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REPORT ON ANALYSIS FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL SYRIAN CHILDREN

TÜRKİYE COUNTRY REPORT

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Türkiye, 2021

For further information, please contact:

UNICEF Türkiye, Education Section
Email: ankara@unicef.org

UNICEF Türkiye Country Office
Yıldız Kule Is Merkezi Turan Gunes Blv.No: 106 Floor: 7,
Ankara, Türkiye

T: +90 312 454 1000
F: +90 312 496 1461

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TÜRKİYE COUNTRY REPORT

FOREWORD

For the past six years, Türkiye has hosted the largest number of refugees globally. Of the over four million refugees and asylum-seekers in Türkiye, more than 3.6 million are from Syria, and over 1.7 million are children. Despite substantial challenges posed by the influx of refugees, the Government of Türkiye and many other social sector partners have made laudable efforts in the past decade to welcome, include, and integrate Syrian refugees into all aspects of Turkish society, including the education system.

As a result, Türkiye's percentage of out-of-school children (OOSC) fell by nearly 30 per cent between 2014 and 2020. However, almost 400,000 refugee children remain out of school. While access to education continues to expand, the rate of progress has decreased in recent years. To understand why, UNICEF and the Ministry of National Education in Türkiye commissioned a mixed-methods study to complement efforts to include every refugee child in education. This exemplifies a strong partnership between policymakers, practitioners, and researchers to catalyse results for children through evidence-based action.

The importance of this research increases within the context of learning recovery in the COVID-19 pandemic and the most recent earthquakes in February 2023. Out-of-school or at-risk children could be particularly vulnerable to these different crises' social and economic impacts, as they exacerbate the risks of exclusion and learning loss. The study used robust processes and rigorous analysis to derive OOSC's profiles and analyse barriers that have led to their exclusion. The study includes good practices undertaken by various partners, identifies gaps in the current approaches to addressing these barriers, and provides policy recommendations to move forward effectively.

Thus, bold investments are required to ensure that the next generation of otherwise disadvantaged or vulnerable children begins on a stronger footing, finishes compulsory education, and more of them access higher education opportunities. These efforts will positively change children's life trajectories and set them on a path towards breaking cycles of poverty and disadvantage. I hope this comprehensive document encourages collective action and efforts from all of us, underpinned by multi-sectoral synergies and actions to ensure quality, inclusive and sustained access to supportive services, especially education.

Paolo MARCHI
UNICEF Representative to Türkiye

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In the Government of Türkiye, under the overall leadership of MoNE, UNICEF deeply appreciates the collaboration and guidance through the Strategy Development Department for supporting the actualisation of this study. It also acknowledges the technical contributions from Lifelong Learning General Directorate, Basic Education General Directorate; Secondary Education General Directorate; Vocational and Technical Education and Training General Directorate; Religious Education General Directorate; Special Education and Counselling Services General Directorate and Teacher Training and Development General Directorate. Significant guidance was obtained from the Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFSS) and the Ministry of Justice (MoJ).

Various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been instrumental in reaching the target group and implementing the research by collecting qualitative data. UNICEF wants to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of the Turkish Red Crescent (TRC), the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), Support to Life (STL), Development Workshop, Tohum Autism Foundation, the Down Syndrome Association, Association of Dreams Without Disabilities Istanbul, Parıltı Support to the Children with Visual Impairments Association Istanbul, Gap Regional Development Administration (GAP RDA), Concern Worldwide and The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Türkiye (TEGV) who provided significant resources, playing a pivotal role in shaping the study's direction and outcomes.

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This study could not have been undertaken without funding from European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) and the Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration (BPRM) in the United States Department of State. Design and translation of the final study were realized through the efforts of Formato Verde, Boğaziçi Çeviri Hizmetleri Ltd. Şirketi, and Sahra Çeviri Hizmetleri Ltd. Şirketi.

UNICEF is grateful for the many contributors who made the knowledge contained in this study accessible to inform policy and practice. Because of these efforts, UNICEF and collaborators will be better able to advance results for children, especially vulnerable refugee children.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Meaning
3RP	Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan
5DE	5 Dimensions of Exclusion
7DE	7 Dimensions of Exclusion
ACPU	Association for Combating Poverty and Unemployment
ALP	Accelerated Learning Programme
ANER	Adjusted Net Enrolment Rate
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
CCTE	Conditional Cash Transfer for Education
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CwD	Children with Disabilities
DGLLL	Directorate General of Lifelong Learning
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EBA	Eğitim Bilişim Ağı / Education Information Network
EC	European Commission
ECE	Early Childhood Education
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net
EU	European Union
EUTF	European Union Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FRIT	The European Union Facility for Refugees in Türkiye
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GNI	Gross National Income
GRCs/RAM	Guidance and Research Centres/Rehberlik ve Araştırma Merkezi
HWS	Homework Support
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ID	Identity Card
IDI	In-depth Interview
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISAIS	Integrated Social Assistance Information System

Acronym	Meaning
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LFIP	Law on Foreigners and International Protection
MEBİM	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İletişim Merkezi
MoFSS	Ministry of Family and Social Services
MoFLSS	Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services
MoI	Ministry of Interior
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
MoYS	Ministry of Youth and Sports
NDA	Non-Disclosure Agreement
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OOS	Out-of-School
OOSC	Out-of-School Children
OOSCI	The Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children
PICTES	Promoting the Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System
PIKTES II	Promoting the Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System
REP	Remedial Education Programme
SAVE	Schooling Adolescents Through Vocational Education
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SED	Social and Economic Support
SSE	Support for School Enrolment Programme
STL	Support to Life
SUYE	Social Adaptation and Living Training
SVEP/SGEP	Syrian Volunteer Education Personnel / Suriyeli Gönüllü Eğitici Personeli
TECs	Temporary Education Centres
TL	Turkish Lira
TLC	Turkish Language Course
TPM	Third Party Monitoring
TPSs	Turkish Public Schools
TRC	Turkish Red Crescent
TUIK/TURKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
UTP	Under Temporary Protection
YOBIS	Foreign Student Information Management System
YÖS	Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenci Sınavı / Foreign Student Exam

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children (OOSCI), which UNICEF and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (UIS) launched in 2010, is a key component of global monitoring of educational participation. The OOSCI supports the inter-related tasks of developing profiles of out-of-school children (OOSC), linking quantitative and qualitative data with various barriers, and identifying effective policies to address the OOSC problem (UNICEF-UIS, 2015). The initiative has the country, regional and global dimensions and aims to achieve action-oriented research and capacity development-related results (UNICEF, Formative evaluation of the Out-of-School Children Initiative (OOSCI), 2018a).

Almost all Turkish children complete primary and lower-secondary education levels. However, the influx of approximately 4 million Syrian (and other) refugees since 2011, including nearly 2 million children, has created a unique situation regarding vulnerability and OOSC (UNICEF, 2019a). The Turkish government has made a commendable effort to address the refugee humanitarian crisis. UNICEF recently conducted research, which shows that substantial progress has been made in enrolling Syrian children Under Temporary Protection (UTP) in school (UNICEF, 2019c). Nevertheless, the results from a number of data sources show that many Syrian children UTP are still not enrolling in school, and there are other problems, such as overage enrolment (UNICEF, 2019c). This in turn highlights the importance of additional research, including new data collected in the field, to deepen the understanding of the prevalence of OOSC among the refugee population, the different problems related to OOSC, and the underlying causes of being out of school in Türkiye.

The overall objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of OOSC in Türkiye among the refugee population based on a quantitative and qualitative (mixed methods) research framework. The focus is on barriers hindering refugee children's access to, and completion of, compulsory education in Türkiye. This includes a large number of often inter-related factors such as poverty, child labour, early and forced marriage, bullying, school quality and access, cultural norms and language. Cross-cutting issues like gender are also emphasised. The quantitative data are drawn from existing sources that cover the 2016–2017 through 2019–2020 school years (coverage varies by source), while the qualitative data were obtained through a survey conducted specifically for this study in November 2020 and March 2021.

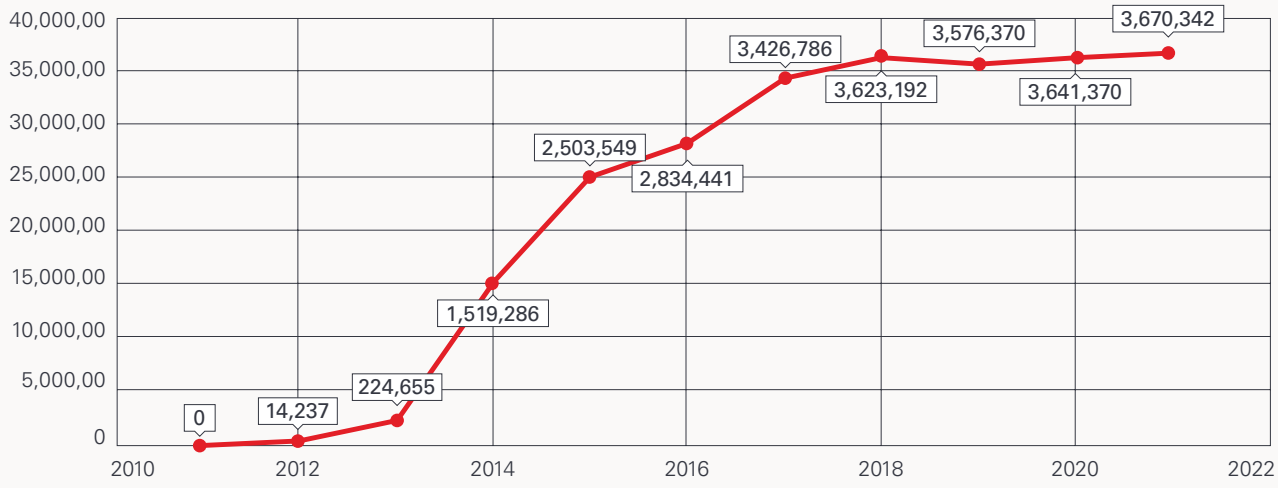
The added value of this study is that it provides the most detailed, comprehensive overview of the OOSC problem among Syrians UTP to date. The quantitative analysis takes full advantage of the considerable data that are available on Syrian UTP, including a separate Syrian sample in the 2018 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), while the qualitative analysis includes new data from an extensive data collection process, focusing on the underlying reasons that explain OOSC according to children, their parents, and a range of key informants.

Finally, a core objective of the study is to provide policy guidance. The refugee situation has presented an enormous challenge for Turkish policy-makers, and there have been policy changes and shifts, with resulting policy gaps, that have potentially far-reaching implications for educating the refugee population. This report provides an integrated analysis that assesses the effectiveness and applicability of current policies based on the main findings from the mixed-methods data analysis, which in turn forms the basis for formulating an updated set of policy recommendations.

BACKGROUND: THE SYRIA CRISIS AND EDUCATION SYSTEM RESPONSE

Türkiye hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, and the combination of sheer numbers and the government's commitment to international standards for treatment of refugees, with the attendant requirements for providing protection and access to services, has generated a number of extra responsibilities on the host country. After the outbreak of civil war in Syria in 2011, the influx trend in the number of Syrians UTP as of 28 April 2021, is given in Figure below (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2021).

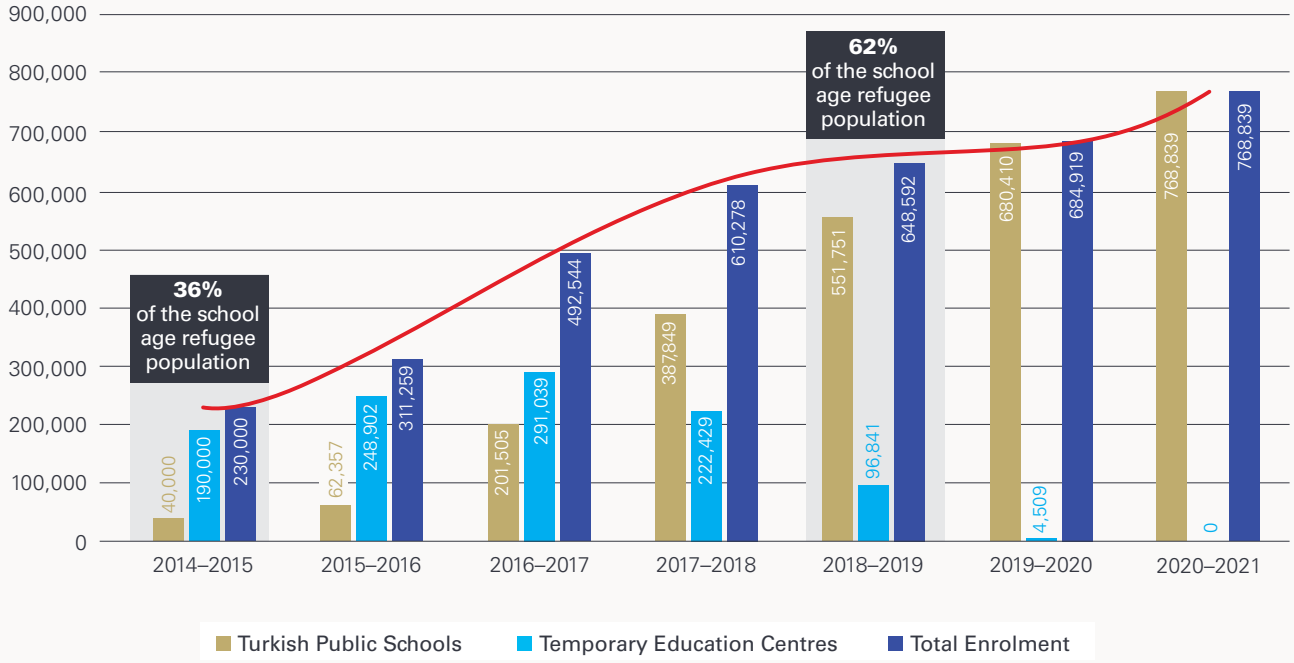
Figure 1a:
Number of Syrian UTP Population by Years



Source: MoI (2021).

Syrian refugees benefit from 'temporary protection' under the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) of 2013, and the Temporary Protection Regulation of 2014. This status entitles them to protection as well as access to various services and opportunities (UNICEF, 2019c). Non-Syrian families that are in the process of applying for refugee or asylum status also have access to services like public education for their children. The education of Syrians UTP in Türkiye is secured via both national legislation and international treaties. The right to education in Türkiye is clearly stated in Article 42 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic as, "*No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education*". In addition, the right to education of individuals UTP is covered in Article 28 of the Regulation on Temporary Protection (Official Journal dated October 22, 2014), stated as "*The education activities of foreigners in and out of the temporary shelter centres are enforced under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MoNE)*".

Figure 2a:
Transition from TECs to Turkish Public Schools by Year, 2015–2021



Source: UNICEF (2019b).

When the mass influx of Syrians started in 2011, the Turkish government began to develop ways to respond to the educational needs of Syrians UTP. The first policies assumed that the crisis in Syria would not last long and that Syrians UTP would return to their country. But over time this strategy changed with a new goal of integration to take place by gradually closing down Temporary Education Centres (TECs) over a three-year period and integrating the Syrian children UTP in Turkish Public Schools (TPS). As of the end of the 2019–2020 school year all TECs were closed and in September 2020 all Syrian children UTP were mainstreamed in TPS (Figure 2a). The number of Syrian children UTP enrolled in school in the 2014–2015 academic year has increased from 230,000 to 768,839 with an almost triple increase in the 2020–2021 academic year.

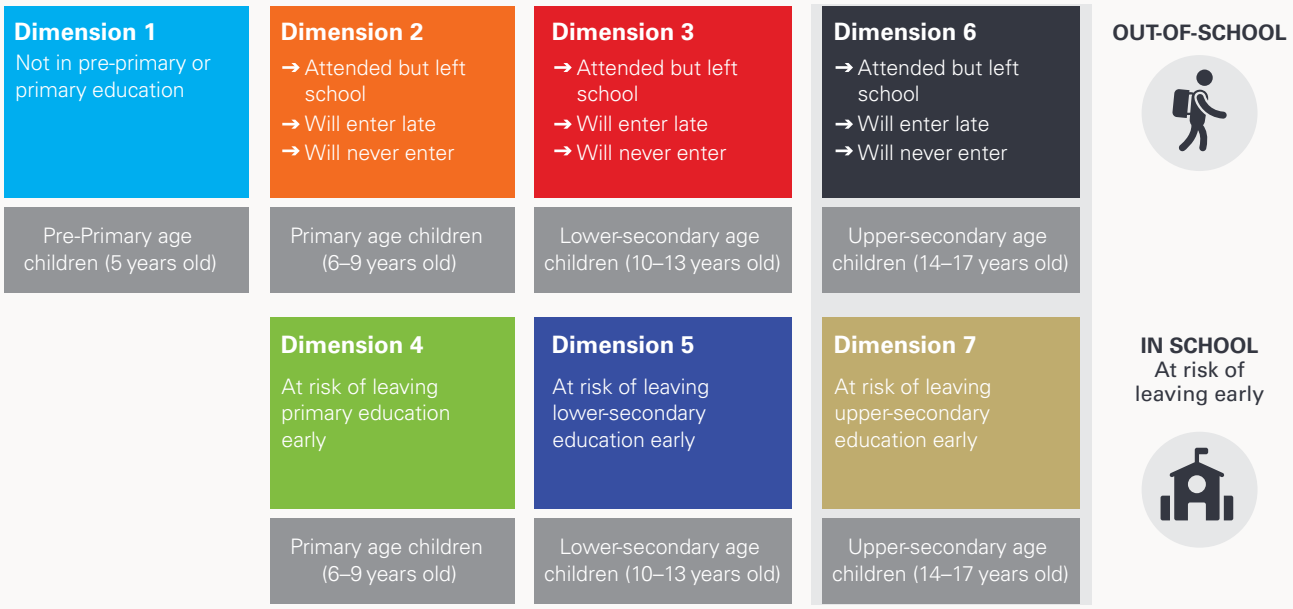
The transition from TEC to TPS has been accompanied by a number of policy initiatives to further support the educational adaptation of the Syrian children UTP. These include: the creation of the Department of Migration and Emergency Education (DMEE, established in 2016), development of adaptation classes to improve foreign student Turkish language skills, and curriculum development to further strengthen the integration of foreign students.

OOSC ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND DATA ANALYSIS

The Dimensions of Exclusion

The Global OOSCI incorporates different categories of OOSC, together with children who are at risk of dropping out of school, to develop a comprehensive overview of educational exclusion. The standard OOSCI framework is referred to as the 5 Dimensions of Exclusion (5DE) and covers pre-primary through to lower-secondary level (UNICEF-UIS, 2015). However, in the context of compulsory 4+4+4 education in Türkiye it is necessary to extend the framework to include the upper-secondary level ('high school'), which requires two additional dimensions (6 and 7) as shown in Figure 3a below.

Figure 3a:
The OOSC Dimensions of Exclusion Adapted to the Turkish Education System



Source: (UNICEF, 2019c).

The seven-dimension framework in Figure 3a above covers four distinct levels of education in Türkiye, including pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary. The primary, lower and upper-secondary levels correspond to International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) levels 1, 2 and 3[1]. For the 5-year olds in Dimension 1 of the OOSC 7DE, the corresponding ISCED level is "02", which includes children ages 3–5 and does not specifically include 5-year olds only.

Within the general group of OOSC there are three sub-categories of interest. "*Attended but left school*" refers to school drop-outs who have enrolled in school in their home country or in Türkiye at some point but are no longer enrolled. "*Will enter late*" mainly references primary-aged children who have not yet enrolled in primary school but are expected to do so. "*Will never enter*" references children who have not enrolled in school and are not expected to do so. In the quantitative summaries provided in Section 4 of the report these three sub-categories are estimated, subject to data availability. The total number of OOSC in the country is also summed across the OOSC dimensions (1, 2, 3 and 6), and measured as a percentage (or rate) of the total child population for that age range. Pre-primary is not compulsory in Türkiye, but children in this age category can still be analysed to provide guidance ahead of the anticipated transition to universal (i.e., compulsory) pre-primary.

Understanding Why Children Are Not in School

For this study a comprehensive overview of barriers and bottlenecks derived from supply and demand factors has been developed on the basis of the available literature and previous OOSC studies that UNICEF prepared in different countries. In this context, the basis of the systematic approach for analysing the risk factors for out-of-school (OOS) phenomenon is adopted and adjusted from the Global OOSCI Operational Manual of UNICEF (2015). The demand-side barriers refer to the determinants linked to the demand for education, i.e., the factors related to the target population utilising education services. The supply-side barriers refer to the determinants linked to the supply of education services, i.e., the factors stemming from and within the education system. From the available literature and studies, demand-side barriers are identified as socio-cultural, human capital- and health-related barriers and economic barriers. Also, supply-side barriers are identified as school administrative regulations-related barriers, and school supply, quality and relevance-related barriers and governance, finance and institutional barriers.

Those five groups of barriers are then tailored to the Turkish context under the first four categories and governance, finance and institutional factors are discussed under the title of policy analysis. Different from the existing literature, a fifth category is added in relation to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on education, both the demand-side and supply-side barriers. This structure is used for both the national (Turkish) and refugee populations. It should be noted that various barriers do not impact all children equally, as OOSC rates often vary significantly by gender, age group and region.

To better organize the indicators for the specific task of understanding OOSC, the main supply- and demand-side barriers to education were overlaid onto four phases of educational participation among refugee children. The first two phases are related to the initial decision to enrol in school (Phase 1), and then the actual enrolment (or registration) process (Phase 2). Once the child has entered school, they then begin the adaptation phase (Phase 3) that is especially relevant given the transition (for Syrian children UTP) from TEC to TPS. And finally, there is the school participation phase (Phase 4) that includes sub-categories intended to align with the OOSCI dimensions: students who are regularly attending, students who are frequently absent and are therefore at risk of dropping out, and students who have stopped going to school (drop-outs).

In each phase of the educational participation there are various supply- and demand-side factors that potentially affect these outcomes. **The overall goal of this study is to fill in as much detail as possible related to the barriers that prevent refugee children from participating in school in these different phases and, when possible, align these barriers with different categories of OOSC.**

1 See the "new" 2011 ISCED levels: ISCED 2011 Operational Manual: Guidelines for Classifying National Education Programmes and Related Qualifications (OECD/Eurostat/UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015), http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264228368-en.

Research Objectives

There are three main groups of research objectives.

Research Objective 1: Updating and deepening the analysis of quantitative indicators of OOSC and school enrolment among Syrian children UTP.

One of the core activities in OOSC reporting is to present detailed summaries of the Dimensions of Exclusion across different school levels, ideally with comparisons over time to assess recent trends in these core indicators. Example questions include the following:

1. How many Syrian children UTP (in numbers and in percentages) are currently out of school by level, divided into never enrolled and drop-out categories?
2. How have the raw numbers and percentages (rates) evolved over time (2014–present)? Has there been consistent improvement in reducing OOSC among Syrians UTP, or has the progress levelled off in recent years?
3. Among Syrian children UTP who are enrolled in school, how many are in the correct grade for their age? Does this data vary based on gender?

Research Objective 2: What are the barriers that prevent Syrian children UTP from going to school?

This is the largest research area in this study, especially considering the Syrian children UTP in different Dimensions of Exclusion and the potentially long list of barriers associated with each dimension. As noted above, one of the main goals of the barriers analysis is to provide a comprehensive, updated list of barriers that helps fill in gaps in the existing knowledge base regarding Syrian children UTP who are out of school or at risk of dropping out of school in Türkiye.

Additionally, across the analysis of barriers there are three cross-cutting issues that receive attention. These include:

1. How do the identified barriers differ by schooling level and the child's age?
2. How do the effects of the barriers vary between boys and girls?
3. How have the identified barriers evolved over time? Are some barriers no longer prevalent? Are there barriers that are relatively new?

The final set of questions related to barriers address an issue of fundamental importance for OOSC research, policy and programming in Türkiye: What are the most important barriers that explain OOSC? A lot of research has been conducted related to OOSC among Syrians UTP in Türkiye, including on key barriers like child labour. Therefore, it is understandable that stakeholders want a better understanding of the 'hierarchy' of barriers and their relative importance, instead of simply summarising *all* of the barriers that are present.

Research Objective 3: What are the implications of the main findings for Syrian OOSC UTP policy?

The basic policy analysis sequence has already been described, and involves four stages:

1. Establishing the official (or intended) policy related to the Syrian children UTP;
2. Assessing local official understanding of policy and programme features;
3. Analysing the actual implementation of the official policy and regulations as they relate to the main OOSC categories; and
4. Assessing the overall effectiveness of policy implementation and making recommendations on how it can be improved.

More specific questions include:

1. What policies have been working, and why?
2. What policies have not been working, and why?
3. What are the policy gaps? What is missing?
4. What kinds of policy adaptations and adjustments have occurred? How have these changes come about (from below, from above, etc.)?
5. In addition to improving the design of policies and regulations, how can implementation be improved?

Quantitative Data Analysis

The quantitative analysis takes advantage of the enormous amount of data that is available in relation to Syrian children UTP and their families' experiences in Türkiye. This makes it possible to assess OOSC trends over time, as well as to focus in on specific sub-categories of OOSC using a range of statistical techniques.

There are three main data sources that are used in the secondary quantitative data analysis in this report:

1. **MoNE Official Data:** The MoNE provides annual summaries (with periodic updates) on Syrian UTP enrolment. This information is necessary for establishing overall trends and enrolment rates among the Syrian UTP population and is also available by province.

2. **UNICEF Monitoring Data:** UNICEF, together with government and other partners, carried out a series of large sample surveys across the 2016–2019 period covering four school years (2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019 and 2019–2020). The monitoring data provides extensive coverage across provinces and school years, with information on enrolment rates and reasons for non-enrolment among out of school children in all surveys, and additional information related to schooling experiences and barriers in some individual surveys.

3. **Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2018:** In addition to the standard national sampling framework covering Turkish citizens, the DHS 2018 included a large sample of Syrian families UTP that were stratified by camp and non-camp residence[2]. The DHS is a valuable resource that can be used to generate detailed summaries of OOSC across various dimensions in addition to providing information on a number of key barriers like child labour and early marriage.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative research aims to explore the answers to the research question of why Syrian children UTP are out of school or at risk of dropping out in Türkiye. The specific goal of the qualitative research is to analyse the relationship between the causes, i.e., bottlenecks and barriers, and effects, for being out of school or at risk of dropping out. In that sense, qualitative research aims to complement the quantitative analysis, which reveals the degree and extent of challenges related to OOSC, to put it in a perspective and deepen its findings with the analysis of the underlying bottlenecks and barriers hindering Syrian children's access to, and completion of, compulsory education in Türkiye.

Qualitative research focuses on *a general analysis* of the barriers and bottlenecks for two main categories of Syrian children UTP: children at risk of dropping out (Dimension 5 and 7) and OOSC (Dimension 3 and 6). In addition, the qualitative research provides *four separate case studies* on five sub-categories of OOSC who have been or are exposed to multiple vulnerabilities, identified in line with the special interest and priorities of UNICEF: children with disabilities; child labour; children in conflict with the law, particularly children under probation; and early and forced marriage.

The thematic framework of the qualitative research is developed on the basis of the four categories of barriers from the existing literature and drawing on the guidance the OOSCI provided, with some adaptation to the Turkish context. **In this context, four dimensions of barriers presented in this report are as follows:**

1. Socio-cultural, human capital- and health-related barriers (demand-side);
2. Economic barriers (demand-side);
3. School administrative regulations-related barriers (supply-side);
4. School supply, quality and relevance-related barriers (supply-side).

Different from the existing literature, a fifth dimension is added in relation to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on education both the demand-side and supply side factors. "Governance, finance and institutional" dimension is considered as a part of the enabling environment for the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP and is separately structured in relation to the policy analysis of education governance in Türkiye.

This thematic framework guides the collection of new and extensive qualitative data on the barriers and bottlenecks, and their qualitative analysis. Those dimensions are developed from a literature survey, to inform and complement the qualitative data collection and analysis. In addition, the existing policies that are relevant to those barriers and bottlenecks are also explored as a part of the qualitative research in the policy analysis section.

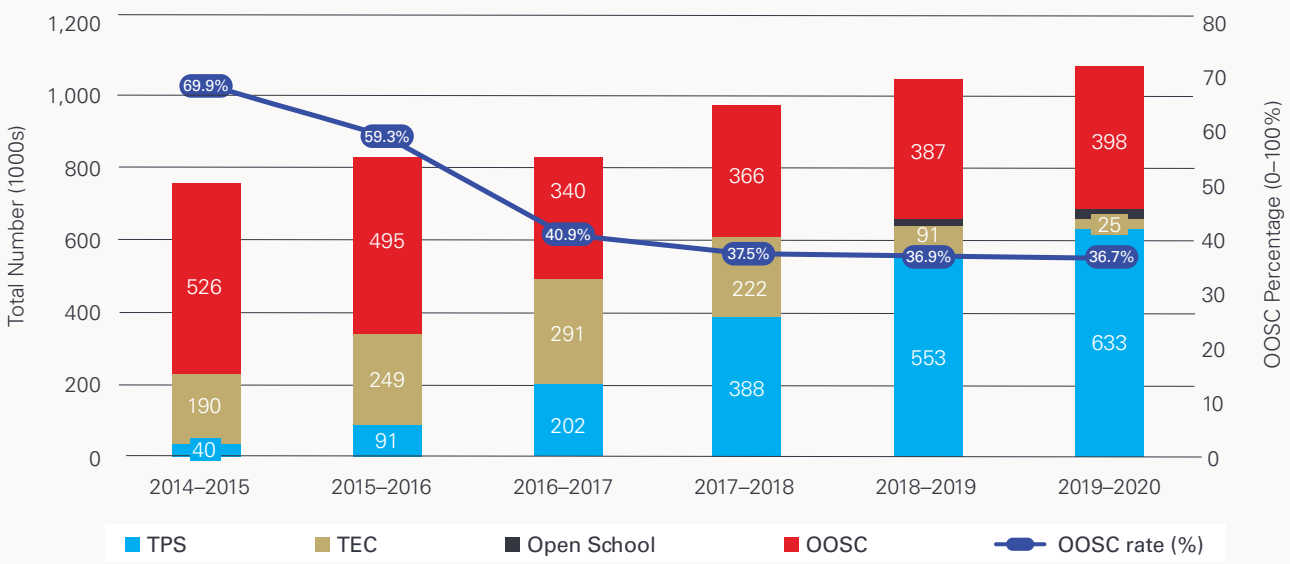
2 Although it should be noted that by the time of the DHS 2018 survey (late 2018 and early 2019) relatively few Syrian UTP families were living in refugee camps.

Qualitative analysis in this study aims to provide an evidence-based overview of all possible barriers to education for the Syrian children UTP by analysing a wide range of possible risk factors leading to those barriers. It should be underlined that the findings of the qualitative analysis cannot be generalised to, nor are they experienced at the same degree by, the overall population of Syrian children UTP. This is due to the fact that the qualitative data collected and analysed for this study are collected only from and for a segment of Syrian children UTP population who are specifically at risk of drop out or who are out of school at the time of the interviews. In addition, the qualitative analysis presents the perceptions and experiences of those in the study sample, which is another factor that prevents any generalisations. Still, the qualitative data help identify a comprehensive list of barriers classified under the demand-side and supply-side factors to be able to inform policy measures through recommendations.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: MAIN FINDINGS

The main finding in the quantitative summary is that the percentage of Syrian children UTP who are out of school has declined substantially since the initial years of the Syrian refugee crisis (2013–2015), but this rate of progress has clearly levelled off in recent years (Figure 4a). The MoNE enrolment figures show that over 70 per cent of Syrians UTP aged 5–17 were out of school in the 2014–2015 school year, which has fallen to under 40 per cent in recent years. However, this OOSC rate has improved only very slightly between 2016 and 2020 across the entire school age range.

