance of women's education through village headmen, religious officials, and opinion leaders. Public spots, series, and educational programs emphasizing the importance of equality and education of women should be broadcast especially on TV with the help of politicians, opinion leaders, or artists who have the potential to affect these segments. Women who are successful in their professional life or other fields should be introduced to society through mass media. More female teachers and school administrators should be appointed to schools, especially in rural areas. The number of education institutions in rural areas should be increased to reduce the distrust level of families toward their daughters. It may be useful to bring the school closer to the families, which take into account the population structure for these settlements by studying the most appropriate school size. On the other hand, increasing security measures at school

and on the way to and around school can reduce insecurity concerns of families. Social problems involving violence and sexual assaults such as murders, harassment, and rape should become the primary agenda of political authorities and powers, systematic policies should be established for these problems, and their results should be monitored regularly. To convince conservative families on sending their daughters to school, the cooperation of the Presidency of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of National Education and raising the problem in Friday sermons can be beneficial in terms of both schooling and reducing social pressure. Similarly, public spots, programs, and sermons should be arranged to discuss on the drawbacks of allowing the marriage of girls at a young age.

Education has been identified as one of the most important tools to women empowerment. The study revealed that public policies were important especially for girls; access to upper-secondary education. Therefore, fighting poverty should be one of the priority areas of governments, and the burden of education costs on families should be eliminated completely. In districts and city centers, the number of accommodation facilities should be increased by building student dormitories where families can send their daughters safely. It may be beneficial to provide financial support to families who send their daughters to upper-secondary education in rural areas. Besides, in state-supported agricultural loans, families with daughters within the scope of compulsory education should be able to obtain loans more easily, provided that they send their daughters to upper-secondary education. Each of the reasons laid out by the current study should be investigated separately. Last but not least, this research should be repeated to include city centers.

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Appendix 1. Personal Information on Girls Interviewed

Question	Response	f	Codes of the Participants
Age of the child	14	2	C2, C7
	15	2	C5, C8
	16	5	C1, C3, C4, C6, C9
	17	1	C10
Mother's Occupation	Housewife	10	C1,...C10
Mother's education status	No schooling	5	C1, C3, C5, C6, K10
	Literate	2	C7, K9
	Graduate of primary school	3	C2, C4, K8
Father's occupation	Farmer	6	C1, C2, C3, C6, C8, C9
	Worker	3	C4, C5, C7
	Unemployed	1	C10
Father's education status	No schooling	1	C1
	Dropout of primary school	2	C4, C5
	Graduate of primary school	7	C2, C3, C6, C7, C8, C9, C10
Number of siblings	3	1	C5
	4	2	C7, C8
	5	2	C4, C6
	6	2	C2, C9
	7	1	C10
	8	2	C1, C3
Brother attending formal education	Available	10	C1, ...C10
Place of residence	Village		C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C8, C9, C10
	District		C6, C7
Household income (\$)⁴	Unknown	3	C1, C9, C10
	Under 252 \$	4	C2, C4, C5, C8
	Between 252-704 \$	3	C3, C6, C7

⁴ Monthly income is shown in dollars (\$) to avoid the inflation effect.

Appendix 2. Personal Information on Interviewed Parents

Question	Response	f	Codes of the Participants
Sex	Male	10	P1,...P10
Education status	No schooling	1	P5
	Graduate of Primary School	8	P1, P2, P3, P4, P6, P7, P8, P10
	Graduate of Middle School	1	P9
Occupation	Farmer	6	P2, P3, P4, P5, P9, P10
	Worker	3	P1, P6, P7
	Shepherd	1	P8
Number of children	4	4	P1, P5, P8, P9
	5	1	P4
	6	3	P2, P3, P10
	7	1	P7
	8	1	P6
Number of children attending formal education	1	2	P8, P10
	2	4	P3, P5, P7, P9
	3	4	P1, P2, P4, P6
Place of residence	Village	9	P1, ...P8, P10
	District	1	P9
Household income (\$)	Under 252 \$	6	P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P10
	Between 252-704 \$	4	P1, P7, P8, P9