Figure 4a:
Raw Totals of Enrolled and Non-Enrolled Syrian Children UTP Aged 5–17 with OOSC Percentage, 2014–2020



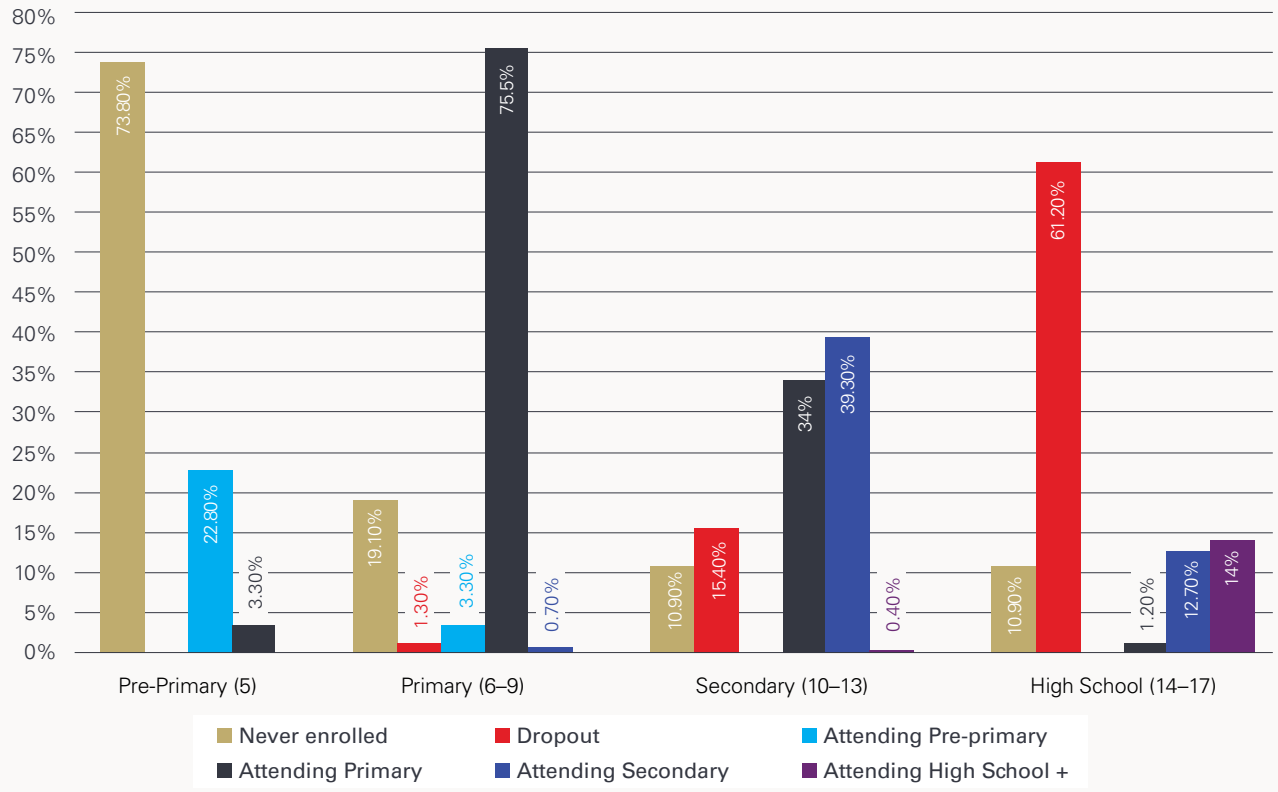
Source: MoNE, various years.

Although there have been significant decreases in OOSC rates since 2014, the fact that the OOSC rate has not reduced as much in recent years highlights the challenges of getting these children into school, especially as vulnerable Syrian families continue to arrive in Türkiye. Two sets of factors stand out. Firstly, there are likely to be persistent barriers to education for Syrian children UTP related to demand-side pressures. And secondly, the levelling off of Syrian UTP enrolment rates in recent years has coincided with the period where Syrian students UTP were transitioning from TECs to TPS, which opens the door potentially to a large number of barriers related to registration, language accommodation and social integration in the public-school system. Again, these issues will be explored in much more detail in subsequent sections.

The trends for age and gender are also central to the quantitative summary and help to identify the key pressure points for additional analysis and policy responses. For age there are three findings that stand out. Firstly, the combination of limited physical space in pre-primary schools in certain residential areas and an apparent preference among Syrian families UTP for late entry means that a large percentage of 5-year olds are not in school. Secondly, enrolment rates for Syrian children UTP aged 7–11 are in the 80–90 per cent range[3], so it is important to note that the vast majority of young Syrian children UTP are enrolling in school in Türkiye. However, enrolment rates drop off quickly as these children enter their teenage years.

The makeup of OOSC varies considerably across the four schooling levels (Figure 5a). Almost all of the pre-primary- and primary-aged children who are not in school will eventually enrol, and very few (about 1 per cent) of these children have already dropped out of school. For lower- and upper-secondary-aged children the makeup of OOSC is very different. For instance, 11 per cent of these older children have never entered school, but the larger group (especially in upper-secondary) is made up of children who have entered school but dropped out. **Most of the drop-outs appear to be children who entered school in Syria but have not made the transition to school in Türkiye.**

Figure 5a:
OOSC Summaries for Syrians UTP Ages 5–17, 2018 DHS[4]



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample size in 2018 DHS is 3,612.

3 While the net pre-primary enrolment rate in Syria before 2011 was 10.64 per cent, the net pre-primary enrolment rate of Syrian students UTP in Türkiye in 2021 is 22.8 per cent.

4 Findings of the research conducted by Hacettepe University.

For gender the main finding is that after the age of 10, Syrian girls UTP are significantly more likely to be enrolled in school than boys. This result holds across different data sources (UNICEF monitoring, DHS). This finding does suggest a need to dig deeper into why boys are less likely to be in school (see barriers analysis in Sections 5 and 6). But given the large numbers of boys and girls out of school – and the likelihood that the reasons for OOSC vary substantially by gender – there is clearly a need to follow up on the gender theme in subsequent qualitative and policy areas of the analysis.

Finally, the detailed summaries of OOSC based on the official OOSCI framework provide additional guidance related to both recent trends and the overall scope of the OOSC problem among Syrians UTP. There are two important adjustments that are necessary for counting Syrian children UTP who are out of school. Firstly, there is the overage enrolment issue, which is massive: roughly half of lower-secondary-aged Syrian children UTP enrolled in school are still in primary grades. These children are not included in counts of OOSC in this study, but they clearly need to be a point of emphasis given the various problems associated with being overage (adaptation issues, risk of dropping out, etc.).

Secondly, OOSC numbers (and rates) decrease considerably when correcting for eventual entry among the 5–7-year olds who are out of school. This does not mean that the non-enrolment of these children is not a problem. There are clearly issues related to pre-primary and late entry that need to be addressed. But when allowing for eventual entry the "real" rate of OOSC among Syrians UTP aged 5–17 is closer to 30 per cent.

Most of the OOS Syrian children UTP are concentrated in the high school age range, and among this age cohort relatively few have dropped out of school in Türkiye (e.g., they have never enrolled in school in Türkiye). The next biggest group is for the 10–13-year-old cohort where the OOSC include a mixture of children who have never entered school in Türkiye and those who have dropped out from a Turkish school. Among primary aged children (6–9 years old) almost all children are in primary school, pre-primary or will likely enter primary school eventually (i.e., late entry). And rounding out the official OOSCI framework categories are the children who are at risk of dropping out of school. Based on overage enrolment and the frequency of absences there is a sizeable proportion (20 per cent or more) of lower- and upper-secondary children who appear to be at risk for leaving school before completing high school.

In sum, the detailed summaries of enrolment and OOSC numbers and rates by OOSCI dimension, age range, gender and region are a necessary first step in the analysis of OOSC among Syrian UTP, and for showing how this problem has evolved over time. However, this is not sufficient, and what is missing from the quantitative summaries of OOSC is an understanding of why these rates differ by age and gender, which is the focus of the barriers and policy analysis in subsequent sections.

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BARRIERS ANALYSIS: MAIN FINDINGS

The demand-side factors are categorised as socio-cultural, human capital- and health-related factors and economic factors. The supply-side factors are grouped as school administrative regulations and school supply and quality. In addition, although the qualitative field research did not include any specific questions on the COVID-19 pandemic, the research was designed before the outbreak of the pandemic, and the effects of the pandemic on the education of Syrian children UTP have still emerged from the qualitative data.

Among **socio-cultural factors, gender-based** norms emerge as the most relevant factor for the Syrian children UTP. The analysis clearly shows that most of the expectations of the Syrian parents UTP for their children is to get education. Although gender-based norms are visible in terms of children's domestic responsibilities (where girls are more responsible for household chores, and boys with more outdoor responsibilities), they do not seem to act as a barrier as most of the children indicated they do not spend too much time on domestic responsibilities, nor did they voice any particularly negative effect of those responsibilities on their well-being.

However, there are also some other demand-side factors such as economic difficulties, family size and health status of the household members, etc., that could increase the severity of the impact of domestic responsibilities on the children's education prospects and generate a gendered- and age-related impact on children. In those cases, the older girls can be observed to take over more domestic responsibilities, and older boys may end up in the labour market, resulting in more non-attendance or school drop-outs. In terms of gender norms, a severe bottleneck is early and forced marriages, especially of girls at the upper-secondary level. The analysis shows that early marriages are likely to increase if the girls are out of school, because the school may act as a mechanism to protect children from unwanted early marriages.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Family expectations from the children shaped by gender norms	*		*	***	**
Children's domestic responsibilities	**	*	*	***	**
Early and forced marriages	*		*	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Human capital as a demand-side factor has different elements. A quite positive observation concerning human capital is the high levels of appreciation, which both Syrian parents UTP and their children place on education. Almost none of the respondents in the qualitative study sample denied the importance of education for the children and they provided a wide perspective on the benefits of education and schooling. This makes it possible to assume that non-attendance and school drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP are not likely to stem from not valuing education but depend on other reasons. Among those reasons, the language barrier stands out. It is evident from the analysis that the lack of Turkish language skills has an impact on school non-attendance and drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP.

A variation could be observed in terms of the year of arrival of the children to Türkiye. For the children spending more time in Türkiye or even the ones born in Türkiye have more chances to get competent in the Turkish language. Many other demand-side factors also affect the level of language skills for the children, such as the number of household members speaking in Turkish language, engagement in language support activities, the level of integration within the local community, and the schooling experiences of children. It is clear from the qualitative analysis that Syrian children UTP who are not competent in Turkish may face a variety of problems in relation to the benefits from schooling. They experience communication problems and poor academic performance at school, which are observed to be likely to result in non-attendance and school drop-out. The prior Syrian education norms and experiences seem to affect the OOSC more as they affect the level of awareness of the parents about the education system and schooling options.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Not valuing education	*			**	*
Lack of language skills	***	*	**	***	**
Low academic performance	***	*	**	***	**
Prior Syrian education norms/experiences	**		*	**	*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Qualitative data show that when **health-related factors** exist, they act as barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP. The most prominent barrier is having disabilities as it appears as a major reason for never enrolling to school or leaving school at a certain level of education. Compared to disability, illness of the children acts more as a factor for high levels of absence from school, mostly in the form of excused non-attendances.

An important observation is that disability and illness do not only negatively affect the school prospects of that particular child but also of other children in the household. Disability and illness bring additional economic costs or care responsibilities, which sometimes other children undertake, that can then affect their schooling, especially for older boys and girls.

Another aspect of health-related factors appears as the psycho-social effects of poverty that are visible among the Syrian children UTP. Although this factor is generally not severe enough to act alone, it combines with other reasons to affect the child's schooling. In the qualitative data there were not any instances of children engaged in extreme forms of child labour. However, child labour itself is a demanding experience both physically and psychologically, and its risks for children are considered further under the economic barriers below.

Under the health-related factors, the traumatic effects of war and migration experiences seem to affect older children more. Domestic violence is observed as a barrier for Syrian girls UTP from the qualitative data. In this regard, the role of school as an intervention mechanism for protecting the well-being of children is very significant. Pregnancy appears as a very specific barrier for girls at the 14–17 age group, which results in school drop-outs.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Disability of the children	***	**	**	***	**
Illness of the children	**	**	***	**	***
Psycho-social effects: Stigma of poverty	**	*	**	***	**
Traumatic effects: War and migration experiences	**	*	**	**	**
Traumatic effects: Domestic violence (mostly for girls)	**	**	**	**	**
Pregnancy (for girls only)	*			***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

The analysis shows that **social cohesion** may act as a prominent barrier to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, although progress in years has also been reported. With regard to levels of social cohesion, the qualitative analysis suggests that in the study sample there are basically two types of Syrian UTP households: those who are settled down and have better integrated into the society, local community and education system; and those who still face problems in terms of different aspects of social cohesion. For the latter category, it is mostly the OOSC, both girls and boys, who are observed to be influenced by the lack of or limited social cohesion and by the barriers such as lack of friends/social isolation, difficulties in integration to local community, and peer bullying.

It is also possible to see that all of those barriers are causally related to each other. For example, experiencing challenges in integration with local community or concerns about with local people create security concerns, to result in isolation of the children from the society even at their closer environments such as the neighbourhood. Such effects narrow down the spaces of children, including their opportunities of benefiting from education.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Lack of friends/social isolation	***	*	**	***	**
Integration with local communities	***	*	**	***	**
Security concerns	***	**	**	***	*
Peer bullying	***	*	**	***	**
Bullying/on the way to school	**	*	**	**	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

The qualitative data highlight **the lack of resources and poverty as a category of economic barriers** that are the most prevalent and serious obstacles among all of the barriers, with negative effects on school attendance and enrolment of Syrian children UTP. As the income of the households mostly depend on the fathers' work and the number of household members are usually high, high costs of living tend to mostly pull the sons out of school due to the need to contribute to the family budget through work.

The high costs of living can become an even more serious barrier in cases where fathers cannot work, then it becomes almost impossible for some of the children not to work instead. Thus, child labour can be observed as a barrier for older boys (ages 10–13 and 14–17) who are out of school, and also affects the at-risk boys at both age groups. School-related expenses are another economic barrier that affects girls and boys, regardless whether they are OOS or at-risk children. School-related costs go even higher when the transportation costs are added, particularly for the children at lower- and upper-secondary levels. Combined with other economic problems of the households, most of the time older boys leave the school to work and to ensure that their younger siblings can attend school.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
High cost of living	***	*	**	***	**
School-related expenses	***	**	***	***	***
Child labour	***	*	**	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Another economic barrier is related to **migration and family mobility** of the Syrian UTP households. One observation is that the more years households spend in Türkiye, the more likely children are to be in schools. However, high levels of family mobility of the households bring together a number of barriers for the children's education, particularly affecting those households that have recently arrived in Türkiye. Households mostly move due to economic reasons such as to be able to find a job, to lower the living costs, or to benefit from the social networks of their friends or relatives in different cities. This mobility affects the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP when the families have difficulties with transferring their certificate of residences to the city of destination.

In addition, it becomes difficult for the schools to follow up with the children registered in the e-School system, especially when the family did not inform the authorities about their mobility. Family mobility seems to equally impact all children: OOSC seem to continue to remain out of school. At-risk children may face additional challenges as a consequence of family mobility, thus risking the continuity of their education in the city of destination.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
High levels of household mobility	**	***	***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

As an aspect of **school administrative regulations, school enrolment** issues seem to point out to particular types of barriers for the Syrian children UTP. A positive observation from the qualitative analysis is that a majority of Syrian parents UTP are informed about the enrolment procedures, and schools and the local environment seem to be helpful for dissemination of information. However, there is still a group of parents, particularly those who recently arrived in Türkiye and lack information (or have incorrect information) about the enrolment procedures.

A major barrier in relation to school administrative regulations emerged as the lack of official documents required for enrolment, namely lack of ID cards, certificates of residence or children's prior education records. Concerning the ID cards, a positive observation is that almost all children who have arrived in Türkiye before 2018 have their ID cards. However, children who do not have an ID card can be observed to remain out of school throughout the procedures of receiving an ID card. This appears as a particular problem among the 6–9 and 10–13 age cohorts as a reason to stay out of school.

Difficulties in transfer of residence certificate creates a very similar barrier for school enrolment for the Syrian children UTP, but particularly for those who were already in school before moving to a new city which may end up with drop-outs or placement in lower grades than their age cohorts.

To overcome the problems with the lack of children's prior education records, introduction of the grade placement mechanism is a positive development.

Although in some cases Syrian children UTP face challenges in registering into TPS, the qualitative analysis shows that registration has generally worked well, particularly for the primary and lower-secondary levels. Once the school enrolment of Syrian children UTP is ensured, a potential prominent reason for school drop-out was observed to appear as age/grade distortion, which is particularly affecting the 10–13 age group for both sexes, as those children could be placed in primary school instead of lower-secondary schools. Maximum age of enrolment also seems a factor that could negatively affect the formal education prospects of children over 14 at the lower-secondary level and children over 18 for the upper-secondary level.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Lack of information by the families	***	**	*	***	*
Lack of registration and ID cards	***			***	
Lack of certificate of residence	**	**	**	**	***
Inability to register in school	**	*	*	**	*
Overage enrolment	**	*	***	**	
Maximum age of enrolment	***		***	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

A second component of MoNE primary and secondary education regulations is **the non-attendance** which are applied in an equal way to all the children registered in primary and secondary education. Both the quantitative and qualitative data show that non-attendance regulations particularly affect the Syrian children UTP at risk of dropping out at Dimension 5 (lower-secondary) and Dimension 7 (upper-secondary level). Non-attendance is observed to be more prevalent among boys compared to girls.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Non-attendance regulations	**		***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Grade transition regulations are the third component of school administrative regulations which may also act as barriers for the Syrian at-risk children UTP aged 10–13 and 14–17. Grade repetitions could end up with the transfer of the children to open schools or vocational education centres (VECs).

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Grade transition regulations	**		***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

School supply-related factors was very positive observation about the existence of a variety of school options for the Syrian children UTP in their transition from the Temporary Education Centres to Turkish Public Schools. The quantitative data show that school enrolment of the Syrian children UTP in all types of public schools: general, Imam Hatip and vocational has steadily increased. In that context, the primary preference of Syrian children UTP and/or of their parents can be observed as the Imam Hatip schools, mostly due to the advantages of Arabic language classes.

One prominent barrier in the context of school supply has emerged as the distance from school which appears as a problem starting from lower-secondary level. This is more prominently at the upper-secondary level and more for girls. In cases where there are no transportation services to schools at particular distances, it was observed to couple with economic problems and security concerns for the children, to act as reasons for irregular attendance, non-attendance and school drop-out.

The analysis shows that one of the barriers of education to the Syrian children UTP is lack of awareness or information about different schooling options such as open schools or VECs. Even though students are automatically referred to open schools under particular conditions, open schools at lower- and upper-secondary levels as another schooling option for the Syrian children UTP does not seem to attract

Syrian children UTP much. From the qualitative data, low levels of open school enrolment seem to stem from a low level of awareness about their availability, language barriers and nature of open education as a system different from the face-to-face education. VECs are a viable education option especially for the OOS and at-risk Syrian children UTP who work. However, the awareness about their existence is also observed to be low among the Syrian children UTP and their parents.

The qualitative analysis also shows the positive impact of other education programmes on the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, particularly that of Turkish language courses or catch-up and back-up education initiatives. Lack of awareness about or limited availability of such educational activities may be considered as concerns which could limit the education prospects of particularly the Syrian OOSC UTP.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Commuting time/distance to school	**	*	**	**	**
Lack of transportation to school		*	**		***
Lack of awareness /information about different schooling options (open schools, VET, VECs)	***		*	***	*
Lack of awareness about other educational activities	***	*	*	***	*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

School resources, as the second component of school supply and quality factor, became the most prominent barrier for the education of Syrian children UTP at all age groups is the limited communication between the school administrations and teachers with the Syrian parents UTP. Although large class sizes may negatively affect the learning prospects of the Syrian children UTP who sometimes require more attention from the teachers, physical conditions of the schools and class sizes do not seem to act as a barrier for these children's education.

Mixed-gender classes, on the other hand, seem to be influential on parents' preferences of school types for their children, especially for girls at the lower- and upper-secondary levels. Learning materials are observed as a barrier when the issue is considered together with the language barriers and to a lesser extent with the content of the curricula. This barrier seems to affect a group of Syrian children UTP with low language skills at lower and secondary levels, especially when the course topics start to get advanced.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Limited communication between the school/teacher and the parents	**	***	***	**	***
Insufficient physical conditions of the schools					
Big class size	*	*	*	*	*
Existence of mixed-gender classes	**		*	**	**
Learning materials/curriculum	**	*	**	**	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Limited communication between the teacher and the Syrian children UTP, stemming from a lack of language skills, is also observed to be a barrier. A complementary aspect is attitudes of the teachers towards the Syrian children UTP.

The qualitative analysis shows that healthy communication between the teacher and the children and positive attitudes of teachers, such as appreciation or care, considerably increase the motivation of children towards education. On the other hand, difficulties in communication with students may also act as a barrier more for the older age groups as the children become more sensitive during adolescence. The challenges teachers face especially in communicating with students who do not speak Turkish did not appear as an influential factor for non-attendance or school drop-outs from the perspective of the children and parents. However, many teachers in the qualitative study sample themselves refer to the need for self-development in terms of communicating more effectively with the Syrian children UTP and overcoming language barriers.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Limited communication between teachers and children	**	*	**	***	**
Teachers' attitude	***	*	**	***	**
Teachers' lack of educational experience	*	*	*	*	*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

Security in school, as the fourth component of school supply and quality, mostly expresses itself in the form of bullying and is clearly a barrier for all age groups and both sexes. The extent of exposure to bullying at school is observed to result in irregular attendance, non-attendance and when combined with other factors such as low academic performance or need to work, and it eventually results in school drop-out.

	Dimensions of Exclusion				
Observed Barriers	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Bullying/school environment	***	***	***	***	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

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COVID-19 Pandemic and Demand-side Barriers

Since March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic has been an influential factor on the conditions of education provision in Türkiye, affecting millions of students, their parents and education staff. Throughout the pandemic, some barriers to children's access and attendance to distance education could be identified from the qualitative data. In general, the negative effects of the pandemic were more evident for the on-going education Syrian at-risk children UTP (Dimension 4, 5 and 7), as not all children in this category could efficiently adapt to distance education. As a result, many Syrian children UTP were reported not to follow or could only have limited and irregular access to distance education.

From the qualitative data, lack of equipment was observed to be the major barrier in that sense for all age groups of Syrian at-risk children UTP. In addition, loss of income for the main earners of the households during the pandemic seemed to create more dependence on child labour to ensure some levels of income for the households.

It is possible to see that due to the pandemic, at-risk boys aged 10–13 became more prone to enter the labour market. This is a factor which is likely to affect their education prospect negatively after the pandemic. For the at-risk girls, it was the increasing domestic responsibilities which were observed to create obstacles for attending distance education regularly.

All children in the qualitative study sample were observed to have experienced some socio-emotional stress to further restrict their chances of well-being and social cohesion. A lack of Turkish language skills emerged as a reason diminishing the effectiveness of the online courses for the children and decreasing their attendance levels.

		Dimensions of Exclusion				
Domain	**Observed Barriers**	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Economic barriers	Lack of equipment and internet		***	***		***
	Loss of income	**	**	***	**	***
	Child labour	**		***	**	***
Socio-cultural barriers	Increasing domestic responsibilities	**	**	***	**	***
Social cohesion	Socio-emotional stress	**	***	***	**	***
Human capital	Lack of Turkish language skills		**	***		**
	Lack of support from parents		**	**		**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

COVID-19 Pandemic and Supply-side Barriers

In terms of the supply-side factors in times of pandemic, difficulties in accessing the EBA system appeared as a prominent problem. In that context, parents and children needed technical support to the modalities of the distance education such as using the software or getting login details. Lack of information about the EBA Support Centres was also observed as a factor decreasing the level of participation in distance education. In education institutions such as the VECs, the interruption of face-to-face activities such as apprenticeship practices also diminished the education opportunities for Syrian children UTP.

Possible consequences of the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic on the education of Syrian children UTP were learning losses and perceived risk of decreases in academic performances for the Syrian at-risk children UTP due to not being able to participate regularly in the distance education; perpetuation of already existing vulnerabilities of the Syrian OOSC UTP; and, increasing risks for school drop-outs in the post-pandemic period and needs for further efforts to overcome such risks.

		Dimensions of Exclusion				
Domain	**Observed Barriers**	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
School supply	Difficulties in accessing to EBA		**	**		**
	Lack of technical support for distance education		**	**		**
	Lack of information about EBA Support Centres		***	***		***
	Interruption of apprenticeship opportunities in VECs			***		**
School resources	Learning materials		*	*		*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

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POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Such a multidimensional and evidence-based analysis enabled the identification of a set of barriers and bottlenecks in relation to the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. These are classified as demand-side and supply-side barriers, as well as the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on education. The analysis has also identified factors of the enabling environment in terms of education governance and policies in Türkiye by following the Global OOSCI Operational Manual (UNICEF, 2015) and adapting it to the Syrian children UTP case in Türkiye. As a result of this exercise, it is possible to present some major observations, some main findings of the quantitative and qualitative analysis and policy recommendations to overcome the barriers to the education of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

The first major observation is that the Syrian UTP population is not a homogenous group for some reasons. Although they can be observed to share characteristics such as their migration dynamics from Syria, high number of household members, low level of economic resources and Arabic language as the native language for most of them, there are some differences in terms of their past experiences or new life experiences in Türkiye. Thus, consideration of the identified barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP should avoid being generalised by keeping in mind the possibility that the dynamics behind the barriers may vary among different groups of the Syrian UTP population.

The second observation is that various barriers do not affect all children equally, as OOSC rates may vary significantly by gender and age group. In that sense, variations of the effects of the barriers on Syrian girls UTP and Syrian boys UTP, Syrian OOSC UTP and Syrian at-risk children UTP, geographical location, and Syrian children UTP at different age groups, namely those aged 6–9, 10–13 and 14–17 should be taken into consideration.

The third observation is that in almost none of the cases is a single barrier impacting the children's education prospects, but rather in many cases some combination of barriers can be observed. This is to say that many Syrian children UTP face multiple risks, which makes it difficult to disentangle various factors when determining how much importance to assign to a particular barrier and its effect on pulling (or pushing) the children out of school. Many of the barriers, both demand-side and supply-side, are interrelated in the sense that they can be observed as each other's causes or consequences. This requires a relational and multidimensional overview before producing policy measures intending to eliminate the barriers.

The last observation is that some of the barriers seem to be more systemic, structural or circular in the sense that they are not only related to one particular aspect of life but expand to different spheres of life. A consequence is that some factors observed in the qualitative analysis may act

both as causes and consequences for OOS phenomenon. Examples include child labour, early and forced marriage and children in conflict with the law. A better term for these factors may be 'bottlenecks', as they tend to be the product of multiple influences which eventually have a two-way relation to the education of children.

The very first finding is that over time, the enrolment rates of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye have been increasing and OOS rates have been decreasing. This means that many of the policy initiatives, both related to the elimination of demand-side and supply-side barriers, have been influential in decreasing the OOS Syrian children UTP percentages from 69.6 per cent in 2014–2015 school year to 36.7 per cent in the 2019–2020 school year. Transition of the Syrian children UTP from TECs to TPSs have been successfully implemented to contribute to this outcome. However, the quantitative and qualitative analysis show that there is still room for improvement, as for the last three school years, the OOSC percentage for the Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 has remained steady around 36–37 per cent. Moreover, the enrolment and OOS rates of Syrian OOSC UTP are quite unbalanced among age groups. DHS 2018 data show that school enrolment at the 6–9 age cohort is rather high (76.2 per cent), but OOSC percentages quickly increase to 26 per cent starting from the 10–13 age group and very few of the Syrian children UTP at the 14–17 age group are in school at the time of the 2018 DHS with 61.4 per cent being dropped out after initially enrolling. This shows that OOS phenomenon for the Syrian children UTP is a more poignant problem for the 14–17 age cohort, followed by the 10–13 age group in Türkiye. In addition, the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have also brought together risks for the Syrian children UTP who were already at school before the pandemic began, to now be out of school after the pandemic subsides.

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Such an overview refers to the existence of particular setbacks which can pull and keep Syrian children UTP out of school in Türkiye. The analysis of the qualitative data show that the most prevalent barriers are rather demand-side barriers, namely the economic barriers and barriers hindering social cohesion, which are indeed more structural problems affecting and being affected by a multiplicity of factors.

The economic barriers, namely economic problems and poverty seem to condition school enrolment and attendance of the Syrian children UTP directly and indirectly, and result in school drop-outs mostly for the 14–17 age cohort. Regarding this, economic barriers go well beyond the inability to afford school-related expenses, when other factors such as the existence of high number of household members and of single main earners (mostly fathers) in the Syrian households UTP and high costs of living are considered. Coupled with some other demand-side and supply-side barriers such as the lack of language skills, poor academic performance or bullying at school, economic barriers are observed to pull children out of school to opt for child labour instead of education. In this way, older children (mostly boys), who are deprived of their education rights, seem not only to contribute to the family budget to be able to help affording high costs of living, but also to contribute to the schooling of their younger siblings. In that respect, not only the continuation and enhancement of the cash assistance such as Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE) for refugees and in-kind support to Syrian households UTP but also targeting economic barriers through provision of a variety of education options and opportunities and awareness-raising become important for the future.

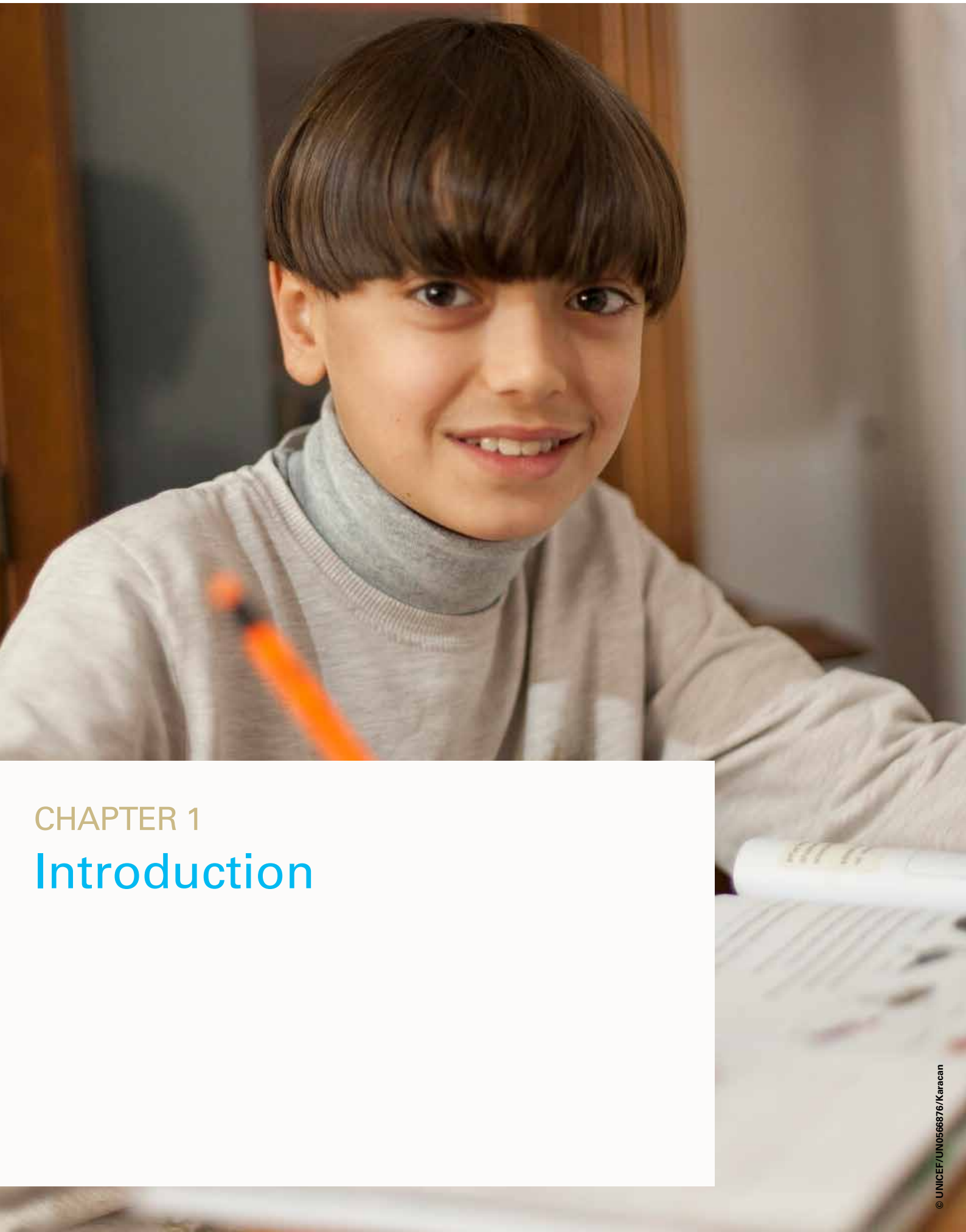
Another prominent barrier to the education of Syrian children UTP is related to the levels of social cohesion among the Syrian households UTP. There are some households which are observed to be better integrated to and have better relationships with the local community. This seems to be mostly due to the longer time spent in Türkiye and policy measures to ensure their adaptation to Türkiye. However, for another group of Syrian households UTP who have recently arrived, who face problems in terms of social cohesion, and such problems seem to affect not only the well-being but also the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

Thus, barriers such as lack of friends/social isolation, difficulties in integration to local community, and security concerns seriously limit the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. Those barriers can be targeted through supply-side measures, in a very general sense through schooling of the children, where the schools can play a role in terms of facilitating social cohesion. Thus, in addition to social cohesion policies, the schools and teachers should be empowered as an actor to play an important role to eliminate those barriers and ensure the venues for socialisation, peer-learning and development of a culture of living together.

Following those demand-side barriers, the most prevalent supply-side barriers are observed as the school administrative regulations such as a lack of ID cards/ residence permits and to a lesser extent the inability to register children in school; and, some school supply-related barriers, particularly the limited communication between the school administrations/teachers and the Syrian parents UTP and that between teachers and the Syrian students UTP. Enrolment regulations (on the basis of formal registration with the Turkish authorities) and the grade placement system seem to affect the education prospects of the children, particularly for the Syrian households UTP who have recently arrived in Türkiye. When the Syrian children UTP at school are considered, apart from the bullying at school, which is also observed as a reflection of low levels of social cohesion, the most prominent barrier is the limited involvement of the Syrian parents UTP into the education process of their children, as a result of the limited communication between the school administrations/teachers and the parents. Targeting such supply-side barriers with policies to develop the capacities of the education system, schools and school administrators/teachers would considerably help Syrian children UTP benefit from their education rights.

Depending on the findings of this study, it is possible to develop a set of policy recommendations for education policy stakeholders based on evidence, to assist them in enhancing the education opportunities for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, to increase their school enrolment rates and to contribute to the elimination of the OOS phenomenon among these children.

It should be noted that recommended policies and policy actions necessitate active cooperation and coordination among a variety of policy actors including public institutions, civil society organizations, international organizations and the private sector, to pool their respective resources, at the policy-making, implementation and monitoring stages, to ensure a better future for the Syrian children UTP. The policy domains for recommended policy actions are awareness raising and information, socio-economic integration, skills development, capacity development, data collection, monitoring and outreach, and advocacy and collective action.



CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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All United Nation Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015. The agenda provides a *"shared blueprint for peace and prosperity for people and the planet, now and into the future"*[5]. The Agenda is operationalised through 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that address global challenges related to poverty, inequality and climate change, among others.

SDG 4 focuses on education to "*ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all*", which includes universal primary and secondary education[6]. Despite steady progress in recent decades to expand educational access at all levels, much work remains to reach universal participation in primary and secondary levels. In 2018, nearly 260 million children, youth and adolescents were out of school, equivalent to one sixth of the global population of primary- and secondary-aged persons (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019).

Monitoring is critical for achieving the various goals that are part of SDG 4. A key component of these efforts is the Global OOSCI. UNICEF and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics (UIS) launched the Global OOSCI in 2010. The OOSCI supports the inter-related tasks of developing profiles of OOSC, linking quantitative and qualitative data with various barriers, and identifying effective policies to address the OOSC problem (UNICEF-UIS, 2015). The OOSCI also supports countries in their study and analysis of OOSC and children who are at risk of dropping out by using innovative statistical methods. The initiative has country, regional and global dimensions and aims to achieve action-oriented research and capacity development-related results (UNICEF, Formative evaluation of the Out-of-School Children Initiative (OOSCI), 2018).

OOSC research is usually carried out in countries where large numbers of primary- and secondary- school age children are not currently in school, and in some cases where a sizeable group of pre-primary-school age children has never entered school[7]. The OOSC situation in Türkiye is very different. Almost all Turkish children complete primary and (lower-) secondary education levels. Instead, the children who are not in school are concentrated in the upper-secondary ("high school") age range that is not officially part of the OOSCI framework (MoNE, 2019c). However, across all levels of schooling in Türkiye there are vulnerable groups that are not enrolled in school, or are not attending regularly (UNICEF, 2012); (UNICEF, 2019a). These include children with disabilities (CwD), children engaged in various forms of child labour, early and forced marriage, and young persons in conflict with the law, among other groups. Furthermore, the influx of approximately 4 million Syrian (and other) refugees since 2011, including nearly 2 million children, has created a unique situation in the country in terms of vulnerability and OOSC (UNICEF, 2019a).

These dual challenges facing Türkiye related to OOSC, addressing problems related to inclusion while simultaneously dealing with the massive influx of refugee children, call for different research and policy responses. Accordingly, these two issues are dealt with separately in different OOSC reports. The focus of the present report is on OOSC among refugees, especially the Syrian UTP population[8].

The Turkish government has made a commendable effort to address the refugee humanitarian crisis, and recent research that UNICEF conducted shows that substantial progress has been made in enrolling Syrian children UTP in school (UNICEF, 2019c). Nevertheless, the results from a number of data sources show that many Syrian children UTP are still not enrolling in school, and there are other problems such as overage enrolment (UNICEF, 2019c). This in turn highlights the importance of additional research, including new data collected in the field, to deepen the understanding of the prevalence of OOSC among the refugee population, the different problems related to OOSC, and the underlying causes of being out of school in Türkiye.

5 Please see https://sdgs.un.org/goals.

6 Ibid.

7 For example, nearly 70 per cent of the 71 countries with completed (or under preparation) OOSC studies at the time of a recent formative review of the OOSCI (UNICEF, 2018) were classified as Low or Medium on the Human Development Index (HDI) scale (see UNDP, 2019). Overall, 25 of the 35 countries classified as Low human development on HDI have an OOSC study (completed or in preparation). Only three countries with completed studies (including Türkiye) were classified as Very High Human Development.

8 The Syrians UTP make up more than 90 per cent of the total refugee population in Türkiye (UNHCR, 2019). For this reason, they receive the most attention in this report. The other groups are not ignored, however, and in Appendix D a detailed summary of key OOSC and school enrolment indicators are summarised.

The overall objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of OOSC in Türkiye among the refugee population based on a quantitative and qualitative (mixed methods) research framework, with a particular focus on the Syrian children UTP as they constitute a large proportion of the overall refugee population in Türkiye[9]. The available quantitative data on other refugee children in Türkiye is also analysed in combination with the qualitative data collected through field work. The study will focus on bottlenecks and barriers hindering refugee children's access to, and completion of, compulsory education in Türkiye. This includes a large number of often inter-related factors such as poverty, child labour, early and forced marriage, bullying, school quality and access, cultural norms and language. Cross-cutting issues like gender are also emphasised. The quantitative data are drawn from existing sources that cover the 2016–2017 through 2019–2020 school years (coverage varies by source), while the qualitative data were obtained through a survey conducted specifically for this study in November 2020 and March 2021.

The added value of this study is that it provides the most detailed, comprehensive overview of the OOSC problem among Syrians UTP to date. The quantitative analysis takes full advantage of the considerable data that are available on Syrian UTP, including a separate Syrian sample in the 2018 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), while the qualitative analysis is based in part on an extensive data collection process, focusing on the underlying reasons that explain OOSC according to children, their parents, and a range of key informants. The level of detail in the mixed-methods analysis will make it possible to present trends in OOSC outcomes and barriers over time, develop more detailed profiles of OOSC and the barriers they face, and identify any new and emerging barriers. An additional contribution is to highlight the barriers that appear to be the most consequential. This is especially critical for policy work since government counterparts (and other stakeholders) will need to prioritise their actions and resources.

In addition to documenting the current situation with OOSC in Türkiye among the refugee population, and the underlying causes of different categories of OOSC, a core objective of the study is to provide policy guidance. The refugee situation has presented an enormous challenge for Turkish policy-makers, and there have been policy changes and shifts, with resulting policy gaps, that have potentially far-reaching implications for educating the refugee population. This report provides an integrated analysis that assesses the effectiveness and applicability of current policies based on the main findings from the mixed-methods data analysis, which in turn forms the basis for formulating an updated set of policy recommendations.

Finally, UNICEF Türkiye Country Office will use the findings of the study to support the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) in evidence-based education policy-making, programme design and implementation to ensure that refugee children in Türkiye access their right to education. This is consistent with the framework of the UNICEF Türkiye Country Programme, the Global OOSCI 5 Dimensions of Exclusion (5DE), and Türkiye's Education Vision 2023. In this context, the results of the study will be useful to the MoNE and UNICEF, as well as to related ministries and their relevant divisions, units and provincial level representatives, and for educators, planners, civil society groups/non-governmental organizations (NGOs), development partners, both national and international, and the donor community.

9 Please note that migrants are not added as a new category in our study and as a new section to the Phase I and II Reports. As agreed during the meeting with UNICEF on 18 October 2019, CE only added question(s) on migrants to the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs).

CHAPTER 2

Türkiye: Country Context

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The Türkiye context overview addresses seven core topics:

1. Population and economy;
2. Public finance and education spending;
3. Education policies and policy priorities in Türkiye;
4. Education system in Türkiye;
5. Educational measures taken during the COVID-19 pandemic in Türkiye;
6. The refugee crisis;
7. Refugee education in Türkiye.

These contextual features provide important background for the analysis of OOSC among the Syrian UTP population. Recent economic, demographic and public spending trends, including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, all potentially affect the government's ability to address the OOSC situation. The Turkish education system and the specifics of refugee education policy in Türkiye set the stage for the quantitative and qualitative analysis of OOSC among Syrian children UTP in later sections of this document.

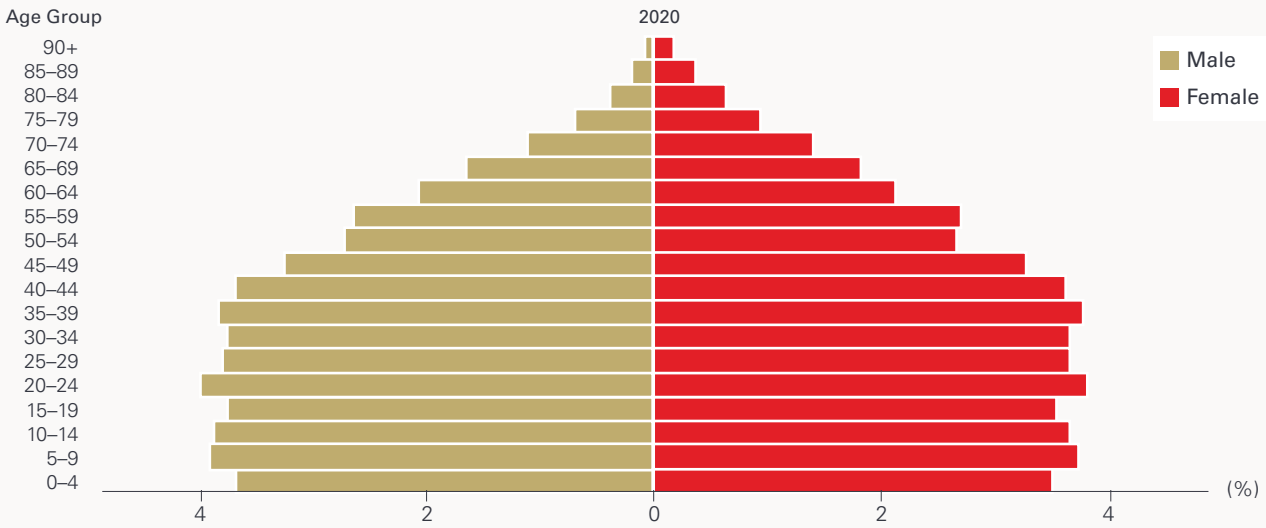
2.1 Population and Economy

2.1.1 Population Dynamics

Türkiye's 2020 population was 83.6 million (Turkish citizens only), with annual population growth rates which roughly decreased to 5.5 per thousand in 2020. Türkiye is the seventeenth largest country in the world (by population), with an average age of 32.7 years. The ratio of children (ages 0–14) to the total population has declined considerably in recent decades, from nearly 26.4 per cent in 2007 to 22.8 per cent in 2020 (TURKSTAT, 2021a). Türkiye's annual population growth rate, birth rate and 0–14 share of population are significantly higher than OECD country averages.

The population pyramid in Figure 1 shows a relatively balanced population by age group across the 0–40 range. Males make up a marginally larger proportion, just over 50.1 per cent, of the overall population and new births.

Figure 1:
Population Pyramid Turkish Population, 2020



Source: TURKSTAT, 2021a.

Population projections for children are relatively stable and show a continuation of the declining trend in the child to total population ratio (TURKSTAT, 2021a). Table 1 shows that the population of children aged 0–17 will grow moderately until around 2030, and then is forecasted to decline steadily. Since the adult population will be growing at a higher rate over this period, the projected ratio for child to total population is expected to steadily decline to roughly 25 per cent in 2030 and eventually to 19 per cent in 2080.

Table 1:
Projections of the Child Population (Turkish Citizens)

Year	Total Population	Child Population (Age 0–17)	Ratio of Children to the Total Population (%)
2023	86,907,367	23,484,561	27
2030	93,328,574	23,863,565	25.6
2040	100,331,233	23,366,571	23.3
2060	107,095,998	21,862,293	20.4
2080	107,100,904	20,333,232	19

Source: TURKSTAT, 2021c.

Türkiye's annual population growth rate, birth rate and the proportion of the total population, which is children, are all significantly higher than OECD country averages. For example, in the European Union children make up about 19 per cent of the total population, compared with 28 per cent in Türkiye (UNICEF, 2019a). The anticipated decline in the proportion of the total population which is children presents a potential demographic "window of opportunity" since the size of the working-age population will be growing while the number of school-age children will be declining. This has the potential to increase significantly the resources that are available on a per-capita basis which can in turn be used to finance additional improvements in education quality and access.

One important demographic feature not considered in 'national' population summaries and projections are the population of Syrians UTP. As of March 2021, there were 3,664,873 Syrians UTP in Türkiye (MoI, 2021), and the Syrian UTP population is in fact the largest single population of refugees anywhere in the world (UNHCR, 2019). The Syrian UTP population includes 1,235,789 school-age children (5–18 ages) (MoI, 2021). This makes their integration into the Turkish education system an important policy issue. In addition, the birth rate among the Syrian UTP population is higher than in the Turkish population (UNICEF, 2019a).

2.1.2 Turkish Economy

According to the World Bank, Türkiye is classified as an upper middle-income country with a Gross National Income (GNI) of USD $808.7 billion dollars, which translates to a per capita GNI of USD $9.690 in 2019[10]. Recent economic performance has been mixed. Between 2010 and 2017 Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged more than 6 per cent per year, but in recent years the economic situation has deteriorated significantly. Growth has declined and in late 2018 the economy entered a recession, with negative growth in 2019. As a result, unemployment increased from roughly 10 per cent in 2017 to nearly 14 per cent in 2018, where it has remained (through early 2020).

The employment ratio in 2018 was 47.4 per cent, which is lower than in developed countries and is due in part to relatively low workforce participation among women (UNICEF, 2019b).

Macroeconomic indicators further deteriorated with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in mid-March 2020. GDP per capita fell to USD $7,225 in 2020[11]. TURKSTAT (2021b) announced the unemployment rate for the same year as 13.2 per cent. However, unemployment can be expected to rise with the end of short-term wage allowance and the end of the banning of dismissal in 2021.

10 https://data.worldbank.org/country/Türkiye (accessed on 03.04.2021).

11 https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/Türkiye/overview#1.

Compared to the last reference year, the employment rate decreased by 2.9 per cent and was 42.8 per cent in 2020 (TURKSTAT, 2021b). Overall macroeconomic balances seem to be vulnerable, especially when the rising inflation rate, potential rise in unemployment and contracting investments are considered. TURKSTAT announced the Consumer Price Index as 15.61 per cent in February 2021[12].

Furthermore, according to a report of TÜSİAD (2021) on the Turkish economy, in 2020, the budget deficit was 172.7 billion TL (3.5 per cent GDP); primary deficit was 38.8 billion TL (0.8 per cent GDP); the exports declined by 6.1 per cent (170 billion dollars); the imports increased by 4.4 per cent (220 billion dollars); and the foreign trade deficit was nearly 50 billion dollars. İmamoğlu (2020) suggested that possible consequences of the pandemic include, but are not limited to, loss of income, imbalanced growth, increase in current account deficit and pressure on currency, which might be expected to have negative impact on unemployment trends.

Against this background, poverty and income distribution appear as persistent problems in Türkiye. The latest official Income and Living Conditions Survey of TURKSTAT (TÜIK) for 2019 shows that up to 17 million people live below the poverty line in Türkiye (Sönmez, 2021); Türkiye's Gini co-efficient is 0.395; and the rate of 'poor' families (those with an income less than 60 per cent of the median income) is 21.3 per cent[13]. As for child poverty, according to the OECD data for 2018, 25 per cent of children aged 0–17 in Türkiye were identified as living in poor families (Ministry of Development, 2018). Such an income inequality and poverty in Türkiye can also be expected to intensify with the COVID-19 pandemic. The World Bank projects that the poverty rate will hover around 8.5 per cent in 2021 and 2022, due to negative labour income impacts of the pandemic, particularly affecting those households that lost jobs or stopped actively seeking work[14]. Accordingly, child poverty is likely to increase, creating bigger risks of school drop-outs seeking to access the labour market as child labour.

2.2 Public Finance and Education Spending

According to MoNE National Statistics Yearbook 2019–2020 (MoNE, 2020a), the budget of MoNE was 125,396,862,000 TL (USD $14,708,964,247[15]) for 2020. Its ratio to GDP and central government budget was 2.57 and 11.45, respectively, and there is a trend of decrease for both ratios in the last three years. Personnel expenditures constituted 72.9 per cent of this budget, whereas the investment budget of MoNE was only 4.7 per cent (5,8 million TL). There has been a dramatic decrease in this investment budget in the last three years (2018 value: 8.4 per cent). Out of this investment budget, the projected percentage for 2020 to be allocated for the Primary and General Secondary Education Sector was 64.7 per cent and 33.1 per cent for the Vocational and Technical Education Sector. The support of special provincial administrations and individuals to education was 1 billion TL and 232 million TL in 2019, respectively.

As noted in the Country Note of OECD on Türkiye (OECD, 2019a), Türkiye spent more on educational institutions compared to the average of OECD countries in 2016 and expenditure on educational institutions (including tertiary education institutions) constituted 5.4 per cent of GDP (average of OECD countries is 5 per cent). The difference mainly depended on high expenditures on tertiary education. In 2019, this percentage increased to 6.0 per cent, 4.4 per cent of which was government expenditure on education (TURKSTAT, 2020a).

The total expenditure on educational institutions (except for tertiary education institutions) as a percentage of GDP by the source of funds is given in Figure 2 (OECD, 2019b). Figure 2 shows that Türkiye was above the average of OECD countries but would be below the OECD average without private expenditure on education. Private expenditure constituted 25 per cent of total spending on educational institutions (except for tertiary education institutions), which doubled the OECD average (10 per cent). In 2019, education expenditure by households was 20.8 per cent (TURKSTAT, 2020a).

12 https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Tuketici-Fiyat-Endeksi-Subat-2021-37380 (accessed on 03.04.2021).

13 https://tuikweb.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=33820 (accessed on 03.04.2021).

14 https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/Türkiye/overview#3.

15 Based on the exchange rate dated 16th July 2021 of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic (https://www.tcmb.gov.tr/).

Figure 2:
Total Expenditure on Educational Institutions as a Percentage of GDP, by Source of Funds (2016)

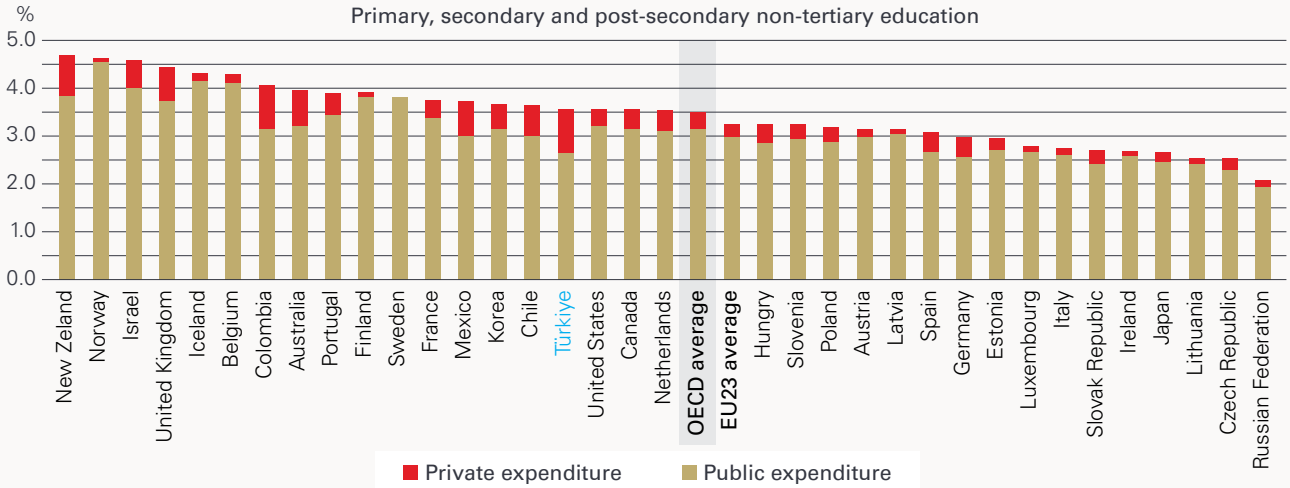
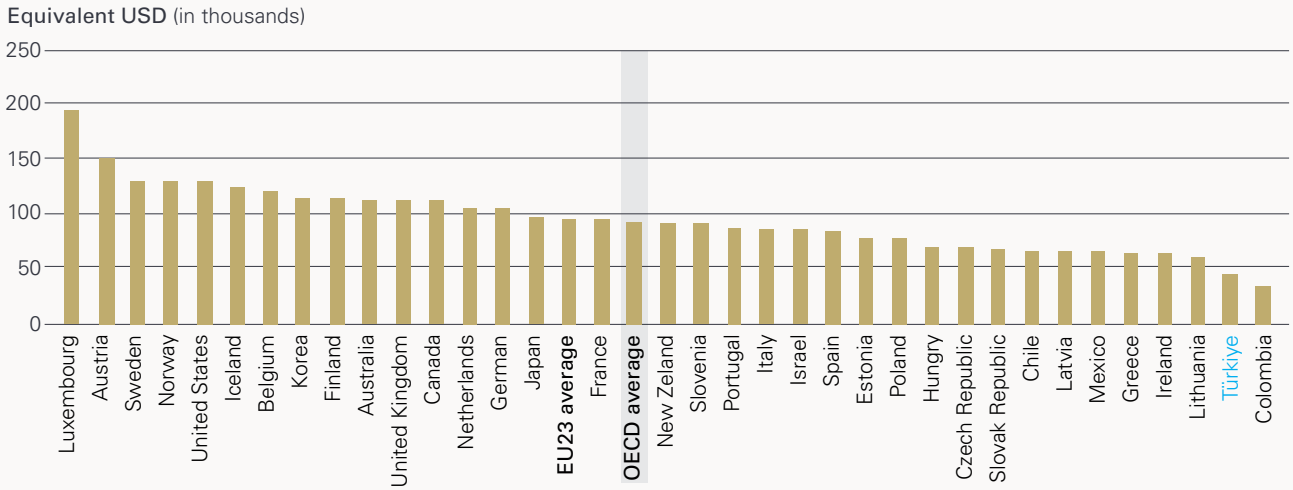


Figure 3:
Cumulative Expenditure on Educational Institutions per Full-time Equivalent Student Between the Age of 6 and 15 (2016)



Source: OECD, 2019b.

Regarding the expenditure per student, in 2016, Türkiye spent USD $5,633 per student on primary to tertiary educational institutions, which was about half the OECD average of USD $10,502 (OECD, 2019a) and left only Colombia behind (see Figure 3). In 2019, education expenditure per student was USD $2,071 (TURKSTAT, 2020a).

The share of households in education expenditures in Türkiye (20.8 per cent) and the huge difference in the expenditures made by households on education seem to be among the factors preventing equal opportunity in education. The education expenditures of households differ significantly according to the level of income. In 2019, education expenditures of the quintile with the highest income constituted 4.4 per cent of their consumption expenditures, whereas this allocation was only 0.9 per cent of the consumption expenditures of the quintile with the lowest income. Furthermore, 64.5 per cent of the household expenditure on education was made by the quintile with the highest income and 3.2 per cent was made by the quintile with the lowest income (TURKSTAT, 2020b).

In addition to the MoNE-budget allocated for education, the Government of Türkiye intended to reduce poverty and increase access to education via social welfare provision. The expenditure for family and education aids of Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFSS[16]) for the last three years is presented in Table 3. The expenditures increased from 4,133,860 million TL in 2018 (MoLFSS, 2019b) to 5,323,853 million TL in 2019 (MoLFSS, 2020). In 2020 (MoLFSS, 2021), the expenditures decreased but the lack of data for Aid for Lunch should be taken into consideration. On the other hand, this expenditure is expected to be too low since the schools were closed most of the year as a measure against the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the expenditures in 2020 can be expected to be higher due to high inflation. All in all, the economic recession seems to have had an impact on the budget for social support, as well.

Table 2:
Expenditure for Family and Education Aids (MoFSS)

		2018	2019	2020
		(million TL)		
Family Aids	Aid for Food	350.78	343.22	629.30
	Aid for Housing	83.66	80.12	88.39
	Aid for Fuel	29.22	20.28	18.52
	Aid for Women Whose Spouses Have Died	737.2	376.9	340.7
	Aid for Families of Soldiers	178.2	121.2	124
	Maternity Aid	506.4	477.4	450.9
	Aid for Children of Soldiers	8.9	4.2	2.7
	Aid for Orphans	58.4	52.2	64.1
	Aid for Electricity Consumption	0	686.5	1.254.9
Education Aids	Aid for Basic School Needs	11.86	11.45	14.51
	Conditional Education Aid	643.10	614.46	730.26
	Aid for Lunch	805	962	No data
	Aid for Schools Books	350	881	430
	Aid for Transportation, Boarding and Food	1.12	0.75	0.34
	Aid for Transportation of Children with Disabilities	368.75	692	322
	Other	1.27	0.17	0
Total		4,133,860	5,323,853	4,471,620

Source: MoFSS, 2019; 2020; 2021.

16 Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS) name was changed to Ministry of Family and Social Services (MoFSS) as of 21 April 2020. A note for the readers that for the reference documents dated before April 2021, the Ministry is referred as MoFLSS.

2.3 Education Policies and Policy Priorities in Türkiye

2.3.1 11th National Development Plan (2019–2023)

In Türkiye's 11th Development Plan covering the period 2019–2023 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye-Department of Strategy and Budget, 2019), there are 12 policy items and 83 measures in total under the education section. **The policies related to basic and secondary education are as follows:**

1.	Access to education will be provided at all levels on the basis of opportunity equality.
2.	Educational environments that take into consideration the mental and physical development of children will be established.
3.	The performance gap among schools will be reduced at all levels by increasing the quality and opportunities of schools.
4.	Educational content and curricula will be prepared in accordance with global developments and needs and on the basis of national, moral and universal values.
5.	Human and physical resources will be strengthened so that individuals in need of special education can benefit from educational services.
6.	The motivation and professional development of teachers and school administrators will be enhanced, and the social status of the teaching profession will be strengthened.
7.	Policies will be determined based on data and impact analysis of policy implementations will be done in order to build an efficient and effective education system.
8.	Lifelong learning approach aiming at the continuous development of individuals' personality and abilities will be spread to all segments of the society.
9.	A School Development Model, in which all stakeholders actively participate in the educational processes will be established.
10.	The guidance and counselling system will be strengthened in order to carry out the educational and non-educational process efficiently and to increase the readiness of children.
11.	An effective measurement, monitoring and evaluation system will be established to diversify and increase students' achievements.
12.	Structural transformation and employment mobilization for production will be initiated in vocational and technical education.

According to the Plan, *"the sector with the highest increase in public investments will be the education sector in the plan period. At the same time, as of the 2020–2023 period, the education sector will have the largest share in total investment programmes"*, two of which can be accepted as the concrete indicator of the policy to prioritize education in Türkiye.

In the Plan, the educational target for the enrolment rate in pre-primary education and full-time schooling rate at primary, lower- and upper-secondary education levels are 100 per cent by 2023. This target is set based on one of the policies defined for education (*Enrolment and completion rates will be increased at all educational levels, and absenteeism rates will be reduced*). It can be deduced that this policy indirectly covers children who are at risk of dropping out of school and who are out of school.

2.3.2 Ministry of National Education Strategic Plan (2019–2023)

In the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of National Education (2019–2023) (MoNE, 2019a), there are seven educational goals, which are listed below:

1. It will be ensured that all our students acquire **knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours** appropriate to the values of our civilization, the common values of humanity and the requirements of the era.
2. Effective and productive **management, organizational structure and processes** will be dominated in accordance with contemporary norms.
3. In **pre-school and basic education**, our students' multidimensional (cognitive, emotional and physical) development will be sustained.
4. Students will be raised through a **secondary education** system that prepares them for life and higher education in line with their interests, abilities and capacities, that they bring solutions to social problems and contribute to the social, cultural and economic development of the country.
5. The physical, emotional and cognitive development of individuals will be supported by increasing the effectiveness of **special education and guidance services**.
6. **Vocational and technical education and lifelong learning** systems will be designed in accordance with the needs of the society and the requirements of the labour market and information age.
7. **Private education** system will be restructured in line with international standards.

The objectives under these seven goals cover targets mainly related to educational approach, access to education, quality of education, curriculum development, special education, guidance and psychological counselling, educational and school management.

The performance indicators, base values and target values in the Plan specifically related to the scope of the study are given in Table 3.