Appendix 3. Personal Information About Teachers and School Administrators

Item Number	Sex	Age	Title	Teaching Seniority (Year /Month)	Administrator Seniority (Year /Month)	Education Level
A1	Male	43	Assistant principal	9/3	8 /-	Middle
A2	Male	40	School principal	2/4	14 / 1	Primary
A3	Male	43	School principal	6/5	11 / 9	Primary
A4	Male	39	School principal	6/--	11 /10	High
A5	Female	40	School principal	15/--	1 / 3	Primary
A6	Male	35	Assistant principal	11/ 4	2 / 9	Middle
A7	Male	42	School principal	6/9	8 / 10	Middle
A8	Male	32	Teacher	5/10	----	Middle
A9	Male	35	Assistant principal	7/2	5/4	Middle
A10	Male	37	School principal	13/3	9/5	Primary
A11	Male	41	School principal	5/6	7/3	Middle
A12	Male	46	School principal	9/ --	14/--	High
A13	Female	29	Teacher	4/5	----	Primary
A14	Male	40	Teacher	14/--	----	Middle
A15	Male	32	Teacher	10 /--	----	Primary
A16	Female	33	Teacher	2/3	---	Primary
A17	Male	42	School principal	10/ --	8/--	Primary
A18	Male	37	School principal	8/ --	5/--	Middle
A19	Male	35	Teacher	6/8	----	High
A20	Male	37	Teacher	2/11	11/8	Primary
A21	Female	27	Teacher	3/11	---	Primary
A22	Male	30	Teacher	7/11	---	Primary
A23	Male	41	School principal	4/6	11/7	High
A24	Male	36	School principal	4/3	8/7	High
A25	Male	34	School principal	5/5	7/6	Middle
A26	Male	23	Teacher	1/4	---	Middle
A27	Male	35	School principal	2/--	10/5	Primary
A28	Male	41	School principal	13/2	5/3	Middle
A29	Male	40	Teacher	8/4	8/--	High
A30	Male	43	Teacher	11/--	9/2	Primary
A31	Male	35	School principal	4/3	9/11	Middle
A32	Male	47	School principal	8/3	14/11	High
A33	Male	41	Assistant principal	19/9	1/3	High
A34	Male	40	Teacher	15/3	---	Primary
A35	Male	42	School principal	3/4	13/11	High
A36	Male	43	Assistant principal	6/1	5/3	High
A37	Female	39	Teacher	16/--	---	Middle
A38	Male	26	Teacher	3/--	2/--	Primary
A39	Female	49	School principal	4/--	20/---	High
A40	Male	40	School principal	4/--	13/--	High
A41	Male	41	School principal	3/--	10/--	Middle
A42	Male	25	Assistant principal	2/--	--/4	Primary
A43	Male	30	Assistant principal	5/--	3/--	High
A44	Male	37	Assistant principal	10/--	2/--	Middle
A45	Female	34	School principal	9/--	3/--	Primary
A46	Male	39	School principal	7/--	10/--	Primary
A47	Male	47	Teacher	19/--	3/--	High

Appendix 3. Continued

Item Number	Sex	Age	Title	Teaching Seniority (Year /Month)	Administrator Seniority (Year /Month)	Education Level
A48	Female	38	Assistant principal	9/--	5/--	High
A49	Male	39	Assistant principal	11/--	6/--	High
A50	Male	39	Assistant principal	7/--	9/--	High
A51	Female	33	Teacher	10/--	----	Middle
A52	Male	36	School principal	10/--	2/--	Primary
A53	Male	37	Assistant principal	10/--	3/--	Middle
A54	Female	37	Assistant principal	11/--	2/--	High
A55	Male	38	School principal	13/--	3/--	High
A56	Female	35	Assistant principal	7/--	7/--	Primary
A57	Female	39	Assistant principal	13/--	3/--	High
A58	Male	47	School principal	8/--	14/--	Middle
A59	Male	32	Teacher	5/--	---	High
A60	Female	32	Assistant principal	4/--	8/--	Middle
A61	Female	40	Assistant principal	12/--	6/--	Primary
A62	Male	42	School principal	5/--	17/--	High
A63	Male	26	Teacher	4/---	----	Middle
A64	Male	35	Assistant principal	4/---	9/---	Middle
A65	Male	41	School principal	5/--	12/--	Middle
A66	Male	27	Teacher	4/--	---	High