Table 3:
Performance Indicators, Base Values and Target Values in MoNE Strategic Plan (2019–2023)

Performance Indicators	Base Value	Target for 2023
Enrolment rate (3–5 ages)	44.02	55
Rate of Grade 1 students who completed at least one year of pre-primary education	63.25	100
Enrolment rate (6–9 ages)	98.35	100
Rate of primary school students with absence of 20 or more days	6.2	4
Enrolment rate (10–13 ages)	98.62	100
Rate of lower-secondary school students with absence of 20 or more days	13	5
Enrolment rate (14–17 ages)	88.22	99.99
Rate of upper-secondary school students with absence of 20 or more days	34.4	20
Number of students in vocational and technical upper-secondary education receiving scholarship	1.400	8.400
Enrolment rate in lifelong learning	5.8	8

Source: MoNE, 2019a.

These performance indicators can be accepted as the reflections of the policy stated as "*Enrolment rates in primary and lower-secondary schools will be increased, and absenteeism rates will be reduced*". A similar policy is defined for upper-secondary school level as "*Efforts will be made to increase the participation of all students in upper-secondary education, especially girls and groups that require special policies, and to reduce absenteeism and class repetition*". Completion of school is mentioned in the Products and Services section as "*Ensuring that students attend and complete educational institutions*".

2.3.3 Türkiye's Education Vision 2023

The second document that the MoNE published in 2019 is Türkiye's Education Vision 2023 (MoNE, 2019b). The document underlines the Strategic Plan with the educational philosophy and policy provided in detail. The main goal for 2023 is stated as "*to raise science-loving, skilled, and ethical individuals who take an interest in culture and are willing to use present and future skills for the well-being of humanity*". The efforts to reach this goal is planned to be based on the philosophy that "*the primary subject and object of education is the human being*". The prominent issues in the document are education from a holistic perspective, learning as a lifestyle, addressing human beings as a whole, the significance of the roles of teachers and school managers, learning occurring not only in schools, combination of national and universal values and norms, establishing Design-Skill Labs and building a School Development Model.

Türkiye's Education Vision 2023 is made up of the following components:

Data-Based Management with Learning Analytics Tools	Special Education	Secondary Education
Measurement and Evaluation	Special Talents	Natural Sciences and Social Sciences, Upper-Secondary Schools
Human Resources Development and Management	Foreign Language Education	Imam Hatip Lower- and Upper-Secondary Schools
School Finance	Digital Content and Skills-Backed Transformation of the Learning Process	Vocational and Technical Education
Inspection and Institutional Guidance Services	Early Childhood	Private Education
Guidance and Psychological Counselling	Basic Education	Lifelong Learning

For all the components above, a total of 44 goals have been set to be reached by the end of 2023. **The 3-year targets of the Educational Vision document can be summarised as follows:**

1. The difference in quality among the schools will diminish.
2. Schools will be transformed into a context where students take part in happily.
3. Vocational secondary schools will become a point of attraction.
4. The pressure of high stakes examinations will diminish.
5. Children will display skills of the contemporary era.
6. Teachers and school heads will experience professional satisfaction.
7. Early childhood education will become pervasive.
8. Children with special needs will be catered with opportunities for high-quality education.

In the document, there is no specific attribution to children who are at risk of dropping out of school and who are out of school, except for the construction of boarding schools in order to reduce "the school drop-out rate among disadvantaged students".

2.3.4 Teacher Strategy Paper (2017–2023)

As a consequence of the policy to improve the competencies of teachers and the status of the teaching profession, MoNE published its Teacher Strategy Paper (2017–2023) (MoNE, 2017) which provided a roadmap to realise the policy.

There are six fundamental components defined in the document which are:

- Pre-service teacher training
- Selection and employment of prospective teachers
- Teachers' candidacy training and adapation to the profession
- Career development and reward system
- Status of the teaching profession
- Continuous professional development

The document defines three objectives with eight specific goals and 35 actions to be taken between 2017 and 2023. These objectives are:

1. Ensuring the employment of highly qualified and well-trained teachers, who are most suitable for the teaching profession
2. Ensuring continuous personal and professional development of teachers
3. Ensuring a positive perception towards the teaching profession and strengthening the status of the profession

The policies and actions in the documents mentioned above are mainly developed for supply-side barriers. There are also efforts regarding demand-side barriers. In order to overcome the economic barriers, since 2003, the MoFSS has been giving Conditional Education Aid to families who cannot send or who have difficulties in sending their children to school due to financial difficulties. Payments are made every two months on the condition that the children do not exceed 4 days of absence per month. The financial support at basic education level is 45 TL for boys and 50 TL for girls per month. At secondary education level, the support is 55 TL for boys and 75 TL for girls per month. In addition, in the MoLFSS Strategic Plan for 2019–2023, the target set for girls' school attendance rate benefiting from Conditional Education Aid is 96 per cent for 2023, of which the base value is 91 per cent for 2018 (MoLFSS, 2019a). According to the 2019 Annual Report of MoLFSS, the cost of this financial support reached 614.46 million TL in 2019 (MoLFSS, 2020). The total number of beneficiaries were 2,603,680 and the gender equality was achieved (50.4 per cent for boys and 49.6 per cent for girls)[17].

17 "The aim of the CCTE programme is to encourage school enrolment and improve pupils' attendance to support them on their path to a brighter future. Families receive financial support through debit cards when their children regularly participate in classes. When children stop attending classes, case workers reach out to their families to find out the reason and help them find solutions to keep their children in school and refer them to other services and support they may need." https://ec.europa.eu/echo/field-blogs/videos/conditional-cash-transfer-education-ccte-programme-refugee-children-Türkiye_en.

2.4 Education System in Türkiye

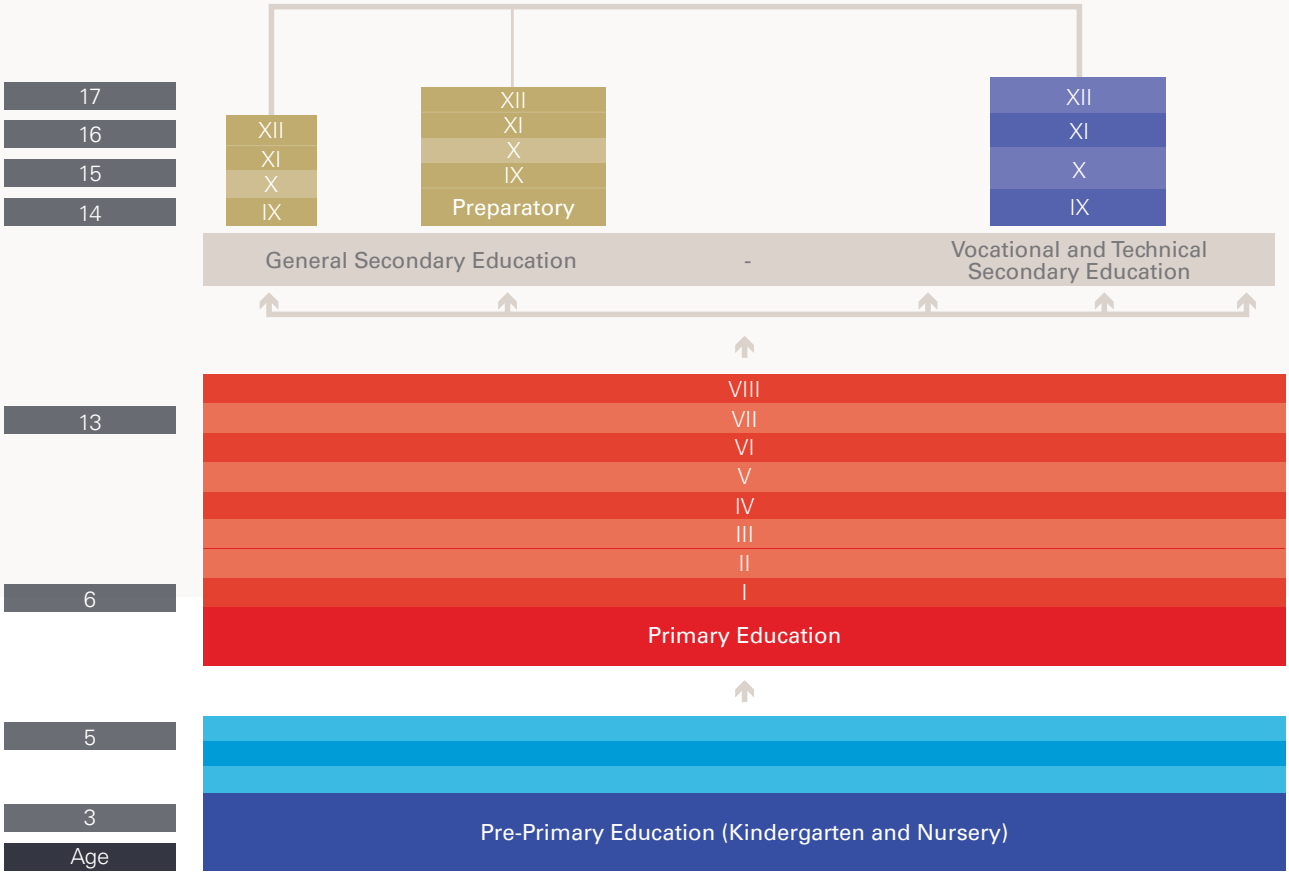
2.4.1 Overview

In Türkiye, the National Education System is structured by the National Education Basic Act No. 1739[18], and is divided into formal and non-formal education components. Formal education includes pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary, upper-secondary and higher education levels. As stated in the Regulation No. 30388 on Lifelong Learning Institutions[19], non-formal education institutions of the MoNE include public education centres (PECs) and advanced technical schools for girls.

A key feature of the education system in Türkiye is the 4+4+4 compulsory education system that was approved in April 2012 and has been operational since the 2012–2013 school year. The 12 years of compulsory education correspond to four years each of primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary, which replaces the previous 8-year requirement (through the end of lower-secondary).

Figure 4 provides a basic schematic of the system, taken from the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020)[20] (MoNE, 2020a). The three compulsory levels, as well as pre-primary level, are briefly described. The first eight years is considered "basic education" which covers "primary and lower-secondary school" levels and the last four years cover the "upper-secondary" level.

Figure 4:
Education System in Türkiye (Pre-Primary Through Upper-secondary)



18 https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.1739.pdf.

19 Published in the Official Gazette on 11.04.2018. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=24507&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

20 http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2020_09/04144812_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2019_2020.pdf.

According to the Primary Education Law No. 222[21], there is a legal obligation and sanction for the parents/caregivers for the children not sent to school at primary and lower-secondary education levels. There is no sanction in the regulations for the children not sent to school at upper-secondary education level.

For primary and lower-secondary education levels, the procedure starts with informing the *mukhtar* in villages or the local authority (*mülki idare amirliği*) in other places about the situation. The *mukhtar*/the civilian authority notifies the parent/caregiver about the administrative fine for the child not sent to school (except for a valid excuse accepted by the school management) in the following three days. If the parent/caregiver still does not send the child to school despite the notification of the *mukhtar*/the civilian authority, s/he gets an administrative fine of 15 TL for each day of absence. The parent/caregiver who insists on not sending the child to school or not informing the school management about the reasons for not sending the child to school gets an administrative fine of 500 TL. If the parent/caregiver refuses to answer the questions of the *mukhtar*/the civilian authority or makes false statements, s/he gets an administrative fine of 100 TL. Although the whole procedure is defined clearly as above, there is not much data on the implementation of the administrative fines.

Pre-Primary Education (36 to 66 months) is not compulsory in Türkiye. The government has committed to a universal one year (compulsory) pre-primary programme; however, it has not yet been fully implemented. According to the Vision 2023 document of MoNE[22], piloting for a compulsory pre-primary programme was planned for the second semester of the 2019–2020 school year, and countrywide implementation was supposed to start at the beginning of 2020–2021 school year. Although this programme was not initiated, the number of children enrolled in pre-school education increased from 1,564,813 in the 2018–2019 school year, when this plan was announced, to 1,629,720 in the 2019–2020 school year. Thus, 64,907 more children were enrolled in school in one year. Based on the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020)[23], the overall pre-primary enrolment of 1.6 million is divided fairly and equally between kindergarten, nursery, and practice classes. Across the sector there are four broad categories of pre-primary institutions: kindergartens for 33- to 66-month-old children, nursery classes in formal or non-formal educational institutions for 48- to 66-month-old children, and practice classes in technical and vocational secondary schools as part of the department of child development and education for 36- to 66-month-old children.

Over 80 per cent of enrolment is in the public sector, with the largest share in kindergartens, nursery classes, and practice classes affiliated with MoNE. In addition, community-based institutions also provide pre-primary or care services. While the net pre-primary enrolment rate in Syria before 2011 was 10.64 per cent, the net pre-primary enrolment rate of Syrian students UTP in Türkiye in 2021 is 22.8 per cent.

Nearly 80 per cent of the private pre-primary enrolment is in kindergartens, nursery schools, and practice schools that are affiliated with MoNE. The remaining private institutions include crèches that are affiliated with the MoFLSS or were opened in accordance with the Labour Law, no 4857[24].

Primary Education has a four-year duration covering Grades 1, 2, 3, and 4. Nearly 95 per cent of overall primary enrolment (in 2019–2020) is in the public primary schools and 5 per cent of them are in private primary schools. Of the overall private education enrolment, the largest category is in the private primary schools, with additional (very small) enrolments in specialised private categories for international and minority students.

Lower-Secondary Education continues upon completion of primary education, and also has a four-year duration (Grades 5, 6, 7, and 8). At lower-secondary education level, there are general lower-secondary schools and religious (*imam hatip*) lower-secondary schools. Once again, the largest segment of the enrolled population is in the public lower-secondary school category that is part of the General Directorate of Basic Education, which makes up roughly 75 per cent of the students. Another category at the level of public lower-secondary schools is *imam hatip* lower-secondary schools under the General Directorate of Religious Education, which account for approximately 14 per cent of enrolments. The remaining lower-secondary school students are enrolled in private schools and open education lower-secondary schools.

21 https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.4.222.pdf.

22 http://2023vizyonu.meb.gov.tr/doc/2023_EGITIM_VIZYONU.pdf.

23 http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2020_09/04144812_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2019_2020.pdf.

24 https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4857.pdf.

Upper-Secondary Education is also compulsory for four years (covering Grades 9, 10, 11, and 12). At upper-secondary education level, students have more options compared to at the lower-secondary education level. There are Anatolian, Anatolian vocational and technical, Anatolian religious (*imam hatip*), multi-programme Anatolian, science, social sciences, fine arts, sports, music and performing arts upper-secondary schools. In addition, students in VECs have the opportunity to get, besides a "mastership" certificate, an upper-secondary diploma on the condition that they pass the compulsory courses determined by MoNE. According to the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020), 24.2 per cent of the population is enrolled in the open education system. Accordingly, out of the remaining 75.8 per cent, the enrolment is the highest in Anatolian, vocational and technical, and religious (*imam hatip*) upper-secondary schools, 36.9 per cent, 26.4 per cent and 11.6 per cent, respectively.

Special Education programmes are available at all levels (from pre-primary through upper-secondary)[25]. Although it is essential for individuals with special education needs to continue their education in all types and levels through inclusive/special education, special education schools and special education classes can be opened for these individuals. In addition, home education services are offered to students in the compulsory education age who have special education needs and cannot benefit from formal education institutions due to health problems, or hospital classes are opened within hospitals for these students. According to the MoNE National Education Statistics (2019–2020), 2.3 per cent of students in pre-primary, primary, lower- and upper-secondary education has special needs. They receive special education either in special education schools, special education classes in regular schools or regular classes with their peers.

Open Education is a distance education system implemented through a variety of open schools at the lower- and upper-secondary levels functioning under the mandate of the MoNE. Open schools provide diplomas for their students equivalent to those received in the formal education system. The students registered in open schools are included in the national formal education statistics of the MoNE and 9 per cent of the students (1,583,805 students) are enrolled in open education.

There is no upper age limit for registering in open schools. In that sense, the open education system provides an alternative education opportunity both for adults and children who could not complete their education for several reasons such as disability, marriage, work or imprisonment. At lower-secondary level, the Regulation on Open Lower-Secondary School (no. 24561) states that individuals above the compulsory schooling age among a) those who certify that they have completed Grade 4 of primary school, b) those who have a certificate of achievement of adult II level education, c) those who have trainer and supplementary basic education-B course certificate, d) those who left Grades 5, 6, 7, and 8 of secondary school or İmam Hatip secondary school, e) those who have studied abroad and have equivalency in one of the conditions in clauses (a) and (d) can apply to those schools

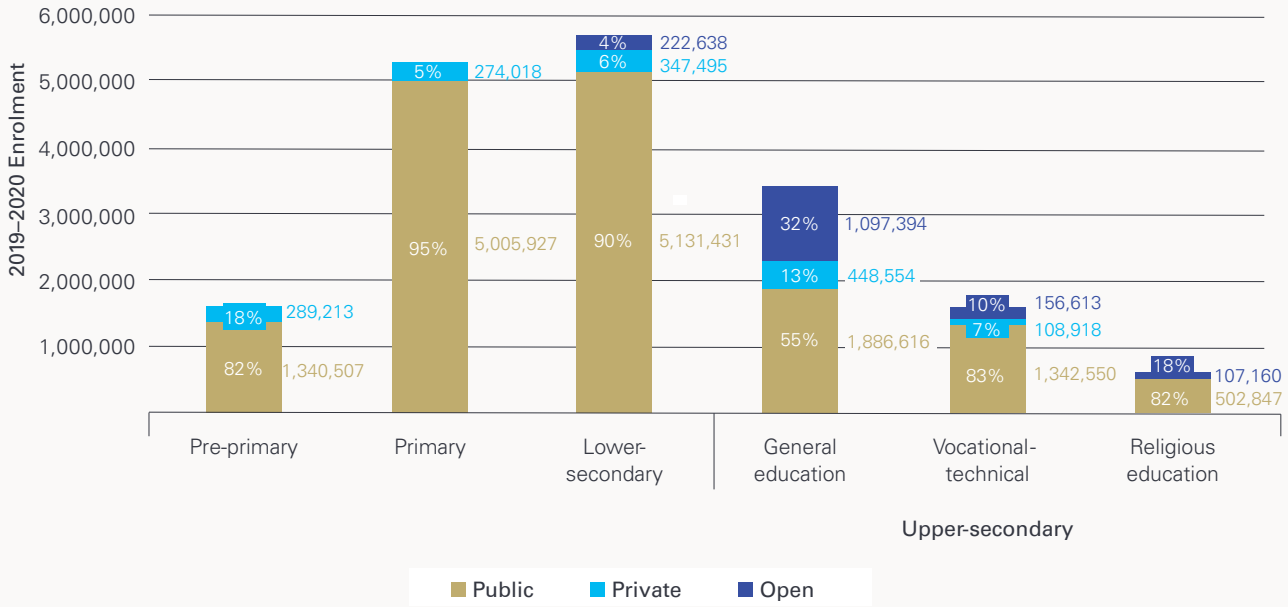
Open education at the upper-secondary level is provided through Open Upper-Secondary High Schools, Open Vocational Upper-Secondary High Schools, and Open Imam Hatip Upper-Secondary High Schools. These schools offer distance education for individuals who completed lower-secondary education. In addition, students who repeat a grade more than once, who get married or who are excluded from formal education due to disciplinary action are automatically referred to open schools in line with the Regulation on Upper-Secondary Education Institutions.

The same Regulation also states that there is no age limit for registration to upper-secondary open schools and there is no limit set for the duration of education. For the 2020–2021 school year, students pay a fee of 55 TL every semester for both open lower- and upper-secondary education. Students registering for the first time pay 60 TL for the first semester.

Figure 5 summarises total enrolments by schooling level and type for the 2019–2020 school year. Across the primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary levels total enrolments are relatively similar at over 5 million; this is consistent with the 4+4+4 compulsory education requirement. Private school enrolment rates are relatively low across all four levels with an average of per cent. Enrolment rates are the highest in pre-primary education (18 per cent) and the lowest in primary education (5 per cent).

25 Published in the Official Gazette on 07.07.2018. http://orgm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2020_06/24163215_ozel_eYitim_yonetmeliYi_son_hali.pdf.

Figure 5:
Summary of Enrolment by School Level and Category, 2019–2020



Source: MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020).

MoNE established an education management information system (e-School/*e-Okul*) in 2007 in order to carry out administrative transactions and keep records of students starting from enrolment in pre-school and continuing until graduation from Grade 12. The system also allows students and parents to access information about academic achievement and absenteeism.

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2.4.2 School Supply

According to the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020)[26], there were 18,241,881 students, 1,160,293 teachers, 762,174 divisions and 89,658 schools in the 2019–2020 school year. The distributions according to education level and average number of students per teacher, section and school are given in Table 4.

Table 4:
Statistics on Students, Teachers, Sections and Education Level (2019–2020)

	# of Students	# of Teachers[27]	Average # of Students Per Teacher	# of Classes	Average # of Students Per Class	# of Schools	Average # of Students Per School
Pre-Primary Education	1,629,720	98,825	–	91,737	–	32,554[28]	–
Primary Education	5,279,945	309,247	17	245,240	24	24,790	213
Lower-Secondary Education	5,701,564	371,590	15	233,168		19,268	284
Upper-Secondary Education	5,630,652	380,631	11	192,029	19	13,046	327

The average number of students per teacher is the highest in primary schools (17); whereas the average number of students per school is the highest in upper-secondary schools (327).

MoNE provides accommodation at schools for vulnerable children at lower- and upper-secondary education levels to enhance access to education. These boarding schools embody boarding houses on their premises. During the 2019–2020 school year, a total of 328,141 students (2.9 per cent of the population) stayed in boarding houses, using 60.1 per cent of the capacity. The distributions among the Directorate Generals (DGs), the average number of students per boarding house and capacity use are given in Table 5. The gender balance regarding the use of boarding houses was remarkable; girls constituted 50.4 per cent and boys constituted 49.6 per cent. These similar percentages can be accepted as evidence of not only the equal demand from the society for education but also the efforts of the State to provide equal opportunities in education for boys and girls in terms of accommodation services. On the other hand, according to the Regulation on Boarding, Scholarship, Social Aids and Boarding Houses in Public Schools[29], only citizens of the Republic of Türkiye and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus are allowed to stay in boarding houses.

26 http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2020_09/04144812_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2019_2020.pdf.

27 Permanent and contractual teaching staff.

28 School/Classroom.

29 Published in the Official Gazette on 25.11.2016. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/3.5.20169487.pdf.

Table 5:
Statistics on Boarding Houses (2019–2020)

	# of Boarding Houses	Student Capacity of Boarding Houses	# of Students in Boarding Houses	Average # of Students Per Boarding House	Capacity Use (%)
General Directorate of Basic Education	295	84,167	39,170	133	46.5
General Directorate of Secondary Education	998	189,816	131,270	132	69.2
General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education	831	132,885	77,746	94	58.5
General Directorate of Religious Education	908	136,526	79,076	87	57.9
General Directorate of Special Education and Guidance Services	33	2,896	879	27	30.4
TOTAL	**3,065**	**546,290**	**328,141**	**107**	**60.1**

2.4.3 Enrolment Regulations

According to Regulation No. 29072 on Pre-primary and Primary Education[30], children who are 36 to 68 months old are enrolled in pre-primary education and children who are to start primary school the following year are prioritised for pre-primary enrolment. Children who are 69–71-months-old can go to pre-primary school with their parents'/caregivers' written request. As stated in the same regulation, primary education is compulsory for children who are 69 months old. Also, children who are 66–68-months-old can start Grade 1 with their parents'/caregivers' written request. Primary education officially covers the ages of 6–9. Lower-secondary education continues upon completion of primary education and officially covers the ages of 10–13. Children who have not exceeded the age of 14 can register in lower-secondary schools[31].

According to Regulation No. 29871 on Upper-Secondary Education Institutions[32], individuals under 18 can register in upper-secondary schools and attend until the age of 22 (only for the students who can graduate by taking the conditional pass examination at the end of the school year).

Regarding open education, Regulation No. 29072 on Pre-primary and Primary Education[33] indicates that Open Lower-Secondary Schools accept individuals who are at least 14 years old and who have completed primary school education. As for Open Upper-Secondary Schools, students who repeat a grade more than once, who get married or who are excluded from formal education due to disciplinary action are automatically referred to open schools in line with Regulation No. 29871 on Upper-Secondary Education Institutions[34].

Enrolment in special education institutions/classes is based on the educational assessment and diagnosis conducted by Guidance and Research Centres/Rehberlik ve Araştırma Merkezi (GRCs/RAMs) of the MoNE.

30 Published in the Official Gazette on 26.07.2014. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

31 http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2020_09/04144812_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2019_2020.pdf.

32 Published in the Official Gazette on 28.10.2016. https://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_11/03111224_ooky.pdf.

33 Published in the Official Gazette on 26.07.2014. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

34 Published in the Official Gazette on 28.10.2016. https://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_11/03111224_ooky.pdf.

2.4.4 Attendance Regulations

Attendance regulations vary in terms of education level in Türkiye.

Primary Education: According to Regulation No. 29072 on ECE and Primary Education[35], the non-attendance limit is 15 days in a school year. Students who do not attend school for at least one semester without an excuse (being abroad, medical condition, being under arrest as specified in Article 27/5) repeat the class.

Lower-Secondary Education: According to Regulation No. 29072 on ECE and Primary Education[36], for the student who does not attend school 20 days in a school year without an excuse, the teachers of the student decide whether the child repeats or passes the grade in the last week of the second semester.

Upper-Secondary Education: According to Regulation No. 29871 on Upper-Secondary Education Institutions[37], students whose absenteeism exceeds 10 days without an excuse and 30 days in total are regarded as unsuccessful regardless of their grades and they repeat the entire grade. For the students who (a) have an illness requiring continuous treatment, (b) are under protection and care based on the official reports of social services or security/police units, or (c) are under arrest, the non-attendance limit is 60 days in a school year, on the condition that absenteeism without an excuse does not exceed 10 days. For the students with special education needs who continue their education through full-time inclusive education and students enrolled in special education vocational high schools, the non-attendance limit is 70 days in a school year, on the condition that absenteeism without excuse does not exceed 20 days.

The students at the upper-secondary level can repeat a grade only once. If they fail twice, they are unregistered from the school at the end of the school year and their registration is automatically transferred to Open Upper-Secondary High Schools, Open Vocational Upper-Secondary High Schools, Open Religious Upper-Secondary High Schools or VECs[38].

2.5 Educational Measures Taken During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Türkiye

Many countries have taken various precautions to combat the spread of COVID-19. On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) categorised COVID-19 as a "pandemic". One of the precautions that countries around the world took was to close schools. China was the first country to close schools (February 16, 2020) in response to COVID-19 (Schleicher, 2020). According to UNESCO data (2021), schools were closed in 173 countries (out of 210) at the beginning of April 2020, and this affected 1,484,715,875 students around the world (84.8 per cent of total enrolled students) (UNESCO, 2021). The numbers fluctuated throughout 2020, and in mid-April 2021, there were 29 country-wide closures (involving 177,208,409 affected students) and schools were partially open in 74 countries.

In Türkiye, school closures (no face-to-face teaching and learning) in ECE, primary, lower- and upper-secondary education levels started on March 16, 2020 and the total duration of school closures reached 38 weeks by mid-April 2021 (UNESCO, 2021). The schools were closed for face-to-face teaching and learning until the end of the 2019–2020 school year (June 19, 2020), except for public and private pre-primary education institutions and private courses. These institutions were allowed to start education programmes starting from June 1, 2020. The 2020–2021 school year started with distance education on August 31, 2020 with an optional 3-week catch-up education programme to compensate the learning losses due to the closure of schools. Schools were partially open for face-to-face teaching and learning from September 21, 2020 to November 20, 2020 and closed again until the beginning of the second semester (February 15, 2021). Since that date, schools have been partially open for face-to-face teaching and learning and education at all levels has proceeded in a blended form (limited face-to-face and nationwide distance education).

35 Published in the Official Gazette on 26.07.2014. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

36 Published in the Official Gazette on 26.07.2014. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

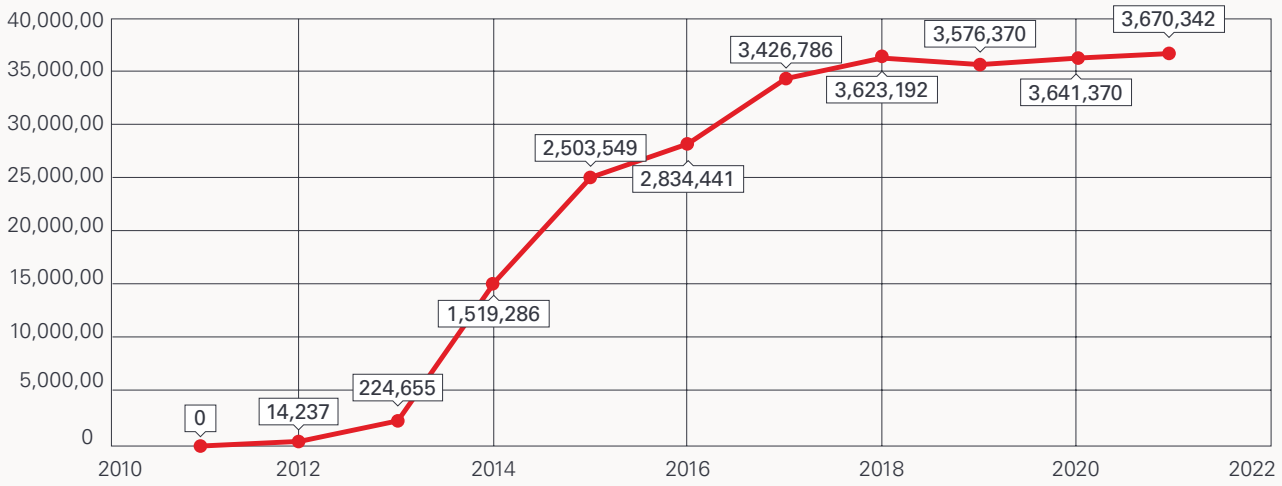
37 Published in the Official Gazette on 28.10.2016. https://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_11/03111224_ooky.pdf.

38 In such cases, the registration is automatically transferred to open upper-secondary schools. The student can prefer to continue their education in VECs. However, the registration to VECs is not done automatically.

2.6 The Syria Crisis

Türkiye hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, and the combination of sheer numbers and the government's commitment to international standards for treatment of refugees, with the attendant requirements for providing protection and access to services, has generated a number of extra responsibilities on the host country. After the outbreak of civil war in Syria in 2011, the influx trend in the number of Syrians UTP as of April 28, 2021 is given in Figure 6 (MoI, 2021).

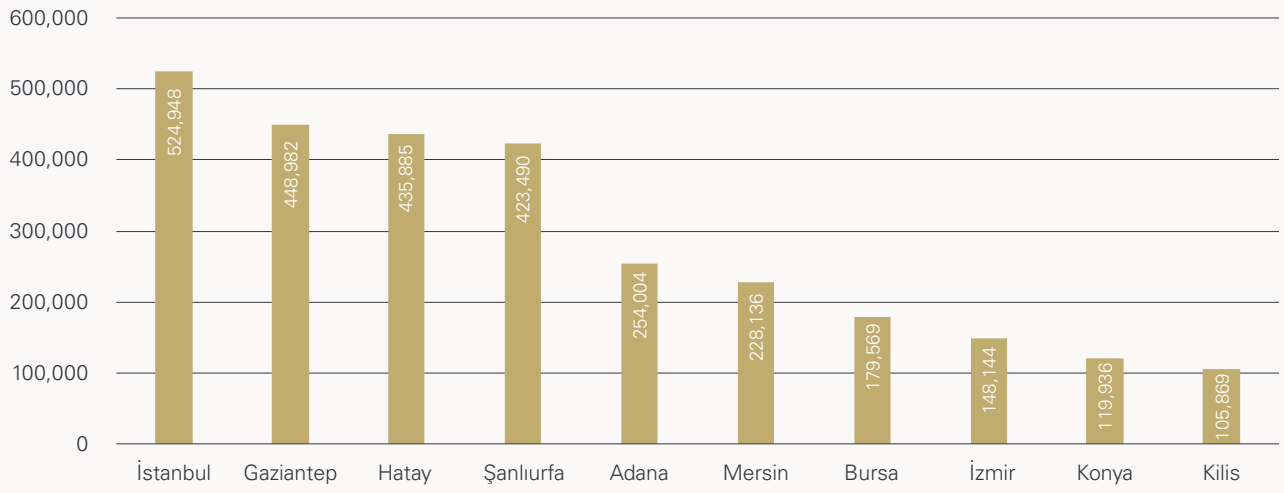
Figure 6:
Number of Syrian UTP Population by Years



Source: MoI (2021).

The Syrian UTP population is concentrated in a relatively small number of provinces. In fact, almost half of all Syrians UTP are living in just four provinces: İstanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Şanlıurfa. Although Kilis is the 10th province with the highest number of Syrians UTP (as shown in Figure 7), the percentage of the Syrians UTP in the total population of the province is the highest (74.84 per cent).

Figure 7:
The 10 Provinces with Largest Syrians UTP Population



Source: MoI (2021).

The refugee population is quite young. Almost half (47.4 per cent) of the Syrians UTP are children (0–18 years old). The Syrian UTP population is weighted towards males, who make up about 53.8 per cent of the total.

Syrian refugees benefit from "temporary protection" under the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) of 2013, and the Temporary Protection Regulation of 2014. This status entitles them to protection as well as access to various services and opportunities (UNICEF, 2019c). Also, non-Syrian families that are in the process of applying for refugee or asylum status do have access to services like public education for their children.

Most of the discussion in this report is focused on the Syrians who make up over 90 per cent of the total refugee population, and who have the largest participation in the refugee-focused data that are analysed. However, the other refugee groups are not entirely excluded: Appendix E includes a separate summary of education trends and key outcomes among non-Syrian refugee children, and the qualitative data collection does include some questions that reference experiences of non-Syrian refugee children.

Box 1:
Legal Status for Foreigners

As summarised in UNICEF (2019d), there are different classifications of foreigners in Türkiye, with different legal status and rights.

"Under protection" (or "Under Temporary Protection" (UTP)) refers to persons who are registered with the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) and are entitled to benefit from 'temporary protection' under the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) of 2013 and the Temporary Protection Regulation of 2014. This refers exclusively to the Syrian UTP population.

"International protection" regime refers to persons registered with the DGMM who are allowed to remain in the country on a temporary basis while applying for formal refugee status in third countries. This is the main category for non-Syrian refugees in Türkiye, many of whom have been unsuccessful in their asylum applications but have been allowed to remain on humanitarian grounds as beneficiaries of "subsidiary protection" under the LFIP.

"Humanitarian residence permits" are an alternative to going through the international protection process. These refugees become temporary residents subject to periodic extension, with similar rights, entitlements and obligations as other refugees. This is an option which has been made available to many Iraqis.

Irregular migrants include non-Turkish citizens who arrive at border crossing points without required documents, are intercepted while seeking to enter Türkiye by an illegal route, are discovered to be in Türkiye illegally, or are intercepted while leaving Türkiye having been in the country illegally. Many of the refugees in Türkiye were irregular migrants when they first arrived.

2.7 Education of Syrian Children UTP in Türkiye

2.7.1 The Right to Education

The education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye is secured via both national legislation and international treaties. The right to education in Türkiye is clearly stated in Article 42 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic as, "*No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education*". In addition, the right to education of individuals UTP is covered in Article 28 of the Regulation on Temporary Protection (Official Journal dated October 22, 2014)[39], stated as "*The education activities of foreigners in and out of the temporary shelter centres are enforced under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MoNE)*".

The Government of Türkiye has also been a signatory of various international treaties to provide education to all children in Türkiye, such as the Universal Declaration of

39 https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/21.5.20146883.pdf.

Human Rights (UDHR), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Özçürümez & İçduygu, 2020).

2.7.2 Policy Measures

When the mass influx of Syrians started in 2011, the Turkish government began to develop ways to respond to the educational needs of Syrians UTP. The first policies assumed that the crisis in Syria would not last long and that Syrians UTP would return to their country. Therefore, the education policies were designed to answer temporary educational needs. However, the response was not rapid enough. Between 2011 and 2014 Syrian children UTP did not have the right to access the national education system unlike school-aged refugee children from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Somalia. These children could enrol in education with their asylum seeker identity numbers but for the Syrian children UTP, the Government permitted only temporary schools to be opened in temporary accommodation centres (Brugha et.al, 2021).

With the growing recognition that the crisis in Syria would not end in a short period of time and that Syrians UTP would stay in Türkiye for an indefinite period, the policies and strategies started to change in 2014. The Turkish government concentrated on more permanent and sustainable solutions for the education of Syrians UTP. One of the most important strategies put into action with the Circular of MoNE on *Educational Services for Foreigners* (2014/21) was to enable Syrian children's access to Temporary Education Centres (TECs)[40] and Turkish public schools.

This Circular was significant in that it secured standards for the educational services provided for Syrian children UTP (Kızıl, Ö. & Dönmez, C., 2017). The conditions to enrol in public schools and TECs were defined as: (1) to be registered with the Turkish authorities, and (2) have either a residence permit, temporary protection identification document, or a Foreigners Identification Card. Children could also be enrolled as "guest" students if an application was made for a temporary protection identification document. The grade into which a child is placed is determined by the document related to the child's prior education background (if available) or an assessment by the Provincial Education Commissions in Türkiye (UNHCR, 2017).

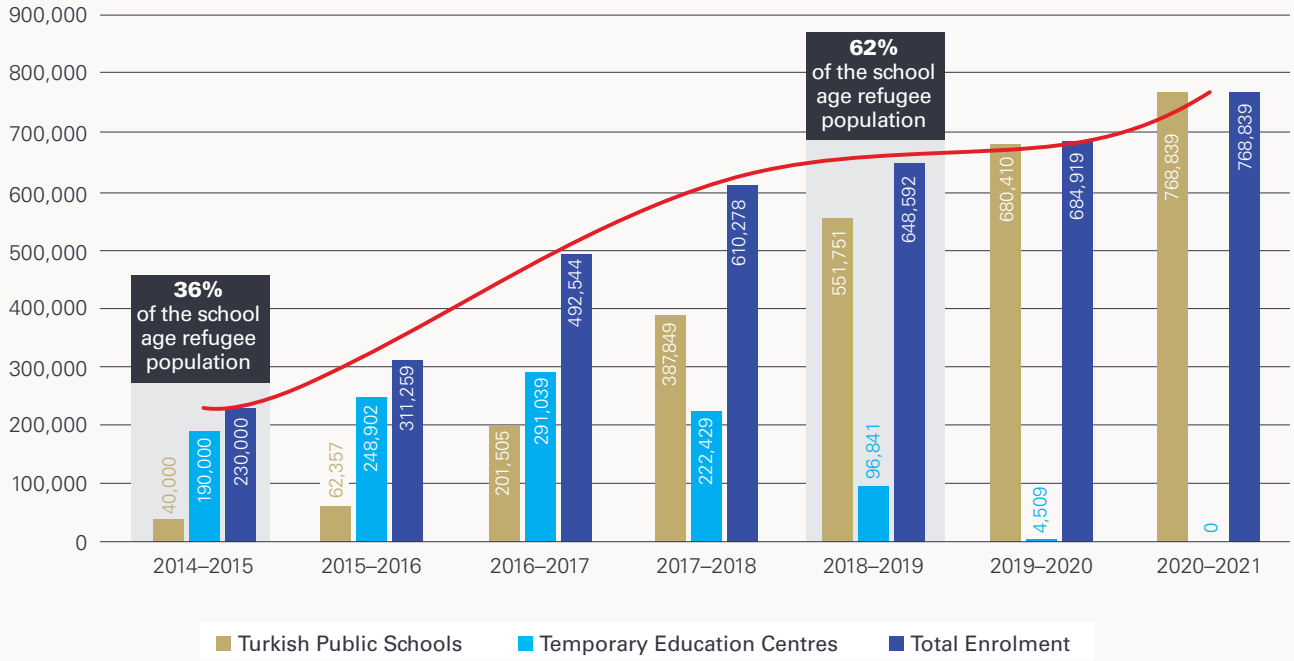
Another policy was related to monitoring of the education of Syrian students UTP. The strategy was to establish the Foreign Student Information Management System (YÖBİS) in cooperation with UNICEF and this electronic data system was put into service at the end of 2014 for students who were enrolled in TECs and who could not be registered in the e-School (*e-Okul*) system. With the transition of Syrian children UTP from TECs to TPSs, the number of Syrian students UTP registered in YÖBİS decreased from 190,000 to 10,801 between the 2014–2015 and 2020–2021 school years. As of March 2021, 768,839 Syrian children UTP were registered in the e-School system (MoNE, 2021b). The number of Syrian children UTP enrolled in school in the 2014–2015 academic year has increased from 230,000 to 768,839 with an almost triple increase in the 2020–2021 academic year.

In 2016, the Department of Migration and Emergency Education was established under the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning at MoNE as the coordination unit for the planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting activities of education for Syrians UTP.

The strategy to realise the policy to integrate Syrian children UTP into the Turkish education system was to close the TECs gradually (over 3 years). This process started with a circular of the Directorate General of Lifelong Learning (DG LLL) on 19 July 2017 (Number: 32782069-235-E.10969431). According to the circular, preparations for the transition period were expected to start at provincial level. Also, instructions to register Syrian children UTP starting in pre-primary, Grades 1, 5, and 9 (who completed Grade 8) in the 2017–2018 school year to public schools were provided. As of the end of the 2019–2020 school year all TECs were closed and in September 2020 all Syrian children UTP were mainstreamed in Turkish public schools. The trend in the transition to public schools is illustrated in Figure 8.

40 TECs were created under the supervision of the Provincial Directorates of the MoNE in the provinces where Syrians UTP were highly concentrated.

Figure 8:
Transition from TECs to Public School by Year, 2015–2021



Source: (UNICEF, 2021a).

To facilitate the integration of Syrian children UTP into the education system to overcome language barriers and learning losses, MoNE issued a new Circular on *Adaptation Classes for Foreign Students* (2019/15) in 2019. These classes aim at improving the Turkish language skills of foreign students at primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary levels (between Grades 3–12) in separate classes established in public schools. The students are allowed to participate in the classes for only one or two successive semesters. The students who cannot pass the tests after completion of the adaptation classes for two semesters are transferred to regular classes and they are also enrolled in the Remedial Education Programme (REP) at primary education level and catch-up/back-up classes for Turkish/Turkish Language and Literature courses or language courses of MoNE at lower- and upper-secondary education levels.

Regarding the policy documents of Türkiye related to the education of Syrians UTP, strategies regarding the education of refugees, foreigners UTP and stateless persons took place in the Strategic Plan of MoNE for 2015–2019 for the first time (MoNE, 2015). The Plan focused on the efforts to integrate these people into the education system and to establish equivalency procedures. In the Strategic Plan of MoNE for 2019–2023, a target was set for the enrolment rate of Syrian students UTP which was 75 per cent (MoNE, 2019a). In Türkiye's Education Vision 2023, the objective set regarding the quality of early childhood education is stated as "*Curricula will be developed for schools attended by children of migrants, foreigners under temporary protection, and agricultural workers as well as schools in villages and smaller settlement units. Curricula will be strengthened and accelerated and will support coexistent living*" (MoNE, 2019b, p.82).

In Türkiye's 11th Development Plan 2019–2023, the policies and measures set for the education of Syrians UTP are as follows (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye-Department of Strategy and Budget, 2019):

548.5. Access of persons under temporary protection to educational opportunities will be increased (p. 135).

616. Programme to increase the life skills and intercultural of children under international or temporary protection will be continued in order to enable them to integrate with the society and to establish partnerships with their peers (p.156).

623. In order to minimize the social adaptation problems of young people under international or temporary protection; awareness, intercultural interaction and the ability to cope with difficulties will be increased (p.158).

662.2. The adaptation of individuals under international protection and temporary protection will be increased by improving their Turkish language skills (p.169).

662.3. Transition of students under international protection and temporary protection to lower- and upper-secondary schools will be increased, and these students will be directed to vocational and technical education according to their interests and abilities (p.169).

2.7.3 International Support and Cooperation

Türkiye has been hosting around 4 million refugees and migrants (3.6 million registered Syrian refugees, and 370,000 registered refugees and asylum seekers mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Somalia) mainly as the result of the conflict in Syria, and it is the country with the highest number of refugees and asylum seekers in the world (European Commission, 2020a). Therefore, supporting the education of Syrian children UTP has been a collaborative initiative for the Turkish authorities (both central and local administrations), international organizations (such as the European Union, UNICEF, UNHCR and others) and national and international non-governmental organizations.

In 2015, the European Union (EU) decided to support the efforts of Türkiye in finding solutions to the refugee crisis via the **EU Facility for Refugees in Türkiye (FRIT)** programme. Since 2016, FRIT has been mobilizing the existing EU financial instruments as humanitarian and development assistance and it has focused on humanitarian assistance, education, migration management, health, municipal infrastructure, and socio-economic support, managing a total of €6 billion in two tranches. Out of this €6 billion, €1,557,979,585 has been allocated for education (European Commission, 2020b).

Under the **humanitarian strand** of the Facility, the **Extension of Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE)** Programme was launched **for Syrian and other refugees** in 2017 and funded by EU's Directorate General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (**ECHO**), The programme aims to encourage enrolment and improve school attendance of children, through the provision of bi-monthly payments to refugee families, on the condition that students attend school regularly (at least 80 per cent). The CCTE **for Syrian and other refugees** Programme has been an expansion of national Conditional Cash Transfer for Education, which the MoFSS has been implementing. Also, the Turkish government has been providing funding for the CCTE Programme, since 2003. The Programme is implemented through a partnership between MoFSS, MoNE, the Turkish Red Crescent (TRC) and UNICEF. By February 2021, the CCTE supported 682,882 Syrian children UTP and other refugee children. At kindergarten, primary and lower-secondary levels students are entitled to monthly amounts of 45 TL for boys and 50 TL for girls. Upper-secondary school students receive monthly amounts of 55 TL for boys and 75 TL for girls. Furthermore, additional support is provided to families at the beginning of each school term in the form of 100 TL (kindergarten and primary school levels), 200 TL (lower-secondary school level) and 250 TL (upper-secondary school level) (UNICEF, 2021a).

Under the **development strand**, **PICTES** (Promoting the Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System) was one of the most extensive projects (€300 million direct grant to MoNE) to increase integration and access to high-quality education for Syrian children UTP. The first phase of the project ended in May 2019, and **PIKTES II** (Promoting the Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System) was launched with a budget of €400 million. Under PIKTES II, the Facility continues to (European Commission, 2020c):

i. increase access rates of Syrian students to education,

ii. improve the operational capacity of educational institutions and staff, as well as

iii. improve the quality of education.

PICTES and PIKTES-II cover a wide spectrum of activities implemented by the MoNE: Turkish and Arabic language education, catch-up education, back-up education, material development, guidance and counselling services, school security and hygiene, transportation, educational equipment (computers, projectors, printers and arts and sports materials), educational materials (stationery, textbooks, clothing), trainings for teachers and administrative personnel), and awareness-raising activities for children and parents.

Another significant cooperation initiative under the development strand is the Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) implemented since 2018 by the MoNE with the support of UNICEF in PECs in 12 provinces with a high number of refugee population. The ALP is the only accredited and certified MoNE programme for OOS refugee children to support them in accessing education opportunities and integrating them back into the national formal education system. The programme targets 10 to 18-year-old OOS refugee children who: (i) have never been in school, or (ii) have dropped out and cannot be reintegrated into the formal education system without catching up.

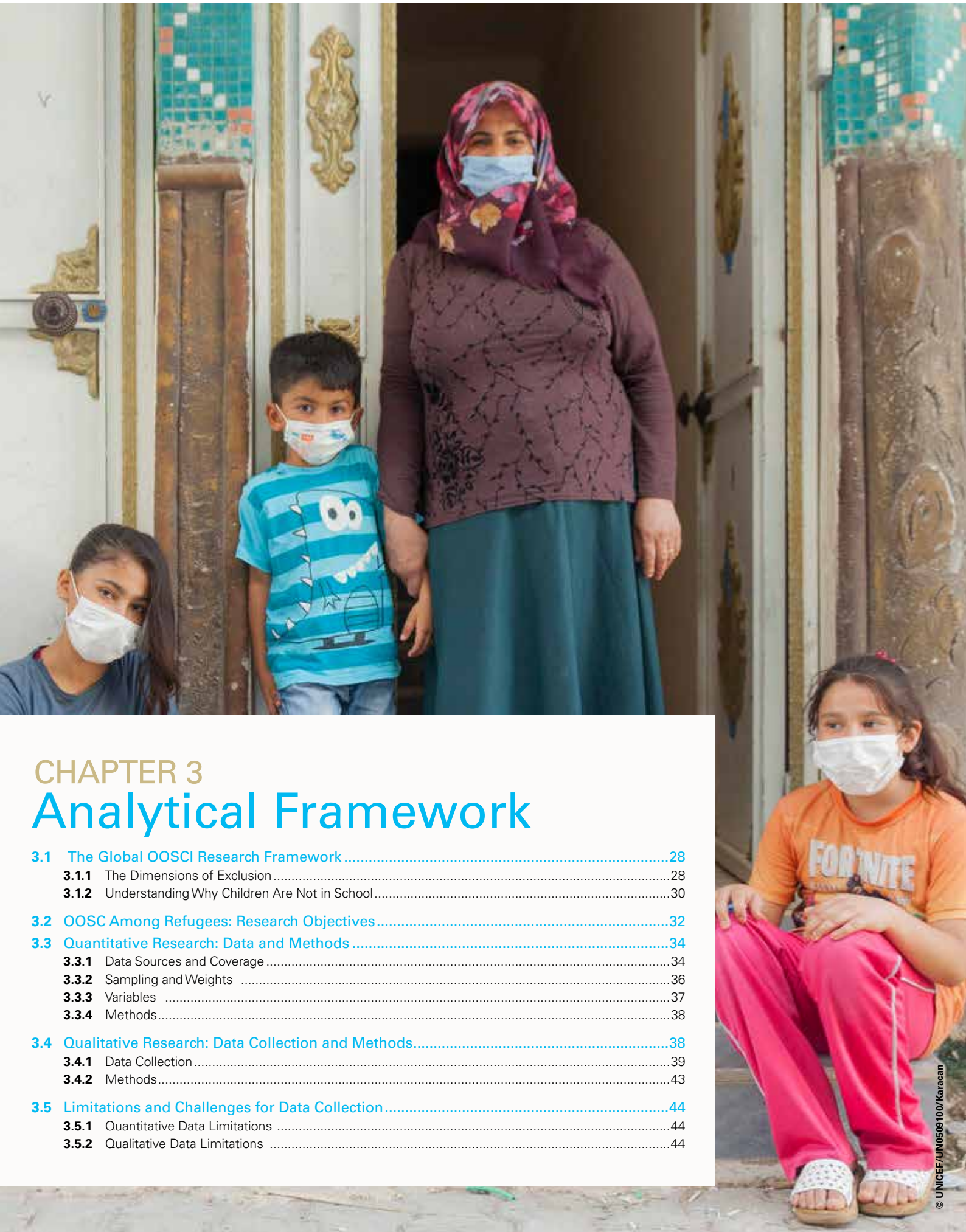
Families of students in ALP are also entitled to apply to the CCTE programme and receive monthly cash support in the amount of 75 TL subject to a learner's regular attendance and an additional payment of 250 TL per child at the beginning of each term through CCTE programme (UNICEF, 2021a). Some other Turkish Language Classes (TLCs) are also provided in Youth Centres in collaboration with the Ministry of Youth and Sports (MoYS) and in Child and Adolescent Friendly Centres and Community Centres in collaboration with the TRC aiming to help children integrate into the host communities.

In addition to the projects mentioned above, there are several other projects under the development strand of the FRIT, focusing on vocational education and training, non-formal education, higher education, school buildings and infrastructure.

There are also other projects that KfW supports regarding education, vocational training and appropriate infrastructure for the education of Syrian refugees in Türkiye. It also supports local communities in coping with the extreme population growth.

UNHCR provides inter-agency coordination within the framework of the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) in support of refugee-related activities in Türkiye. It also works with the MoNE regarding provision of free language classes and skills training courses for adults in addition to supporting PECs to serve refugees and host communities more effectively.

Since MoNE has taken the full responsibility of the education of Syrian children UTP, many NGOs have focused on psychosocial support rather than on academic development of these children. There are a few NGOs, such as Yuva, Support to Life (STL), and Maya Foundation, which work with Syrian children UTP and their teachers. These NGOs carry out activities within the terms of the protocols signed with MoNE (Akyüz et al., 2018). Furthermore, there are also projects and activities at local level carried out by public authorities (governors, district governors, municipalities, provincial directorates of ministries, headmen, etc.) in cooperation with NGOs mainly focusing on Turkish language education, vocational training and psychosocial support (Kaya, 2020). Moreover, some municipalities and international NGOs (such as GIZ, SGDD-ASAM, IOM, UNHCR) supported Turkish language education of Syrians UTP in cooperation with MoNE (Özçürümez & İçduygu, 2020).



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CHAPTER 3
Analytical Framework

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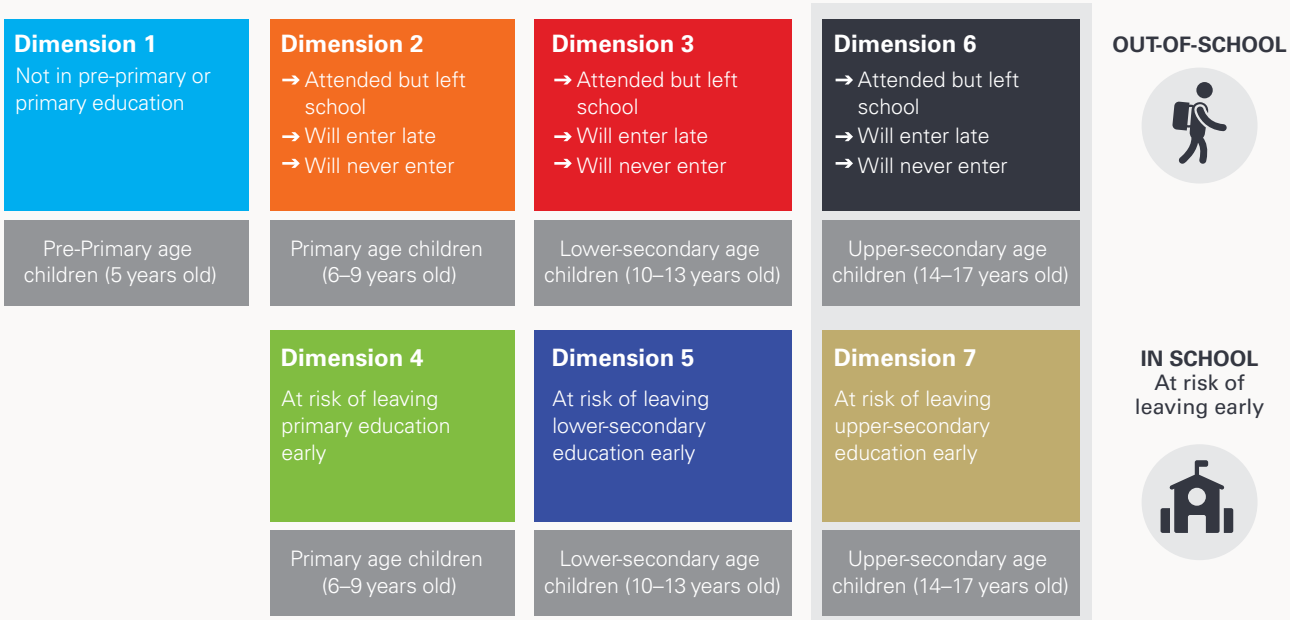
3.1 The Global OOSCI Research Framework

3.1.1 The Dimensions of Exclusion

The Global OOSCI incorporates different categories of OOSC, together with children who are at risk of dropping out of school, to develop a comprehensive overview of educational exclusion. The standard OOSCI framework is referred to as the 5 Dimensions of Exclusion (5DE) and covers pre-primary through to lower-secondary level (UNICEF-UIS, 2015).

Figure 9 is taken from a recent UNICEF presentation on OOSC among Syrian children UTP. It provides an expanded framework for OOSC that is tailored to the Turkish context (UNICEF, 2019c). Dimensions 1 to 5 are identical to the 5DE framework, which OOSCI provides. However, in the context of compulsory 4+4+4 education in Türkiye it is necessary to extend the framework to include the upper-secondary level ('high school'), which requires two additional dimensions (6 and 7).

Figure 9:
The OOSC Dimensions of Exclusion Adapted to the Turkish System



Source: (UNICEF, 2019c).

The seven-dimension framework (7DE) in Figure 9 covers four distinct levels of education in Türkiye, including pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary. The primary, lower- and upper-secondary levels correspond to International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) levels 1, 2 and 3[41]. For the 5-year olds in Dimension 1 of the OOSC 7DE, the corresponding ISCED level is "02", which includes children ages 3–5 and does not specifically include 5-year olds only.

41 See the "new" 2011 ISCED levels: ISCED 2011 Operational Manual: Guidelines for Classifying National Education Programmes and Related Qualifications (OECD/Eurostat/UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2015), http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264228368-en.

The adapted "7DE" framework includes four dimensions that refer to children who are not in school:

Dimension 1	Pre-primary school aged children (age 5) who are not in pre-primary (or primary)
Dimension 2	Primary school aged children (ages 6–9) who are not in primary school (or lower-secondary), or who have previously been in primary but no longer are in school (dropouts)
Dimension 3	Lower-secondary school aged children (ages 10–13) who are not in lower-secondary (or upper-secondary), or who have been in primary or lower-secondary previously but no longer are in school (dropouts)
Dimension 6	Upper-secondary school aged children (ages 14–17) who are not in upper-secondary (or tertiary/higher education), or who have previously been in primary, lower-secondary or upper-secondary but no longer are in school (drop-outs)

And there are three dimensions related to risk:

Dimension 1	Children who are in primary school but are at risk of dropping out
Dimension 2	Children who are in lower-secondary school but are at risk of dropping out
Dimension 3	Children who are in upper-secondary school but are at risk of dropping out

One complication in the OOSCI framework is the definition of what it means to be in or out of school. In the case of refugee children in Türkiye, the available quantitative data are based on both enrolment and attendance dimensions. MoNE data provide totals of Syrians UTP who are enrolled, while outreach and DHS data sources asked families about enrolment as well as attendance, depending on the survey[42]. Considering these definitional and local contextual features related to OOSC, for the quantitative summaries provided in this report, refugee children are classified as out of school when they are not enrolled in school in the current school year, or when they indicated that they had not attended school during the current school year.

The flexibility in definition of OOSC is required by the simple fact that the available data are based on different questions that reference either enrolment or attendance. Nevertheless, it is important to state that these different question formats are essentially measuring the same thing: whether or not the child has participated in education, in some form, during the current school year.

One feature of the Turkish system that potentially complicates the measurement of OOSC is the open education category. Officially, lower- and upper-secondary aged children who have enrolled initially but no longer come to school (in "non-attendance")[43] are eventually switched over to the open education system. However, among refugee children, participation in the open education appears to be voluntary and is quite limited, so this issue is not as salient for this report as it is for the national OOSC study focusing on Turkish children.

42 See the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) online data portal (http://data.uis.unesco.org/#) for descriptions of different enrolment and attendance indicators. The UIS definition is somewhat broad and does not get into details about when the enrolment data were collected (beginning or end of school year), or whether or not attendance-based indicators refer to current attendance or attendance at any point in the school year. These details are generally left to individual countries to determine.

43 Students, whose absence period exceeds 10 days without any excuse and 30 days in total, are considered unsuccessful regardless of their course scores. Those who do not have the right to education in the VECs and those who are subject to compulsory education are directed to Open Education High School, Vocational Open Education High School or Open Education Imam Hatip High School and their registration is made. https://ogm.meb.gov.tr/www/sss.php.

Within the primary and lower/upper-secondary OOSC groups there are three sub-categories of interest (see Figure 6 above). "*Attended but left school*" refers to school drop-outs who have enrolled in school in their home country or in Türkiye at some point but are no longer enrolled (or attending). "*Will enter late*" mainly references primary-aged children who have not yet enrolled in primary school but are expected to do so. "*Will never enter*" references children who have not enrolled in school and are not expected to do so. In the quantitative summaries provided in Section 4 these three sub-categories are estimated, subject to data availability. The total number of OOSC in the country is also summed across the OOSC dimensions (1, 2, 3 and 6), and measured as a percentage (or rate) of the total child population for that age range. Pre-primary is not compulsory in Türkiye, but children in this age category can still be analysed to provide guidance ahead of the anticipated transition to universal (i.e., compulsory) pre-primary[44].

The definitions used in the qualitative field work to identify OOSC study subjects required some additional modifications due to the timing of the data collection. The enrolment-based definition is straightforward: Children who had never enrolled in school in Türkiye, or who were not currently enrolled in school in the 2019–2020 and 2020–2021 school year, were included in OOSC in-depth interviews (IDIs). Additionally, children who had initially enrolled in the regular school system but had not attended school even for one day in the 2019–2020 school year" and/or" children who had not attended school even for one day from the start of the 2019–2020 and 2020–2021 school year (from September 2020 onwards) were also counted as OOSC, and eligible for IDI participation.

The final dimensions in the OOSCI framework are related to the risk of dropping out (Figure 3). OOSCI does not provide a detailed definition of at-risk children, and again this is left up to individual country studies to define. UNICEF's recent summary of OOSC among Syrian children UTP uses age and student absence data to define 'at-risk' (UNICEF, 2019c). This study builds on this same strategy and presents drop-out risk rates based on different levels of absences and overage, both of which are available through MoNE (please see Section 2.4.4 for regulations on absences based on the school levels). The qualitative data collection included a sub-set of at-risk children who participated in IDIs and who were identified on the basis of frequent absences during the 2019–2020 and 2020–2021 school years.

3.1.2 Understanding Why Children Are Not in School

The standard OOSC research framework groups the underlying causes of not being in school into barriers and bottlenecks (UNICEF-UIS, 2015). The concept of a barrier is widely understood, and factors like poverty and limited physical access to schools fit easily into this barrier. Bottlenecks are a more abstract concept as they tend to be the product of multiple influences. For example, in some countries bottlenecks of enrolment form at the bunching up of enrolment at the end of primary or lower-secondary, with low rates of transition into the next level, that likely reflect a combination of poverty, school quality deficiencies and limited school supply.

Discussions of OOSC tend to focus on supply and demand factors. The demand-side barriers refer to the determinants linked to the demand for education, i.e., the factors related to the target population utilising education services. The supply-side barriers refer to the determinants linked to the supply of education services, i.e., the factors stemming from and within the education system. On the basis of a literature review, a comprehensive overview of barriers and bottlenecks derived from supply and demand factors is presented in Appendix A (Table A1), as a comprehensive heuristic map to guide the analysis of the multidimensional reasons for the OOS phenomenon in this study of OOSC among the refugee population in Türkiye. The five general categories presented in Table A1 are tailored to the Turkish context and are relevant for both the national (Turkish) and refugee populations. It should be noted that various barriers do not impact all children equally, as OOSC rates often vary significantly by gender, age group and region.

To the extent that qualitative and quantitative data enables, analysis of these various indicators aims at providing a holistic picture of the reasons why a significant number of refugee children in Türkiye are not in school.

44 Another complication with the official OOSCI framework is overage enrolment. For example, an 8-year old enrolled in pre-primary is counted as being out of school in the official framework. However, in practice the OOSCI framework is flexible, and allows countries to report different rates of OOSC based on different definitions of the dimensions. This is especially relevant in the case of the Syrian UTP population since many of these children have entered primary school late or are overage due to an extended period of not attending school. Also, it should be noted that children who are enrolled in a level that they are officially too young to attend are counted as being enrolled (within their age cohort). This means a 5-year old who is already in primary school is counted as being in school, not as OOSC.

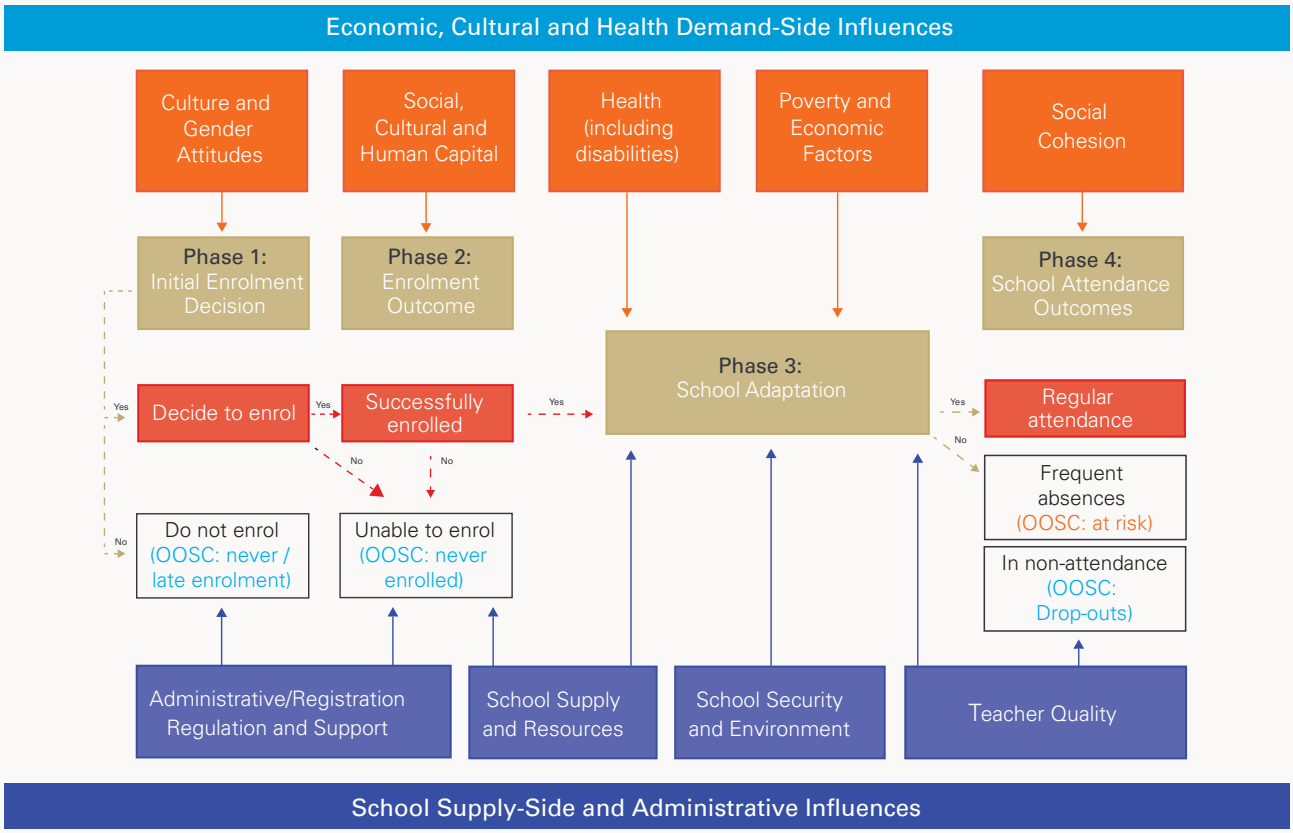
However, it is important to restate that the OOSC framework is not based on a single conception of being out of school and includes different sub-categories of OOSC that can in turn be explained by different sets of barriers. For the refugee population in Türkiye this distinction is especially relevant since some OOSC have dropped out from Turkish schools, others have never attempted to enrol in school in Türkiye, and others may still eventually enrol in school in Türkiye.

Figure 10 provides a complement to the indicator summary in Table A1 by overlaying the supply- and demand-side barriers to education onto four phases of educational participation among refugee children. The first two phases are related to enrolment (or registration). Some Syrian families UTP will not even attempt to enrol their children in school in Türkiye, at which point those children become OOSC (never enrolled) or, if they have been in school in their home country, they become drop-outs. This category also includes late entry, which as defined above tends to reference primary-aged children who have not entered school but will eventually enrol.

Even when a Syrian family UTP decides to send their children to school, this does not guarantee successful enrolment ("Enrolment Outcome" (phase 2) in Figure 10). "Registration issues" have been referenced throughout the Syrian refugee period in Türkiye to explain why some children are out of school (Human Rights Watch, 2016; UNICEF, 2019c). So, children who are unable to enrol make up an additional group of OOSC, again divided into never enrolled, drop-outs (from home country) and eventual entrants (assuming they can resolve the registration problems).

Phases 3 and 4 in Figure 10 assume the child has entered school. The adaptation phase is especially relevant given the transition (for Syrian children UTP) from TEC to TPS (see Section 2.5). The key indicators in the school participation phases are related to attendance and are grouped into three categories on the far-right side of Figure 10 that again are intended to align with the OOSCI dimensions: students who are regularly attending, students who are frequently absent and are therefore at risk of dropping out, and students who have stopped going to school (drop-outs).

Figure 10:
Four Key Phases in Refugee School Participation with Demand- and Supply-Side Influences



Source: (UNICEF, 2019c).

The supply- and demand-side factors that influence these processes are included along the top and bottom of Figure 10. Beginning with the supply-side (bottom of Figure 10), the enrolment phases (1 and 2) are potentially impacted by administrative and registration regulations and support activities in communities, as well as by school supply indicators related to physical access (i.e., distance) and things like school-related expenses such as supporting parent-teacher association, sports/arts materials expenses, field trip transportation, etc. A wide range of school environment, resource and quality factors can affect the school adaptation and school attendance phases. All of these factors are taken from the global summary in Table A1.

The demand-side influences potentially impact all phases. This includes cultural and gender attitudes that can affect family decisions about sending children to school and pulling girls out for early marriage. Various forms of capital are also commonly associated with school attendance decisions, as well as economic factors related to poverty and a household's reliance on child labour. For refugee families an additional demand-side factor, which also has supply-side features inside school walls, is related to social cohesion and the degree to which refugee families are integrated into the local community.

The overall goal of this study is to fill in as much detail as possible related to the barriers that prevent refugee children from participating in school and, when possible, align these barriers with different categories of OOSC. Given the number of potential barriers, this is an ambitious task. It will not be possible to analyse each and every barrier, and not all of the OOSC categories (and phases) in Figure 10 can be analysed in detail across the qualitative and quantitative sources. The mixed-methods analysis is constrained by data limitations related to existing quantitative data sources and, for the qualitative data collection and analysis, by the need to be efficient and devote sufficient time and effort to individual categories of study subjects and topics.

3.2 OOSC Among Refugees: Research Objectives

This study provides a comprehensive overview of the OOSC topic that takes full advantage of the available quantitative data, in addition to analysing new qualitative data. The level of detail in the mixed-methods analysis will make it possible to present trends in OOSC outcomes and barriers over time, develop more detailed profiles of OOSC and the barriers they have faced, and possibly identify new barriers. Furthermore, with so many potential barriers facing Syrian children UTP, an additional contribution of the mixed-methods framework is to highlight the barriers that appear to be most consequential. This is especially critical for the policy work since government counterparts (and other stakeholders) will need to prioritise their actions.

There are three main groups of research objectives.

Research Objective 1: Updating and deepening the analysis of quantitative indicators of OOSC and school enrolment among Syrian children UTP.

One of the core activities in OOSC reporting is to present detailed summaries of the Dimensions of Exclusion across different school levels, ideally with comparisons over time to assess recent trends in these core indicators.

More specifically:

1. How many Syrian children UTP (in numbers and in percentages) are currently out of school by level, divided into never enrolled and drop-out categories?
2. How have the raw numbers and percentages (rates) evolved over time (2014–present)? Has there been consistent improvement in reducing OOSC among Syrians UTP, or has the progress levelled off in recent years?
3. How do estimates of OOSC compare across the different data sources (MoNE, UNICEF Monitoring Data, and DHS)?
4. Among Syrian children UTP who are enrolled in school, how many are in the correct grade for their age? Does this data vary based on gender?
5. How do estimates of the number of Syrian children UTP at risk of drop-out (Dimensions 4, 5 and 7) vary by risk dimension (overage, number of absences, etc.)?
6. Are any new indicators or data collection modalities required to better measure and monitor OOSC among Syrian UTP?

Research Objective 2: What are the barriers that prevent Syrian children UTP from going to school?

This is the largest research area in this study, especially considering the Syrian children UTP in different Dimensions of Exclusion and the potentially long list of barriers associated with each dimension. As noted above, one of the main goals of the barriers analysis is to provide a comprehensive, updated list of barriers that helps fill in gaps in the existing knowledge base regarding Syrian children UTP who are out of school or at risk of dropping out in Türkiye.

Additionally, across the analysis of barriers there are three cross-cutting issues that receive attention. These include:

1. How do the identified barriers differ by schooling level and the child's age?
2. How do the effects of the barriers vary between boys and girls?
3. How have the identified barriers evolved over time? Are some barriers no longer prevalent? Are there barriers that are relatively new?

The final set of questions related to barriers address an issue of fundamental importance for OOSC research, policy and programming in Türkiye: What are the most important barriers that explain OOSC? A lot of research has been conducted related to OOSC among Syrians UTP in Türkiye, including on key barriers like child labour. Therefore, it is understandable that stakeholders want a better understanding of the 'hierarchy' of barriers and their relative importance, instead of simply summarising *all* of the barriers that are present.

This study will address this question through quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative side will bring in multivariate analysis to consider the effects of multiple factors on school participation indicators (current enrolment, grade attainment, etc.). Then, the qualitative work will incorporate a number of strategies to get at the relative importance (or prevalence) of barriers. Both are explained in more detail in later sections. Nevertheless, it is important to state here that the task of identifying the most important barriers is inherently difficult. The main problem is that many Syrian children UTP face multiple risks, and it can be hard to disentangle these various factors when determining how much importance (or weight) to give each barrier.

Research Objective 3: What are the implications of the main findings for Syrian OOSC UTP policy?

The basic policy analysis sequence has already been described, and involves four stages:

1. Establishing the official (or intended) policy related to the Syrian children UTP;
2. Assessing local official understanding of policy and programme features;
3. Analysing the actual implementation of the official policy and regulations as they relate to the main OOSC categories; and
4. Assessing the overall effectiveness of policy implementation and making recommendations on how it can be improved.

More specific questions include:

1. What policies have been working, and why?
2. What policies have not been working, and why?
3. What are the policy gaps? What is missing?
4. What kinds of policy adaptations and adjustments have occurred? How have these changes come about (from below, from above, etc.)?
5. In addition to improving the design of policies and regulations, how can implementation be improved?

3.3 Quantitative Research: Data and Methods

The quantitative analysis takes advantage of the enormous amount of data that is available in relation to Syrian children UTP and their families' experiences in Türkiye. This makes it possible to assess OOSC trends over time, as well as to focus in on specific sub-categories of OOSC using a range of statistical techniques.

3.3.1 Data Sources and Coverage

There are three main data sources that are used in the secondary quantitative data analysis in this report:

1. **MoNE Official Data:** MoNE provides annual summaries (with periodic updates) on Syrian UTP enrolment. This information is necessary for establishing overall trends and enrolment rates among the Syrian UTP population and is also available by province. However, there are some limitations in the MoNE data, such as the tendency to aggregate data by age (e.g., summaries are provided for school age children, 5–17).
2. **UNICEF Monitoring Data:** UNICEF, together with government and other partners, carried out a series of large sample surveys across the 2016–2019 period covering four school years (2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019 and 2019–2020). The monitoring data provides extensive coverage across provinces and school years, with information on enrolment rates and reasons for non-enrolment among out of school children in all surveys, and additional information related to schooling experiences and barriers in some individual surveys.
3. **Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2018:** In addition to the standard national sampling framework covering Turkish citizens, the DHS 2018 included a large sample of Syrian families UTP that were stratified by camp and non-camp residence[45]. The DHS is a valuable resource that can be used to generate detailed summaries of OOSC across various dimensions in addition to providing information on a number of key barriers like child labour and early marriage.

Table 6 provides a more detailed summary of the UNICEF Monitoring Data sources by school year. For the 2016–2017 school year only one survey was undertaken, and the coverage is somewhat limited (eight provinces). There are two monitoring surveys for the 2017–2018 school year, although the earlier (December) data collection has more coverage (15 provinces). Five monitoring surveys were completed during the 2018–2019 school year, while for the 2019–2020 school year there is a single monitoring survey covering nine provinces.

45 Although it should be noted that by the time of the DHS 2018 survey (late 2018 and early 2019) relatively few Syrian UTP families were living in refugee camps.

Table 6:
Number of Sampled School Age Children (5–17) by Province, School Year and Survey

Province:	UNICEF Monitoring Data Surveys by School Year and Data Collection Months:								
	2016–2017	2017–2018		2018–2019					2019–2020
	Feb–Apr	Dec.	March–May	Sept.	Oct.	Feb–March	Feb.	Apr–May	Aug–Sept.
Province totals:									
Adana	599	841	----	----	929	1,024	----	595	887
Adıyaman	----	1,284	----	----	----	666	----	----	----
Ankara	1,857	952	1,088	----	----	1,594	1,127	----	----
Aydin	----	----	----	457	----	----	----	----	----
Batman	----	315	----	----	----	433	----	----	----
Bursa	----	1,579	----	----	881	785	----	627	----
Denizli	----	----	----	729	----	----	----	----	----
Diyarbakir	----	----	----	562	----	----	----	----	730
Gaziantep	1,415	544	2,299	----	----	1,573	1,754	3	1,412
Hatay	----	2,934	5,532	----	----	827	3,696	----	712
İstanbul	1,775	921	1,502	----	1,616	1,024	849	881	1,001
İzmir	1,845	1,082	----	----	939	422	----	1,124	----
Kahramanmaraş	----	3,276	----	----	----	1,168	----	----	----
Kayseri	----	----	----	1,819	608	----	----	187	2,287
Kilis	1,712	888	----	----	354	650	----	220	----
Kocaeli	----	----	----	1,233	----	----	----	----	----
Konya	----	----	871	1,556	----	----	706	----	1,287
Malatya	----	----	----	1,158	----	----	----	----	----
Mardin	----	817	----	----	----	889	----	----	----
Mersin	448	1,638	----	----	944	836	----	715	979
Osmaniye	----	1,261	----	----	----	806	----	----	----
Sakarya	----	----	----	580	----	----	----	----	----
Şanlıurfa	1,794	3,438	1,934	----	----	1,266	1,557	3	1,453
Şırnak	----	----	----	406	----	----	----	----	----
Total	11,445	21,771	13,226	8,500	6,271	13,963	9,689	4,355	10,777
District ID	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No

Source: UNICEF Monitoring Databases, various years.
Notes: Numbers refer to Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 by survey. District ID refers to whether or not the survey has information on a district.

UNICEF has already analysed the monitoring data as part of its review of Syrian OOSC UTP (UNICEF, 2019c). There is also another set of data collected in three waves among CCTE programme beneficiary families that has been analysed as part of an additional monitoring activity. This information is also incorporated for some specific analyses in this report. The updated analysis presented in this document extends this work by using data from all of the monitoring surveys, including the most recent survey from the 2019–2020 school year. Also, the reasons for not being in school given by children/parents in the December 2017 monitoring survey were not coded at the time of the earlier analysis, and for this document roughly 95 per cent of the answers have been categorised using the basic outreach OOSC options[46].

3.2.3 Sampling and Weights

The DHS 2018 data were collected in randomly selected households that were drawn from a defined population map that included Syrian families UTP residing in refugee camps as well as non-camp communities. The DHS programme provided the sampling weights based on standard sampling procedures. The DHS data provides the most definitive numbers for calculating national averages for Syrian children UTP due to the national coverage of Syrian families UTP (in and outside of refugee camps) drawn from a defined population. However as described in Section 3.3.1, the DHS data are only available for the 2018–2019 school year.

The UNICEF Monitoring Data are based on a very different sampling procedure. Due to the challenges of identifying Syrian UTP households on the basis of a pre-existing population map, the 'snowball' sampling method was relied on in the UNICEF monitoring surveys. The snowball sampling approach, also called chain sampling or referral sampling, begins by first identifying Syrian UTP households through different means (known contacts, referrals from school personnel, etc.) and then asks these households to identify other Syrian UTP households that are then visited to collect additional data. This is different from standard sampling procedures where the sample is pre-selected on the basis of an existing map of households that make up the sampling population.

Given the challenges of defining the overall Syrian UTP population in Türkiye, it was not possible to clearly define the sampling framework before the fieldwork. What this means is that the degree to which the data are representative of the larger population cannot be determined with certainty. Furthermore, the monitoring data collections were prohibited from entering Syrian refugee camps, and instead focused exclusively on Syrians UTP living outside of camps, although as noted above the population of Syrian UTP in camps was not very large (see Footnote 45).

A basic weighting structure has been applied to the monitoring data files that is based on the total number of Syrian UTP by age and province in 2017[47]. This is the strategy that UNICEF employed in its analysis of the monitoring data (UNICEF, 2019c), and the same population file was used. The advantage with this approach is that the data analysis is based on a replication of the province-by-province distribution of Syrians UTP. In other words, the provinces with the most Syrians UTP will have the most 'weight' in the analysis. The main limitation is again related to the underlying uncertainty of sampling refugee populations: It is not possible to verify the degree to which each provincial sample of children is representative of the entire provincial population of children for that age category. Furthermore, weights do not improve sample coverage, they simply adjust actual sample numbers to be more realistic in terms of coverage across provinces.

Also, given the underlying uncertainties about sampling coverage in the UNICEF Monitoring Data it is important to restate that the DHS 2018 data provide the definitive source for calculating OOSC rates. Nevertheless, the availability of multiple UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys in several school years (see Table 6 above) makes it possible to combine surveys to extend their coverage within each year, and in the analysis below it is shown that in the 2018–2019 school year the DHS and UNICEF Monitoring Data averages for OOSC are very similar. This does not automatically mean that the UNICEF Monitoring Data are accurate in other years as well, but they do provide a useful counterpart to the DHS 2018 data that helps fill in the OOSC analysis.

46 This was done by sorting the answers alphabetically in the raw file and assigning them to the monitoring data OOSC categories (see monitoring survey questionnaire). Given the large size of the December 2017 monitoring file (more than 7,000 children are out of school) it was not possible to translate all of the responses, so the category "Other" was used to pick up answers that did not fit with the main categories. This is a limitation in comparison with other surveys where all of the answers were categorised, but it should be restated that the main blocks of responses accounted for about 95 per cent of the total responses.

47 The reliance on 2017 data is a limitation of this approach. However, it has not been possible to obtain more recent disaggregated data on the Syrian UTP population. The use of 2017 data in later years is only a problem if the proportions of Syrian families UTP have changed significantly in later years. If these proportions have remained relatively stable, then the basic purpose of the weighting scheme, to account for differences in size across provinces when calculating national averages, will be largely unaffected. For calculating raw totals of OOSC the correct population totals are available at the national level, by year, which can then be multiplied by percentages for OOSC to obtain estimates by year.

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3.2.3 Variables

There are four groups of variables that are especially important for the analysis of OOSC among refugee families. Availability and measurement specifics again vary by data source.

School enrolment[48] and OOSC summaries for children and young adults include current school enrolment rates as well as the basic dimensions of OOSC such as drop-out and never attended. Additional indicators include current grade/level, school type, formal/non-formal programme and non-attendance during the school year, although these measures vary by data source. One challenge with measuring current enrolment by age is the different times of year the various surveys were conducted (see Table 9). To deal with this issue the child's age is adjusted to reflect her/his age at the beginning of the school year[49].

Reasons for not being in school. This is a critical dimension of the OOSC study for the simple reason that measuring the number (or percentage) of children who are not in school is not sufficient. Furthermore, understanding the underlying reasons for non-enrolment begins by asking the Syrian children UTP and their families. This again touches on different dimensions of OOSC such as dropped out and never attended, as well as whether or not the child stopped attending school in Syria or in Türkiye.

Child and family background characteristics. For children this includes age, gender, relationship to head of household and Turkish spoken. While for families this refers to family size, income levels, work participation and languages spoken, among other indicators. The different surveys (monitoring and DHS) vary in terms of how complete the information is for child and family background. The earliest UNICEF monitoring survey (from 2016–2017) includes information on child labour and educational expenditures, and as noted before the DHS 2018 data also include detailed information on barriers like child labour and early marriage. But the majority of the UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys have very limited background information. The background information is especially important in the quantitative analysis of factors that are associated with not being in school.

Risk of dropping out. Risk of dropping out of school is one of the OOSC dimensions, and for the OOSC work in Türkiye it has been extended to upper-secondary level (in addition to primary and lower-secondary). This is a challenging dimension to measure since it is based on an expected (or anticipated) outcome, and not an actual definitive result. UNICEF's initial work focused on overage enrolment (or 'age-grade distortion') as well as non-attendance (absences) during the school year. With some of the monitoring data sources it is possible to identify children who are overage by grade, and monitoring data related to CCTE participants provides additional information on absences. Data have also been obtained from MoNE that identify the number of Syrian children UTP who have been absent (in non-attendance) for 10–19, 20 or more and 30 or more days during the school year for the 2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 school years by grade level, gender and province.

48 In most of the UNICEF monitoring surveys the question asks if the child is "attending educational services" during current school year. In the 2016–2017 monitoring survey the families were asked if their children had registered for formal schooling during the 2016–2017 school year, and if they were currently attending formal schooling. For the DHS 2018 data the families were asked if their children had "attended school at any time during the 2018–2019 school year". To be consistent with terminology used in the sector, school enrolment is used in this analysis to refer to children who are currently in school based simply on enrolment (especially in MoNE data) or based on family responses to questions about current school participation. As discussed in Section 3.1.1, the various definitions across the data collection platform essentially measure the same thing.

49 In the UNICEF Monitoring Data from 2016–2017 this is done based on the actual month/year of the child's birth. For the later monitoring surveys the birth month/year is not available, so a simple rule is applied that if the interview month was between March–June then the child's age is reduced by one year to account for the time that had elapsed since beginning of the current school year.

3.3.4 Methods

Most of the analysis relies on basic descriptive statistics and frequencies using the sample weighting described in Section 3.3.2. For comparisons of indicators and other activities like multivariate modelling it is also necessary to consider the clustered design of the data collection. Within each province the data were usually drawn from multiple districts. The respondents within these districts are likely to share commonly observed (and unobserved) characteristics, so this clustering needs to be accounted for explicitly in the design[50].

Multivariate analysis of the factors that are associated with being in school (or out of school) is possible with all of the survey data sources, especially the DHS 2018 data that not only have excellent sampling coverage of the Syrian UTP population but also have an extensive set of individual child and familiar characteristics. The UNICEF monitoring surveys generally have less information, with the exceptions being the monitoring survey from the 2016–2017 school year and the multi-wave monitoring survey conducted with CCTE beneficiary families.

The main purpose with this activity is to consider the effects of multiple variables on the school enrolment outcome in order to identify especially significant influences on being in or out of school. The results are not presented in detail in the main body of the report, and the main findings are instead referenced in the different sections that discuss barriers. A more detailed description of the multivariate analysis methods, research objectives, limitations and results are provided in Appendix G.

3.4 Qualitative Research: Data Collection and Methods

The qualitative research aims to explore the answers to the research question of why Syrian children UTP are out of school or at risk of dropping out in Türkiye. The specific goal of the qualitative research is to analyse the relationship between the causes, i.e., bottlenecks and barriers, and effects, for being out of school or at risk of dropping out. With this in mind, qualitative research aims to complement the quantitative analysis, which reveals the degree and extent of challenges related to OOSC, to put it in a perspective and deepen its findings with the analysis of the underlying bottlenecks and barriers hindering UTP Syrian children's access to, and completion of, compulsory education in Türkiye.

The qualitative research and data collection methods are usually not representative and do not claim to be representative. In this report, qualitative analysis was to complement the quantitative data to explain possible different factors behind the findings of the quantitative analysis; and accordingly, the available quantitative data were also used. Any generalisations (if any) can only be 'internal generalisations' referring to study sample population; not to the general Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. The qualitative analysis aimed to provide a spectrum of barriers to children's education. It does not claim that all the problems exist in the same way for and experienced equally by all the Syrian children UTP. On the contrary, variations, differences among different categories of children/parents, any extreme cases etc., were all indicated clearly throughout the qualitative part.

Qualitative research focuses on *a general analysis* of the barriers and bottlenecks for two main categories of Syrian children UTP: children at risk of dropping out (Dimension 5 and 7) and OOSC (Dimension 3 and 6). In addition, the qualitative research provides *four separate case studies* on five sub-categories of OOSC who have or are exposed to multiple vulnerabilities, identified in line with the special interest and priorities of UNICEF: children with disabilities, child labour, children in conflict with the law, particularly children under probation, and early and forced marriage.

50 The degree of clustering will vary between the monitoring surveys, but in general these kinds of household surveys have some amount of clustering since it is not feasible to randomly choose individual households from across an entire province, region or country. It is more efficient to choose individual districts (or some other sub-geographical unit, like a neighbourhood) and then within those districts select households. The clustering effect is caused by the tendency for members of the same geographical sub-unit (like a district) to have similar attributes. For example, in a rural district there may be a concentration of parents with low levels of education. In the statistical analysis the cluster effects are accounted for, when possible, through procedures that adjust standard errors. Unfortunately, the district information is not available in four of the UNICEF Monitoring surveys (see bottom of Table 6). And in several surveys the district variable required recoding to standardise the names within the districts.

The thematic framework of the qualitative research is developed on the basis of the *five major dimensions of barriers*, based on the existing literature and drawing on the guidance provided by the OOSCI, with some adaptation to the Turkish context. The four dimensions of barriers are as follows:

1. Socio-cultural, human capital and health-related barriers (demand-side);
2. Economic barriers (demand-side);
3. School administrative regulations-related barriers (supply-side);
4. School supply, quality and relevance-related barriers (supply-side).

A fifth dimension, namely "Governance, finance and institutional set up" is considered as a part of the enabling environment for the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP and is separately structured in relation to the policy analysis of education governance in Türkiye.

This thematic framework guides the collection of new and extensive qualitative data on the barriers and bottlenecks, and their qualitative analysis. For a preliminary overview of the barriers and their sub-topics prepared at the design stage of the qualitative field study, please see Table 3. Those dimensions are developed from a literature survey, to inform and complement the qualitative data collection and analysis. In addition, the existing policies that are relevant to those barriers and bottlenecks are also explored as a part of the qualitative research in the policy analysis section.

3.4.1 Data Collection

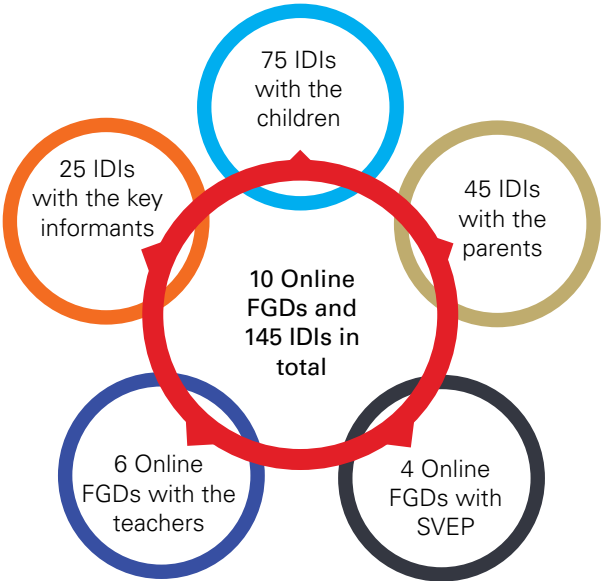
Qualitative data collection aims to produce new and extensive qualitative data to deepen the analysis of OOSC categories, barriers, bottlenecks and policy dynamics. The original methodology for the data collection was to conduct interviews and FGDs face to face. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there were several risks to carry out the field work based on the original methodology both for the data collection team and participants. In order to reduce these risks and ensure the completion of the data collection in time, there was a need to adopt a different approach, based on a remote interview methodology. Therefore, the qualitative data collection was conducted remotely in this study.

The participants of the interviews include Syrian children UTP, both those at risk of dropping out and out of school, parents of Syrian children UTP both at risk of dropping out and OOSC, and a number of key informants both at the local and central levels. The online FGDs were held with the teachers/counselling teachers/psychological counsellors and Syrian Volunteer Education Personnel (SVEP). Although the original plan was to conduct FGDs also with the children and their parents, due to the physical limitations caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, qualitative data from the Syrian children UTP and their parents were collected through in-depth interviews (IDIs). In addition to qualitative data to be collected for the general qualitative analysis, that for the four case studies were collected separately through additional interviews with Syrian children UTP and their parents, and key informants specialised in the particular sub-category of Syrian children UTP.

For the general qualitative analysis, the interviews with the key informants at the local level were conducted with public officials and NGO representatives working at the provincial or district levels. Interviews at the central level were mostly with the representatives based in Ankara from the ministries, international organizations and civil society organizations, which extensively work on the OOSC and Syrian UTP. Interviews with the key informants at the local level for the case studies were conducted with the officials of public institutions and NGO representatives, particularly experienced on the specific situation of the Syrian children UTP under the particular sub-category of children in the case study.

The geographical scope of the qualitative data collection covers six provinces in order to have comparable data from different regions and to understand various challenges and bottlenecks. Those six provinces, in which the field work was conducted, are İstanbul (TR1), Gaziantep (TRC11), Adana (TR6), İzmir (TR3), Bursa (TR4), and Hatay (TR6). Those provinces were selected in close collaboration with UNICEF by considering the high number of Syrian UTP population in the provinces. All six provinces are among the top 10 provinces hosting the highest numbers of Syrian UTP population in 2019[51].

Data collection instruments, namely the question sets for the online FGDs and IDIs were tailored separately for all different categories of respondents. In that sense, question sets for the children and the question sets for parents were structured to collect first-hand data about the household and parents, children's schooling experiences, and social environment and social cohesion of the Syrian children UTP. The question sets for the online FGDs with the teachers/counselling teachers/psychological counsellors and those for the IDIs with the key informants at the local and central levels are to collect the perceptions and experiences of the respondents on the barriers and bottlenecks hindering education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, as well as their experiences with and views about the existing education policy measures. In addition, key informants were also asked about their experiences with other refugee children's barriers to education. The question sets for the case studies also included questions reflecting the specific conditions/situations of the OOSC



in that particular case (such as the working conditions, experience with the health procedures regarding disability or experiences of being in conflict with the law), in addition to the questions about the household, schooling experience and social cohesion. Those additional questions aim to identify any specific barriers and bottlenecks that would negatively affect specific categories of children with multiple vulnerabilities.

Table 7 shows the list of question sets to be used in the interviews and focus group discussions. All the question sets were originally prepared in English, and then translated into Turkish and Arabic. Arabic question sets were used in the interviews with the Syrian children and parents UTP.

51 https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638. According to the figures released on 12th September 2019 by the Ministry of Interior (MoI), Directorate General of Migration Management (DG MM), top 10 provinces in hosting the Syrians UTP are İstanbul (548.125), Gaziantep (449.681), Hatay (438.696), Şanlıurfa (428.007), Adana (238.474), Mersin (203.533), Bursa (176.226), İzmir (146.511), Kilis (116.025), and Konya (109.127).

Table 7:
List of Question Sets

General
IDIs with **Key Informants** at the **Local** Level
IDIs with **Key Informants** at the **Central** Level
IDIs with the Syrian **OOSC** UTP
IDIs with the **Parents** of Syrian **OOSC** UTP
IDIs with the Syrian **At-risk Children** UTP
IDIs with the **Parents** of Syrian **At-risk Children** UTP
Online FGDs with the **Teachers/Counselling / Teachers/Psychological Counsellor/SVEP**
Case Study: Children with Disabilities
IDIs with **Key Informants** working on/with Children with Disabilities
IDIs with the **Parents** of Syrian OOSC UTP with Disabilities
Case Study: Child Labour
IDIs with **Key Informants** specialised on Child Labour and Syrian children UTP
IDIs with the Syrian **OOSC** UTP involved in Child Labour
IDIs with the **Parents** of Syrian **OOSC** UTP involved in Child Labour
Case Study: Early and Forced Marriage
IDIs with **Key Informants** working on Early and Forced Marriage
IDIs with the Syrian Women aged between 18–23 UTP who were involved in Early and Forced Marriage when they were a child
IDIs with the **Parents** of Syrian OOSC UTP involved in Early and Forced Marriage
Case Study: Children in Conflict with the Law
IDIs with **Key Informants** working on/with Children in Conflict with the Law
IDIs with the Syrian **OOSC** UTP under Probation

There were a number of limitations to be mentioned with the interviews planned and conducted for the case studies. As discussed, and agreed with UNICEF, due to the safeguarding principles considering the target groups, no interviews were held with the Syrian children UTP with disabilities. Thus, only their parents were interviewed. Again, due to the safeguarding principles, the interviews with the Syrian OOSC UTP for the Early and Forced Marriage case study were conducted with those aged 18–23, who had been forced to get married before the age of 18. Thirdly, no interviews were held with the Syrian children UTP in open education and their parents since registration to open schools is very rare among the Syrian UTP population. Moreover, while all interviews were conducted remotely due to COVID-19 precautions, only the IDIs with the children in conflict with the law were conducted face-to-face as the regulations of MoJ required face-to-face interviews. Finally, the interviews for the case studies were conducted only in selected provinces, as follows:

Safeguarding procedures were also adopted based on the remote interview methodology and applied diligently during the data collection by the data collectors and the safe persons assigned by UNICEF, Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), and MoJ. Please see Appendix I for the Approved Safeguarding Procedures which were prepared considering the requirement of UNICEF Procedure for Ethical Standards in Research, Evaluation, Data Collection and Analysis[52].

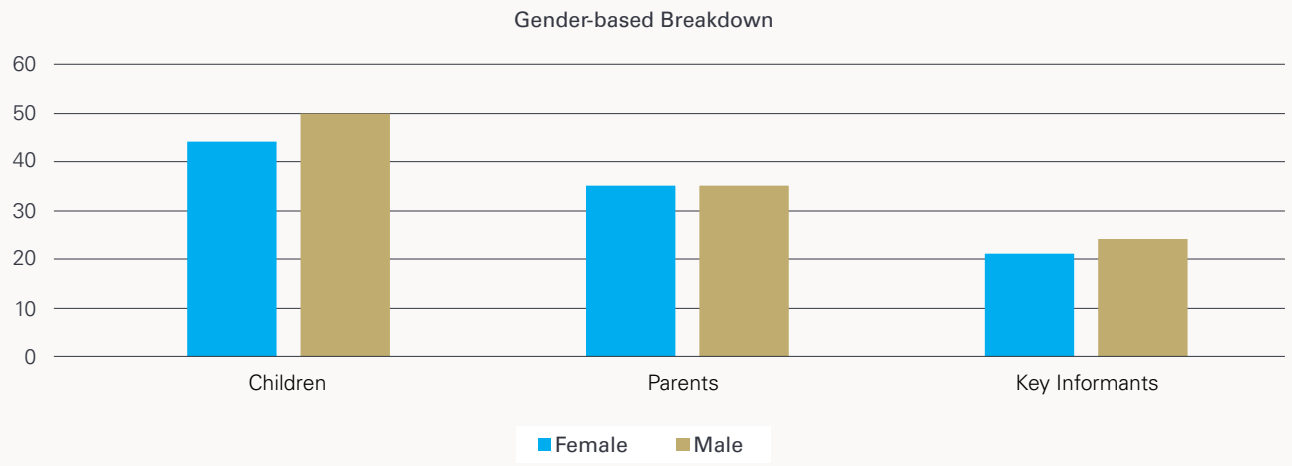
On 8th November 2019, the Ethical Review Board approved the materials used during the data collection. The data collection did not include any questions on socially or politically sensitive issues as mentioned in the UNICEF Ethics Procedures. In the case of any responses violating safeguarding and ethics procedures from the participants, the supervisors, data collectors and safe persons applied the defined steps in the safeguarding procedures. Please see the detailed procedures in Appendix I. All data gathered through data collection were anonymised in order to ensure the privacy of the participants and data protection procedures. UNICEF Policy on Personal Data Protection and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) were applied during the data collection to ensure global information security standards. In accordance with GDPR data protection rules, the personal data should be stored with limited access[53].

The qualitative data collection took place in November 2020 and March 2021. (Please see Appendix J for the breakdown of all interviews based on province and target groups). **The number of IDIs and Online FGDs conducted is presented based on the dimensions, case studies and target groups, as follows:**

Table 8:
Number of IDIs and Online FGDs Based on Dimensions

Type	Dimension 3	Dimension 4	Dimension 5	Dimension 6	Dimension 7	KII
Online FGD	2	2	2	2	2	
IDI	31	7	29	29	24	25

The gender-based breakdown of the interviews is provided in the chart below:



Last but not the least, it should be noted that an extensive literature review also accompanied the qualitative data collection stage of the qualitative research. The findings of the previous studies and reports in the literature were considered to be complementary at the qualitative analysis stage.

52 https://www.unicef.org/media/54796/file.

53 Considering the GDPR, all personal data gathered through the interviews were stored in Microsoft OneDrive system and any voice records have been destroyed after the safeguarding procedures were applied. In addition, the data were secured on Mott MacDonald's IT system which is powered by Microsoft SharePoint to ensure its security and backup. These systems are accredited to the Cyber Essentials Plus scheme and ISO 27001:2013. Only the authorized email accounts mentioned in the NDA have access to the data. Please see more detailed information in Appendix I.

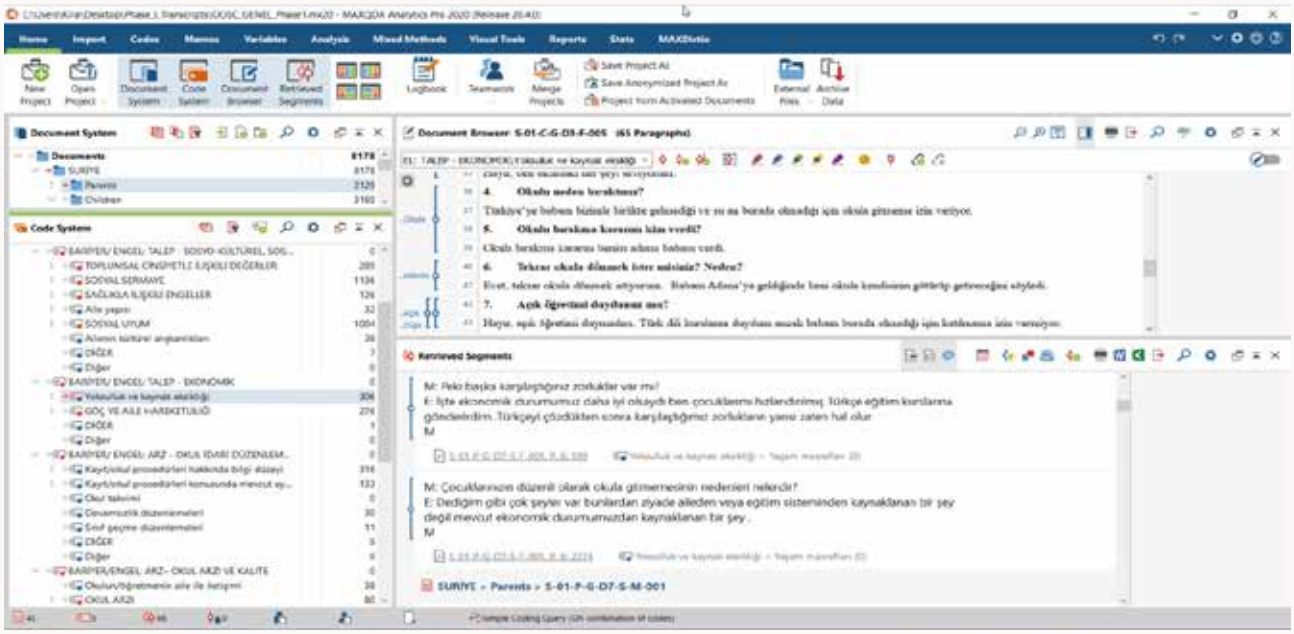
3.4.2 Methods

Qualitative research methods can be defined in two categories: the qualitative data collection methods and qualitative analysis methods. As mentioned previously, the qualitative data collection instruments are IDIs and Online FGDs. Originally all those meetings were planned to be conducted face-to-face with the respondents in their own localities. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the field work was adapted to use remote interview methodology, which included phone/video calls with the children and parents, online FGDs with the teachers/counselling teachers/psychological counsellors, and video conferences with the key informants.

The methodology of qualitative analysis includes different stages, namely compilation, transcription, translation (when needed) and coding of the qualitative data sets collected through the field work.

At the qualitative data compilation stage, data collected through the online FGDs and IDIs were voice recorded and stored in a safe electronic environment in line with the personal data protection principles of UNICEF Policy on Personal Data Protection, EU General Data Protection Regulation and the Turkish Law on the Protection of Personal Data. When recording during a meeting was not permitted, then the data collectors took notes and reported separately. Following this stage, all the qualitative data in the form of voice recordings were fully transcribed anonymously. When there were any online FGDs or IDIs conducted in the Arabic language, the transcripts were translated into Turkish for the qualitative analysis.

Once the transcriptions were finalised, all the qualitative data were coded through the MAXQDA software. Here the coding exercise can be construed as an effort "to arrange things in a systematic order, to make something part of a system or classification, to categorise" (Saldaña, J., 2009).



For the qualitative analysis in this study, the coding was pre-structured, and a two-cycle qualitative coding method was adopted. The first cycle coding was made in line with the code book prepared on the basis of the pre-defined barriers and bottlenecks. In addition, the code book also included additional codes for the profiles of the respondents. Throughout the second cycle coding, the first cycle codes were synthesised by regrouping them into major categories to be able to identify patterns, conceptual similarity/differences and causality within already coded data categories, particularly in relation to barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP.

The qualitative analysis based on this coding exercise helped in grouping and comparing qualitative data according to different criteria, such as the profile of the respondents (age, gender, location, sub-categories of children) and categories of barriers and bottlenecks to ensure an analytical and systematic explanatory analysis for identifying the patterns and conditions which cause children's non-attendance to and/or drop-out from school. A similar coding exercise was also conducted for the policy analysis, to identify and analyse the perceptions and experiences of the teachers/counselling teachers/psychological counsellors and key informants on the existing education policy measures.

3.5 Limitations and Challenges for Data Collection

The study was comprehensive and reached 145 participants in the qualitative data collection. Furthermore, it is important to underline that the findings of this study have to be considered along with the limitations.

The limitations of the study largely reflect limitations of the different sources of data.

3.5.1 Quantitative Data Limitations

There are five main limitations related to the quantitative data:

- **Limited number of indicators related to barriers and bottlenecks.** The UNICEF Monitoring Data sources asked Syrian families UTP to provide reasons for why their children were out of school, and the 2016–2017 survey has more detailed information on school and home conditions, and child disabilities. However, across the four school years (2016–2020) the monitoring data provides very little information about barriers related to conditions in the home due to the absence of home background data in the post 2017 surveys. The DHS 2018 data have very complete data on family background and household socioeconomic conditions as well as basic indicators for child labour and early and forced marriage. However, compared against the complete list of barriers in Table A1, the quantitative data sources are only able to partially address barriers to school enrolment and regular attendance. They do not have information on qualitative processes at home or school that impact OOSC.
- **Uncertain sampling properties in the UNICEF Monitoring Data.** The UNICEF monitoring surveys cover four school years from 2016–2017 through 2019–2020 and are a very valuable resource. However, each survey covers a distinct set of provinces with Syrian families UTP, which in turn impacts generalisability and trends analysis. For the 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 school years this problem is addressed by combining all of the separate surveys to broaden the coverage across provinces. However, the four school years that are covered do not have identical sampling coverage by province, which does limit the comparability between years (see Table 6). This issue is addressed in more detail in Appendix D.
- **Grade missing in UNICEF Monitoring Data.** One additional limitation with the UNICEF Monitoring Data is that the current grade of enrolment is not included for children who are enrolled in school. This means that only a basic OOSC summary can be provided by using this data source. It does not include whether or not the child is in the correct grade level for their age.
- **Data coverage limitations.** In addition to the uncertain sampling characteristics of the UNICEF Monitoring Data (as mentioned above), the DHS 2018 data are only representative nationally and by region. Therefore, it is not possible with the quantitative survey data to carry out comparisons at the provincial level.
- **Lack of student age in MoNE data.** The MoNE data summaries provided for Syrians UTP include numbers of students by grade, gender and school type, but do not include the student age summaries which are available for the Turkish national population. Age for enrolled children is only available in DHS 2018 and some specific UNICEF monitoring surveys (especially the CCTE-related surveys).

3.5.2 Qualitative Data Limitations

There are four main limitations related to the qualitative data:

- **Schools/education institutions closures.** The COVID-19 pandemic has caused the largest education disruption in global history, affecting over 1.5 billion learners at its peak due to partial or total closures of education institutions[55]. Therefore, the access to key groups during the field work took a great amount of time and extended the duration of the field work. Despite efforts to reach the

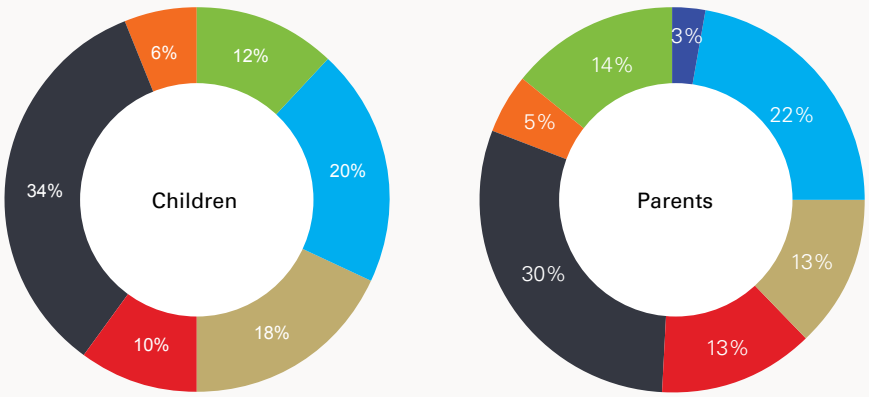
55 https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2020/08/sg_policy_brief_covid-19_and_education_august_2020.pdf.

sub-groups, it was difficult to, find and speak with over age children in primary schools (i.e., children over the age of 16), children who are out of school, children with special needs, and children attending Quran courses[56].

- **Participants' not being informed in advance.** Focal points were to inform school managers about the study so that the participants would be informed before the calls. Due to various reasons (school managers' workload, having COVID-19 themselves, etc.) participants were not informed beforehand, and some declined to participate.

NGO-related interviews went more smoothly due to NGOs informing the participants beforehand and getting their consent prior to the interviews.

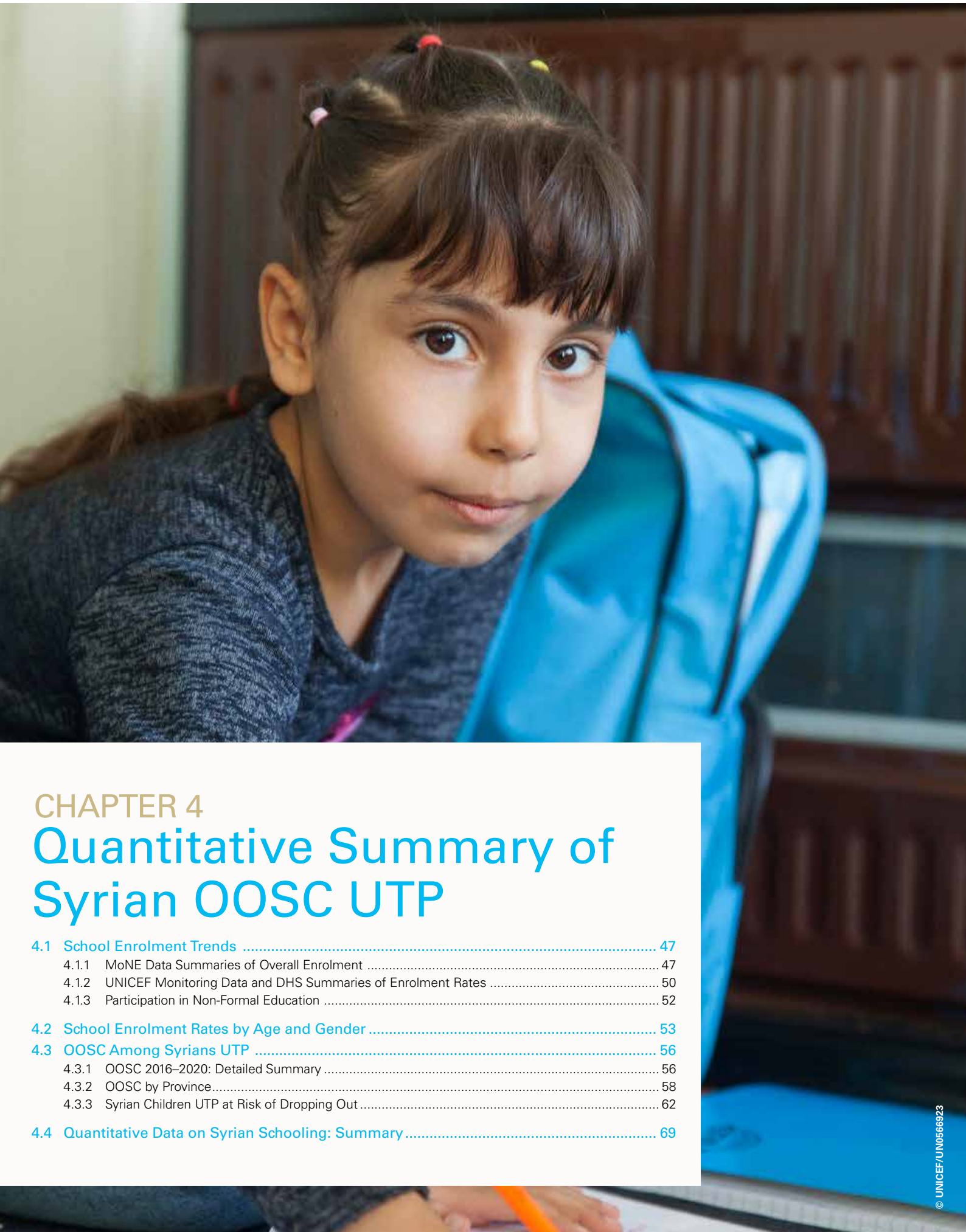
- **Participants' missing/wrong contact details.** There were delays and additional workload resulting from wrong or missing contact details of the participants. **The charts below show the percentage of the reasons of low-participation rates due to the above-mentioned limitations:**



Phone number is not in use | Could not reach after appointment taken | Incorrect phone number | Refused | No answer | Refused after consent form was read | Refused due to privacy

- **Limited generalisation.** The results from qualitative survey samples often have less certain, or limited, generalisability compared with quantitative samples, meaning the results from the sample are not necessarily representative of the entire population that is being studied. One constraint can be sample size: time intensive qualitative interviews usually cannot be conducted with a large sample of respondents, although the impact of this constraint does depend on how large the population is that is being studied. An additional problem is the non-random selection of respondents that can result from low response rates or when study subjects who are relatively easy to contact (or identify) are chosen. As described in Section 3.4 the qualitative data was collected in different regions of the country, with a sizeable number of participants. However, due to sample size and non-random selection, these samples of respondents cannot be treated as being representative of all Syrian persons UTP for each category. The same is true for the provincial samples: these cannot be compared between provinces with the assumption that each sample is representative of the entire provincial population of Syrian children UTP who are out of school or working children or children who have special needs. This does not mean the information is not useful, it is just that it is not possible with this type of sampling to assess the degree of representation, and therefore we have to be careful about making generalisations or comparisons.

56 Quran Course: It is a place of education and training given to citizens who want to read the Qur'an, learn its meaning, become a hafiz and receive religious education. https://hukukmusavirligi.diyanet.gov.tr/Documents/Diyanet%20%C4%B0%C5%9Fleri%20Ba%C5%9Fkanl%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1%20Kur%27an%20E%C4%9Fitim%20ve%20%C3%96%C4%9Fretimine%20Y%C3%B6nelik%20Kurslar%20ile%20%C3%96%C4%9Frenci%20Yurt%20ve%20Pansiyonlar%C4%B1%20Y%C3%B6netmeli%C4%9Fi.pdf.



CHAPTER 4

Quantitative Summary of Syrian OOSC UTP

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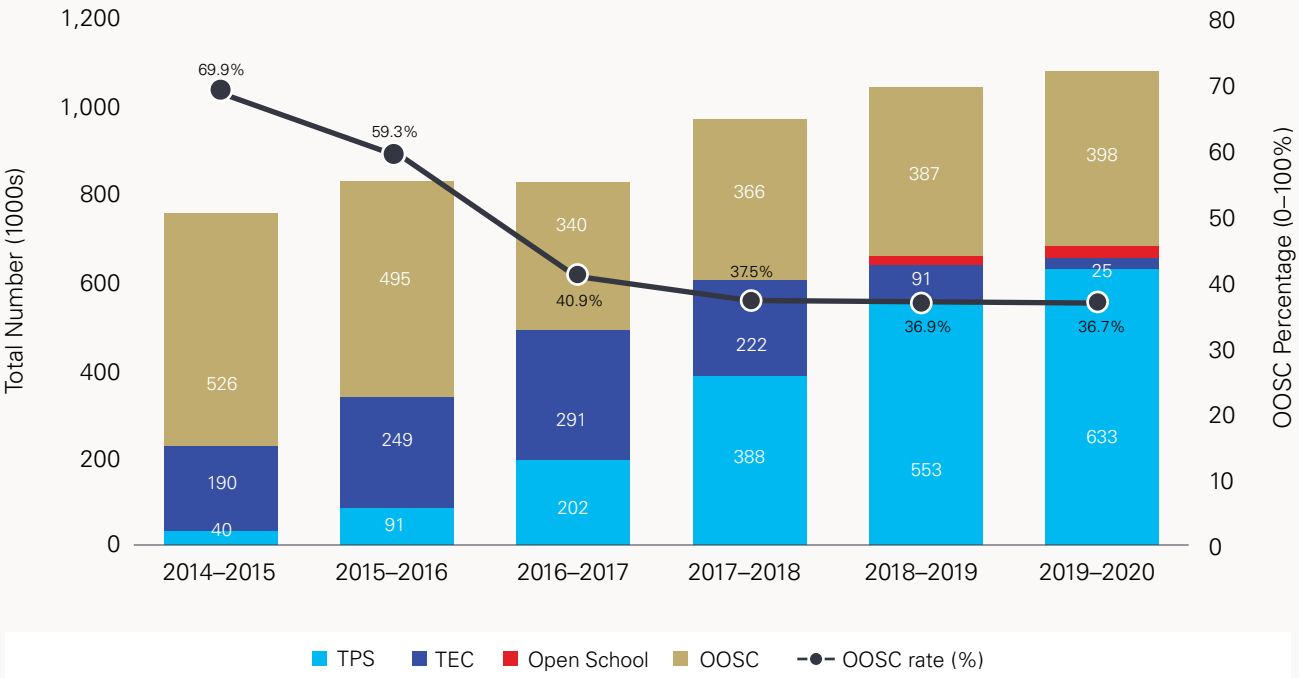
The analysis begins with the quantitative data on Syrian children's education. As described in Section 3.4, a wide range of data sources have been available since 2014, including official MoNE summaries of enrolment as well as sample-based surveys of Syrian families UTP (see Table 6). This information is used to describe the main results and trends relating to school enrolment and the 7 Dimensions of Exclusion (7DE) that are part of the official OOSCI framework. This section also includes comparisons by age group, gender and region, and addresses additional topics that are relevant to the Syrian UTP study population.

4.1 School Enrolment Trends

4.1.1 MoNE Data Summaries of Overall Enrolment

Figure 11 provides a summary of school enrolment among all Syrian school-aged (5–17 years old) children UTP from the 2014–2015 through 2019–2020 school years based on MoNE annual summaries. The MoNE data covers formal education only, divided into three categories: Turkish Public Schools (TPS), Temporary Education Centres (TECs), and Open Schools. The bars in Figure 11 break down the total population of Syrian children UTP ages 5–17 into four categories: enrolled in TPS, enrolled in TEC, enrolled in Open School, and out of school. For example, **in the 2016–2017 school year, 202,000 Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 were enrolled in Turkish Public Schools (TPS), 291,000 were enrolled in Temporary Education Centres (TECs), and 340,000 were not in school.**

FIGURE 11:
Raw Totals of Enrolled and Non-Enrolled Syrian Children UTP Aged 5–17 with OOSC Percentage, 2014–2020



Source: MoNE, various years.

In addition to raw numbers for enrolled and non-enrolled Syrian children UTP, Figure 11 also includes the percentage of all Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 that are not enrolled[57] (black line, OOSC scale on right-hand side of Figure 11). These percentages are noted in Figure 11 just to the right of each dot on the OOSC percentage black line. Again, using the 2016–2017 school year as an example, the 340,000 Syrian UTP children aged 5–17 that are out of school corresponds to an OOSC rate (or percentage) of just over 40 per cent, which is calculated by dividing the raw total of OOSC (340,000) by the total number of Syrians UTP aged 5–17 (833,000). It should be restated that MoNE released this data in aggregate format only for 5–17-year olds, so it is not possible to detail enrolment and OOSC by specific age groups.

There are four key results from Figure 11. Firstly, the total number of Syrians UTP enrolled in school has increased significantly, from just over 200,000 in the 2014–2015 school year to almost 700,000 in the 2019–2020 school year. This growth in enrolment has taken place as the population of Syrian families UTP has continued to grow. Secondly, the changeover from TEC to TPS is nearly complete. In the 2014–2015 school year only about 17 per cent of all enrolled Syrians UTP were in a TPS, but by 2019–2020 just over 95 per cent of enrolled Syrian children UTP are in the public system.

Thirdly, based on MoNE enrolment data, the percentage of Syrians UTP who are not enrolled in school has decreased dramatically. In 2014–2015 nearly 70 per cent of 5–17-year olds were not in school (see black line), but in 2019–2020 the OOSC rate was under 37 per cent.

The fourth key result in Figure 11 is also the most significant for this study: **In recent years the OOSC rate among Syrian children UTP has levelled off and remains quite high.** In the 2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019, and 2019–2020 school years roughly 350,000–400,000 Syrian children UTP were out of school, or just under 40 per cent of all children aged 5–17. This levelling off on the basis of rates does not tell the whole story since the raw totals of enrolled Syrian children UTP continue to increase as the overall Syrian UTP population increases. In other words, an expanding Syrian UTP population means that there are increasing needs in terms of providing school spaces for Syrian children UTP, among other challenges in service provision. Nevertheless, in recent years (2017–2020) the influx of Syrian families UTP has slowed, but the rate of improvement (as a percentage) in reducing OOSC has not changed much.

Box 1:
Comparisons of Data Sources

One of the objectives of this summary of OOSC among Syrians UTP is to provide a comprehensive overview based on all available data. Table 9 provides a brief summary of the strengths and limitations of the data sources that are used to measure enrolment and OOSC rates. Additional details are provided in Appendix B. The main takeaway from this summary is that there is no single data source that is sufficient for all of the data analysis activities that are required for this study. For each analytical task the best available data source is incorporated.

Table 9:
Strengths and Limitations by Data Source

Data source	Strengths	Limitations
MoNE	Six years of data Consistent measurement Population based summary of all refugee students	Aggregated data by age and level Cannot identify children who have never enrolled No information on reasons for non-enrolment
UNICEF Monitoring Data	Can identify drop outs and never enrolled Multiple surveys cover four-year period Background information on children and families Reasons for dropout/never enrolled	Uncertain sampling framework Does not include Syrians UTP incamps Can not identify current grade of enrolment in most surveys
DHS (2018)	Very detailed background information National sample with defined population Includes Syrians UTP from refugee camps	Only one year of data No information on reasons for non-enrolment

57 The age group 5–17 does not exactly correspond to the OOSC age range since preschool (age 5) is not compulsory in Türkiye. However, the MoNE data used for this figure are not disaggregated by age and are instead based on "school aged" Syrians 5–17 UTP.

One of the objectives of this study is to understand the underlying causes for the levelling off of OOSC rates in recent years. These questions are central to the barriers analysis that is returned to below in Section 5.

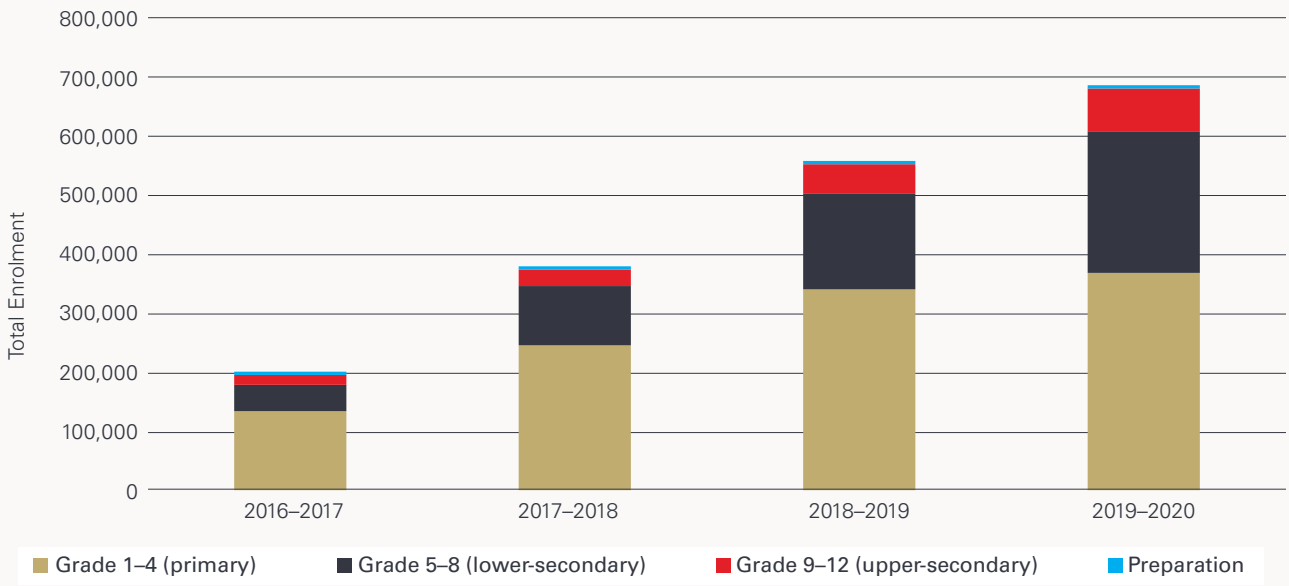
Figure 12 provides a different perspective on the progress that has been made by summarising the total enrolment of Syrians UTP (of any age) by schooling level and year according to official MoNE data. The breakdown by level reveals an important trend in Syrian UTP enrolment in recent years, which is the growth of lower-secondary enrolment and the gradual equalisation of enrolment between primary and lower-secondary. For example, in the 2016–2017 school year the number of Syrian children UTP in primary school (134,000) was three times greater than the number in lower-secondary (43,000). But in 2019–2020 the ratio of primary to lower-secondary students had declined to just over 1.5 (367,000:243,000). There has also been steady growth in the number of Syrian children UTP enrolled in upper-secondary during this period, from 18,000 to 70,000. But much work remains to enrol Syrians UTP in this level and achieve relative parity of enrolment across the three levels in the 4+4+4 system.

Table 10:
Number of Syrian Children UTP Enrolled, by School Year, Level and System (2016–2020)

School Year	School level	By School System					
		General	Special	Religious	Vocational	Private (total)	Total
2016–2017	Primary	133,214	140			1,319	134,673
	Lower-secondary	30,707	19	11,488		1,053	43,267
	Upper-secondary	3,429	45	8,543	4,816	1,235	18,068
	Total	167,350	2014	20,031	4,816	3,607	196,008
2017–2018	Primary	247,197	284			1,759	249,240
	Lower-secondary	65,926	33	28,096		1,398	95,453
	Upper-secondary	5,159	86	17,449	8,284	1,768	32,746
	Total	318,282	403	45,545	8,284	4,925	377,439
2018–2019	Primary	336,958	444			2,800	340,202
	Lower-secondary	114,916	61	46,496		2,397	168,870
	Upper-secondary	7,343	147	28,053	12,509	2,935	50,987
	Total	459,217	652	74,549	12,509	8,132	555,059
2019–2020	Primary	362,923	598			3,648	367,169
	Lower-secondary	174,502	104	65,636		3,443	243,685
	Upper-secondary	10,907	161	38,864	16,416	3,942	70,290
	Total	548,332	863	104,500	16,416	11,033	681,144

Source: MoNE Data, (2016–2020).

Figure 12:
Total Enrolment of Syrian Children UTP by school level and year, 2016–2020[57]



Source: MoNE, various years.

In summary, the numbers in Figures 11 and 12 provide a useful starting point for the quantitative summary of OOSC. In the remaining sections other data sources are brought in to help fill in this picture in more detail, which in turn will set the stage for the mixed-methods review of barriers and bottlenecks in Section 5.

4.1.2 UNICEF Monitoring Data and DHS Summaries of Enrolment Rates

One of the goals of the quantitative analysis is to provide a comprehensive summary of the key OOSC indicators. This means taking advantage of all the available data, which is considerable: MoNE data for the school population; multiple rounds of UNICEF monitoring survey data with samples; and finally, the DHS (2018) sample. Each data source has strengths and limitations (see Box 2 above), and Appendix B provides an even more detailed assessment of the data sources and their comparability.

Based on this background analysis the MoNE-based trend summary in Figure 11 is the best data source for an overall summary of OOSC among Syrian children UTP, for two reasons. Firstly, the MoNE summary includes 6 years of comparable data to establish a definitive trend. Also, these figures are based on the population of (registered) Syrian children UTP in and out of school (rather than samples), from both camp and non-camp households.

Nevertheless, the various UNICEF monitoring and DHS sample-based data sources include information that the MoNE national enrolment summary files do not (see Box 2). This additional information is critical for describing OOSC in more detail and assessing the reasons given by families for their children not being in school. Therefore, it is important to establish the degree to which these additional (non-MoNE) data sources provide accurate data about the Syrian population. A lot of resources have been invested in the UNICEF Monitoring Data collection efforts but, to date, no comprehensive summary has been carried out of how these data sources can be compared to others for key outcomes like enrolment rates.

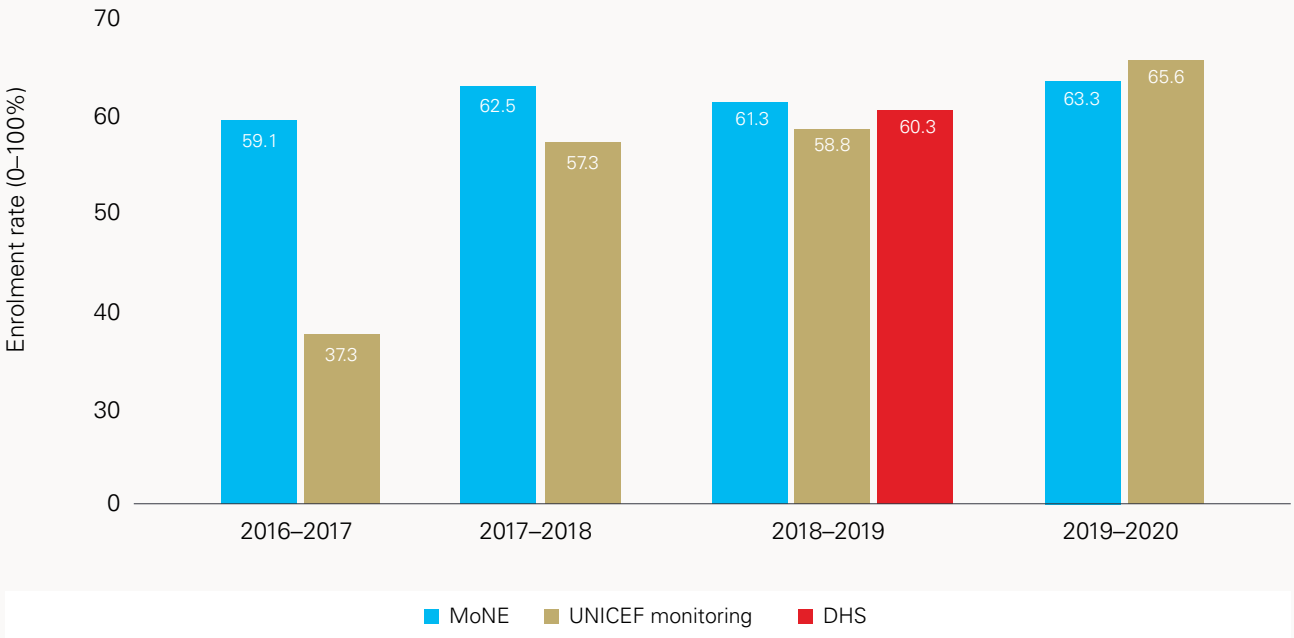
Figure 13 provides a basic summary of this comparison using the overall enrolment rate for Syrian children UTP aged 5–17. A more detailed figure is provided in Appendix B (Figure B1). The aggregated average across the 5–17-year-old age

57 The preparatory class is the first year of intensive language education in some Anatolian high schools and some private schools in Türkiye. It is the class where full-time language education and basic courses are given to students who graduate from Grade 8 (lower-secondary).

range is used for the simple reason that it is the way that MoNE data are presented for Syrian (and other refugee) children UTP. The results suggest a generally high degree of agreement across the different data sources. For example, in the 2018–2019 school year the official MoNE enrolment rate among 5–17-year-old Syrians UTP was 61.3 per cent (also see Figure 8). The average enrolment rate for this same group in the four UNICEF monitoring surveys was 58.8 per cent, while the average from the 2018 DHS for Syrians UTP was 60.3 per cent.

In the 2018–2019 school year the official MoNE enrolment rate among 5–17-year-old Syrians UTP was 61.3 per cent

Figure 13:
School Enrolment Rates for Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17 by Data Source and School Year



Source: MoNE (various years); UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years); DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017 (11,445), 2017–2018 (34,997), 2018–2019 (42,778), 2019–2020 (10,777); DHS 2018–2019 (3,612).

The enrolment rate comparisons between MoNE and monitoring data sources in the 2017–2018 and 2019–2020 school years also show a high degree of agreement. The one exception is for the 2016–2017 school year, where the MoNE enrolment rate of 59.1 per cent is much higher than the average among the UNICEF monitoring sample (37.3 per cent). This discrepancy is most likely explained by the sample composition of the UNICEF Monitoring Data in that year, which included a number of provinces that have the lowest school enrolment rates among Syrians UTP (see Table 6 and also the Şanlıurfa results below in Section 4.3).

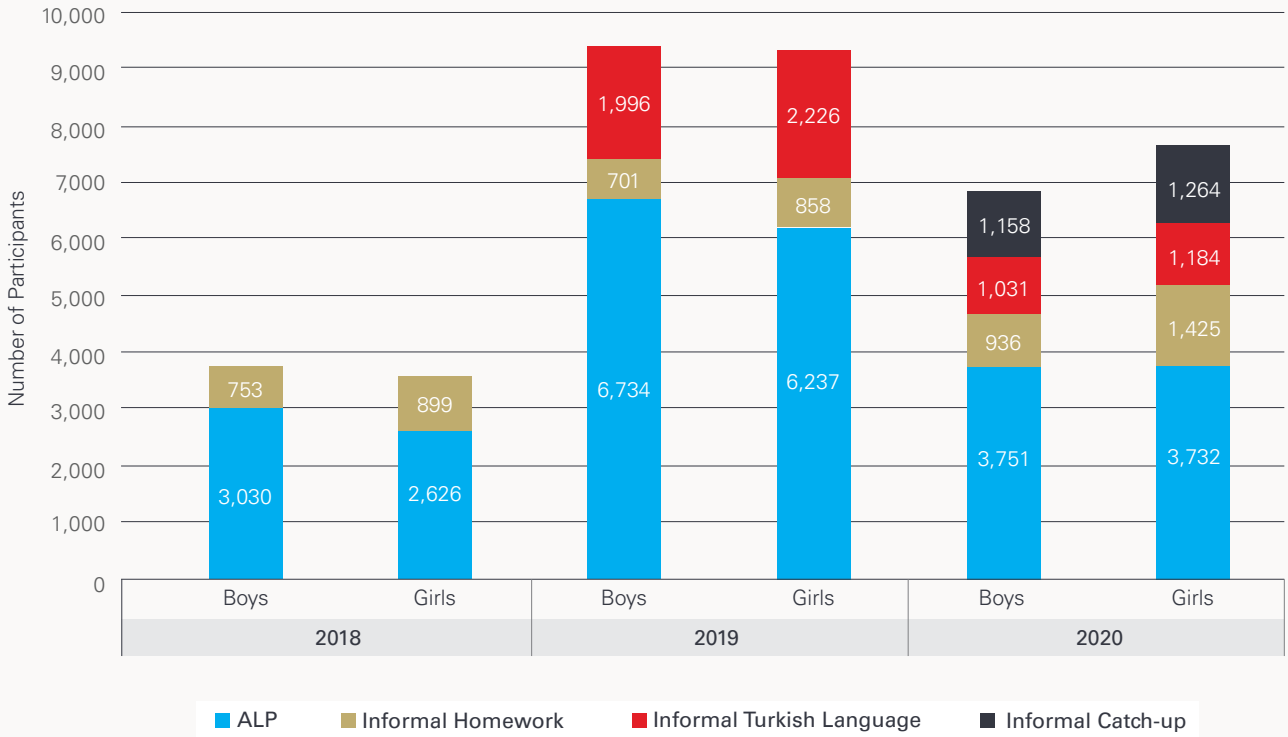
In addition to providing additional information on enrolment rates among Syrian children UTP, the key finding in Figure 13 is that the consistency across data sources, especially in the 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 school years, provides a green light for incorporating the sample-based surveys in other aspects of the analysis. Although in subsequent sections the DHS 2018 data receive more attention than the UNICEF monitoring surveys.

4.1.3 Participation in Non-Formal Education

MoNE official numbers on Syrian students UTP are, by definition, related to formal school enrolment. However, non-formal education also plays a potentially important role in meeting the demands of vulnerable populations that are making a transition into formal education. There are two sources of data on non-formal education among the Syrian children UTP. The first is based on data summaries provided by MoNE for different kinds of programmes. The second includes UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys conducted between 2016 and 2020.

Figure 14 begins with MoNE data summaries of enrolment in non-formal education for 2018, 2019 and 2020. The MoNE summaries cover multiple programmes under both non-formal and informal categories. Non-formal refers to accredited programmes like the Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) and other "catch-up" classes that target Syrian children UTP. Figure 14 also includes informal programmes that support the children in-school with homework support or help children (enrolled or non-enrolled) with Turkish language and other "catch-up" classes that are not accredited.

Figure 14:
Number of Participants in Non-Formal Education by Programme Type, 2018–2020



Source: MoNE, various years.

The numbers in Figure 14 show significant growth in the non-formal sector between 2018 and 2019, mainly due to the expansion of ALP, followed by a decline in participation in 2020 that is related to COVID-19.

The survey data sources on non-formal participation are summarised in Figure D1 in Appendix D. In the UNICEF Monitoring Data collected in the 2016–2017 school year a significant proportion of Syrian children UTP were reported as being enrolled in a non-formal option: 11 per cent of enrolled children were in 'non-formal' education, and another 4 per cent were enrolled in Arabic schools (Figure D1 in Appendix D). Among the non-formal options, the most common were schools providing a Quran course and Turkish language centres. Non-formal participation was more common among older children in the 2016–2017 school year, although it should be noted that the enrolment rate among 14–17-year olds at the time of this survey was very low (less than 20 per cent).

For the 2019 MoNE outreach survey in nine provinces, the story is very different: only about 2 per cent of enrolled Syrian children UTP indicated they were attending some "other" type of school (Figure D1 in Appendix D). A review of the written in options for "Other" (from the raw data) shows "kindergarten" was the most common response, followed by "NGO schools", "Turkish courses", "Libyan schools", and "schools for the disabled", among a range of responses.

One challenge in comparing the MoNE summaries in Figure 14 with the survey-based answers from Syrian families UTP is that it cannot be established if non-formal participation referenced in the surveys was in accredited programmes. It is also hard to assess overall enrolment totals based on the survey data percentages because of uncertainties in the underlying sampling framework, especially the 2016 monitoring data that were collected in relatively poorer provinces (see Section 3.3.2 discussion on sampling limitations).

The raw numbers from MoNE in Figure 14 show that less than 2 per cent of Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 were participating in a non-formal education (including informal options) programme in 2019, and this percentage declined to less than 1.5 per cent in 2020. However, the summary in Figure 14 does not capture the entire offering of non-formal education opportunities for Syrians UTP. For example, MoNE data also show that roughly 25,000 children aged 6–17 were receiving Turkish language courses for foreigners at PECs in 2019. When added to the totals in Figure 11 this means that nearly 45,000 Syrian children UTP, 4 per cent of the total population, were in some kind of education programme in 2019. And additional programmes offering general and vocational-technical courses are also likely reaching Syrian children UTP as well (UNICEF, 2019).

4.2 School Enrolment Rates by Age and Gender

This section continues the analysis of Syrian children's participation in school with more detailed comparisons. Figure 15 begins with a summary of school enrolment by age and gender for the two most recent surveys: DHS 2018 (15a) and the UNICEF monitoring survey from 2019 (15b). Also, a "global" summary of enrolment rates by age across all four school years with survey data is presented in Figure D2 in Appendix D.

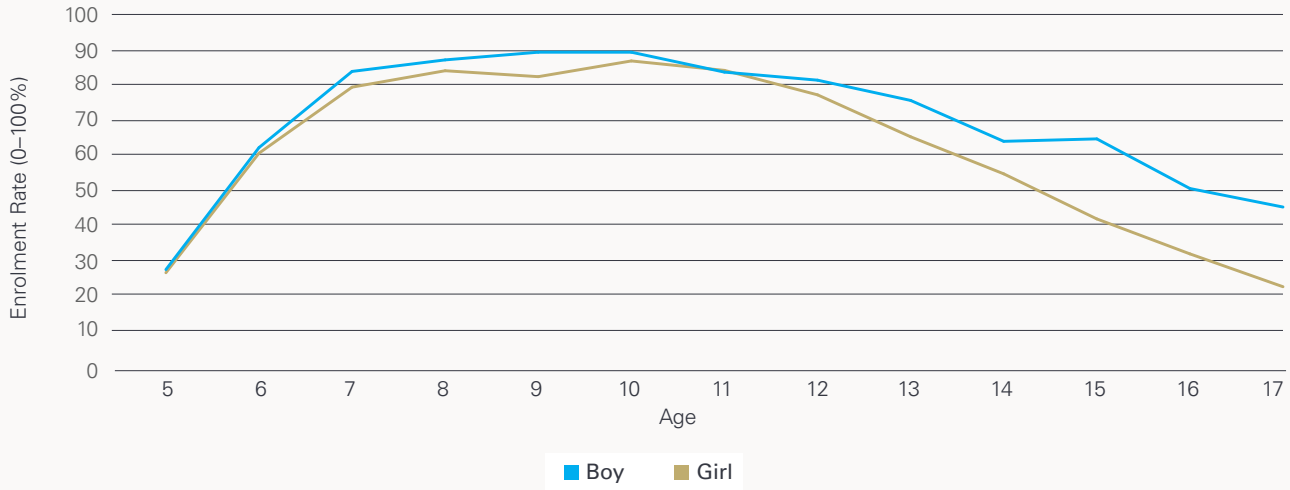
Three results are notable in this summary. Firstly, the pattern by age is nearly identical in all surveys (Figure 15 and D2). Enrolment is low among 5-year olds, increases quickly before levelling off in the 8–10 age range, and then steadily declines from age 10 or 11 through 17.

Secondly, a large proportion of OOSC are in the youngest (5–6 years old) and oldest (14–17) age groups. Enrolment rates are in the 80–90 per cent range for 7–11-year olds in the most recent survey years, but quickly drop off after age 12. For the younger Syrians UTP, the low enrolment rates for 5–6-year olds suggest limited physical space in pre-primary schools in certain residential areas and perhaps a preference among parents for late entry into primary school[59].

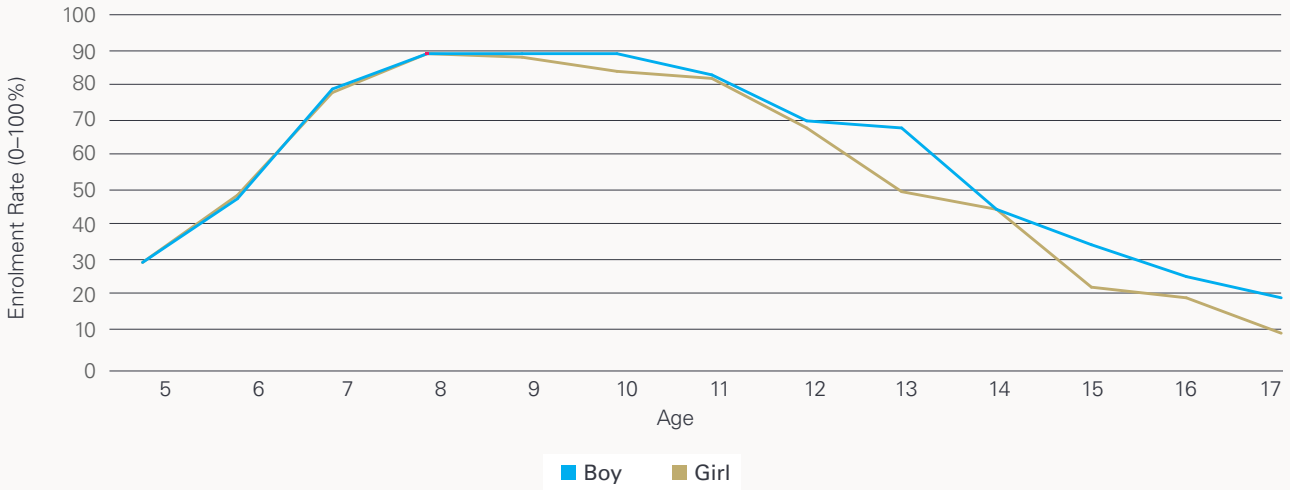
59 According to UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) data (data.uis.unesco.org) pre-primary enrolment in Syria before the conflict period (e.g., 2010/2011) was limited: The total number of children enrolled in pre-primary was equal to about 40 per cent of the number of children in Grade 1 of primary. Also, the net enrolment rate for primary in Syria (according to UIS data) was nearly 100 per cent. These numbers suggest that pre-primary was not widely available, and that children in Syria in the pre-conflict period tended to enter primary Grade 1 on time (official entrance age of 6).

Figure 15:
School Enrolment Rates by Age and Gender, DHS (2018) and UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019–2020 Surveys

(a) DHS (2018–2019)



(b) UNICEF Monitoring (2019–2020)



Source: DHS (2018) and UNICEF Monitoring (2019d).
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: UNICEF Monitoring 2019–2020 (10,777); DHS 2018–2019 (3,612).

Thirdly, there is a clear female enrolment advantage among Syrian children UTP. Enrolment rates are relatively equal between boys and girls until the age of 12 when they begin to diverge in favour of girls. In the 2018 DHS, 62.4 per cent of girls aged 5–17 are enrolled in school, compared with 58.4 per cent of boys. But in both of the recent surveys (DHS and UNICEF monitoring) there are substantially larger gaps in older age cohorts. This is especially notable for ages 15–17, where girls are 10 per cent more likely to be enrolled than boys in the DHS, and the gap is even larger in the UNICEF monitoring survey.

The comparison of the latest DHS and UNICEF monitoring surveys in Figure 15, as well as the 4 years of data in the global summary in Figure D2 in Appendix D, show positive trends in enrolment. But much caution is required when making comparisons across surveys that rely on different sampling approaches (and provinces, see Table 6 and discussion in Section 3.3.2). The global summary provided in Figure 11 using MoNE data shows substantial improvement in reducing OOSC between the 2014–2015 and 2019–2020 school years, but with a levelling off of enrolment and OOSC rates in the most recent years. This is the most certain source of information for trends analysis because the MoNE summaries do not rely on samples, and the enrolment rates are calculated using the same procedure each year.

The female advantage in school enrolment among older adolescents is an important result. The issue that UNICEF has flagged in its review of the monitoring data (and data collection) is that there appears to be fewer older Syrian children UTP, especially girls, in the survey samples. This issue is addressed separately in Appendix C with a detailed review of UNICEF monitoring sample composition by age and gender, compared against national Syrian UTP population figures (from 2017), as well as additional comparisons by gender in the Southeast provinces in the 2019–2020 UNICEF monitoring survey (Figure C3 in Appendix C). There is some evidence that older children are under-represented in the later monitoring surveys, and in 2018–2019 (but not 2019–2020) older girls are significantly under-represented compared with boys. But the enrolment patterns by age and gender are very similar between UNICEF monitoring and DHS data sources, so the female enrolment advantage among older children is quite consistent.

One possible explanation for why Syrian girls UTP are more likely to be enrolled in school than boys is the CCTE programme: the amount given to girls is larger than boys.

Table 11 provides an additional summary of Syrian children UTP enrolment rates with adjusted net (ANER)[60] and gross enrolment (GER) summaries based on the 2018 DHS data[61]. The ANER and GER indicators can only be calculated with the DHS 2018 data because the enrolment totals provided by MoNE are not disaggregated by school level and the UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys with the most coverage (from 2018–2020) did not measure the current grade of enrolment for children reported as being in school[62]. The DHS data include current grade and are based on a national sample framework that includes Syrian children UTP who reside in camps and outside of camps.

Table 11:
Summary of Gross and (Adjusted) Net Enrolment Rates by Education Level, DHS 2018

Education Level:	Gross Enrolment Rate (GER):			Adjusted Net Enrolment Rate (ANER):		
	Total	Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys
Pre-primary	37.6	32.9	43.4	26.2	23.2	29.8
Primary	110.1	112.3	108.1	76.2	75.7	76.7
Lower-secondary	50.8	52.9	48.8	39.7	41.7	37.7
Upper-secondary	17.1	19.1	15.3	13.9	17.3	11.2
Overall 5–17	61.7	63.4	60.1	44.8	45.9	43.7

Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: DHS 2018–2019 (3,612).

The numbers in Table 11 provide a very good summary of the overall enrolment profile of Syrian children UTP that complements the summaries by age/gender and the overall enrolment totals provided above. Much work remains to enrol 5-year olds in pre-primary, and the higher figure for GER (compared with ANER) is due to 6-year olds who are in pre-primary instead of primary. In the primary grades the story is very different: the gross enrolment rate is above 100, due to the significant number of lower-secondary-aged children who are still in primary grades. The ANER of 76.2 in primary confirms that most children in the 6–9 age range are in primary school, but there is still a group who will likely enter primary school late, or not enter at all. For both lower- and upper-secondary schools, the main finding is simply that enrolment is still far from universal, especially in upper-secondary, and that girls are more likely to be enrolled in these grades than boys.

60 The ANER allows for children who are in a higher education level to be counted in the age-correct level. For example, children who are enrolled in lower-secondary are counted in the Adjusted Net Enrolment rate calculation for primary. There are very few Syrian children UTP who are affected by this adjustment.

61 Official DHS data reporting, such as the official report for the Syrian UTP population (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2019), uses a Gross and Net Attendance rate (or ratio) instead of enrolment. As discussed in Section 3.3.3, the enrolment and attendance measures are virtually identical, so the maintain consistency Table 5 uses GER and ANER.

62 For example, the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) requires adding up the number of students in a specific level (i.e., primary) and dividing that total by the size of the population of children in the corresponding age range (e.g., 6–9 for primary in Türkiye). Most of the UNICEF Monitoring Data does not include the current grade for enrolled children, so it is not possible to distinguish grade or level in these surveys.

4.3 OOSC Among Syrians UTP

The data summary in previous sections has established some important trends in overall enrolment and OOSC rates, as well as comparisons by age and gender. **This section includes the individual dimensions of OOSC that make up the official framework, divided into three sub-sections:**

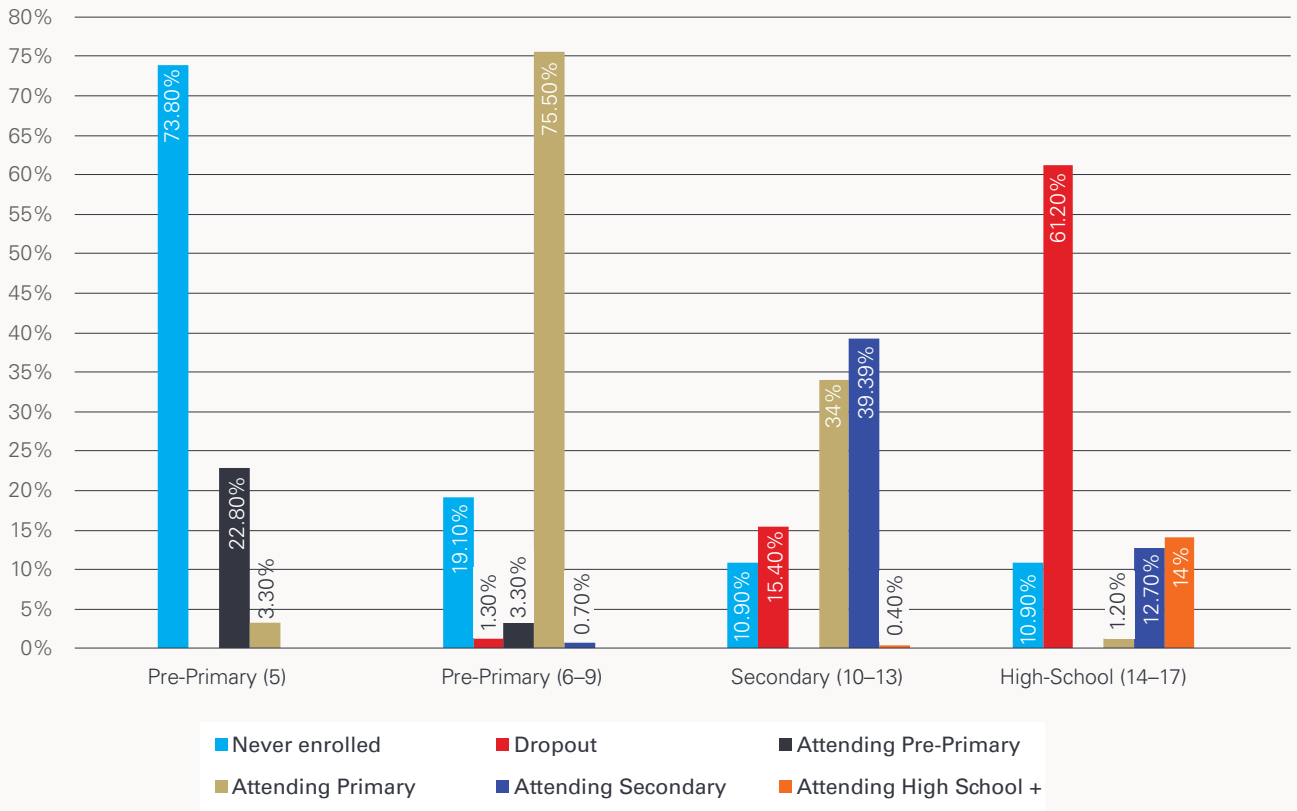
1. OOSC with detailed sub-categories and trends;
2. OOSC by province; and
3. At-risk of dropping out dimensions of OOSC.

4.3.1 OOSC 2016–2020: Detailed Summary

A detailed summary of OOSC that considers overage enrolment and adjusts for eventual entry (i.e., children who will enter primary school late) is a critical piece in the Syrian children UTP analysis. The best data for this type of summary are in the DHS 2018 which covers all Syrian UTP households and provides the necessary indicators for identifying overage enrolment and adjusting for eventual entry into school. The UNICEF monitoring surveys from recent years appear to have good sampling coverage, but as noted before they are missing the current grade of enrolment. This information can still be used to summarise OOSC across the official dimensions, but with less precision than the DHS 2018 data.

The detailed OOSC summary from the 2018 DHS is presented in Figure 16. Figure D4 in Appendix D provides the counterpart OOSC summary from the 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data, which is the most detailed of the various monitoring data surveys. The remaining UNICEF Monitoring Data for school years 2017–2018, 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 are presented in Figure D5 in Appendix D as additional reference points.

Figure 16:
OOSC Summaries for Syrians UTP Ages 5–17, 2018 DHS



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: DHS 2018–2019 (3,612).

Figure 16 covers the core OOSC dimensions related to being out of school (Dimensions 1, 2, 3 and 6, see Section 3.1). Dimension 1 is for 5-year olds, which technically is not part of the OOSC framework in Türkiye since the pre-primary level is not compulsory. Most 5-year-old Syrians UTP are not in school in the 2018–2019 school year, with a low enrolment rate in pre-primary and a small proportion (3.7 per cent) who have already entered primary school.

Dimension 2 of the OOSCI framework refers to primary-aged children. Among Syrian children UTP a sizeable proportion of 6–9-year olds have not enrolled in school, which appears to be related to late entry (see Figure 15 above). There is also a small group of 6–9-year olds who are enrolled in pre-primary, which technically counts as out of school since they are overage. The remaining children, which equal 76.2 per cent of the total cohort, are enrolled in either primary or lower-secondary schooling; this figure corresponds to the Adjusted Net Enrolment Rate (ANER) presented in Table 11.

In the 2018 DHS about 26 per cent of 10–13-year olds are out of school. The majority of these OOSC have dropped out of school, although it is not possible in the DHS to pinpoint if they were last enrolled in Syria or in Türkiye. In the 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data it is possible to determine the country where children last attended school. The results in Figure D4 in Appendix D show that most children who were no longer enrolled in school in the 2016–2017 survey last attended school in Syria, not in Türkiye. This is significant because it suggests that drop-outs, at the time of this earlier UNICEF monitoring survey, were mainly children who had not been able to enrol in Türkiye, or had not attempted to, rather than children who had enrolled in Türkiye but were unable to remain in school. Unfortunately, this level of detail is not possible in other monitoring data surveys (or DHS).

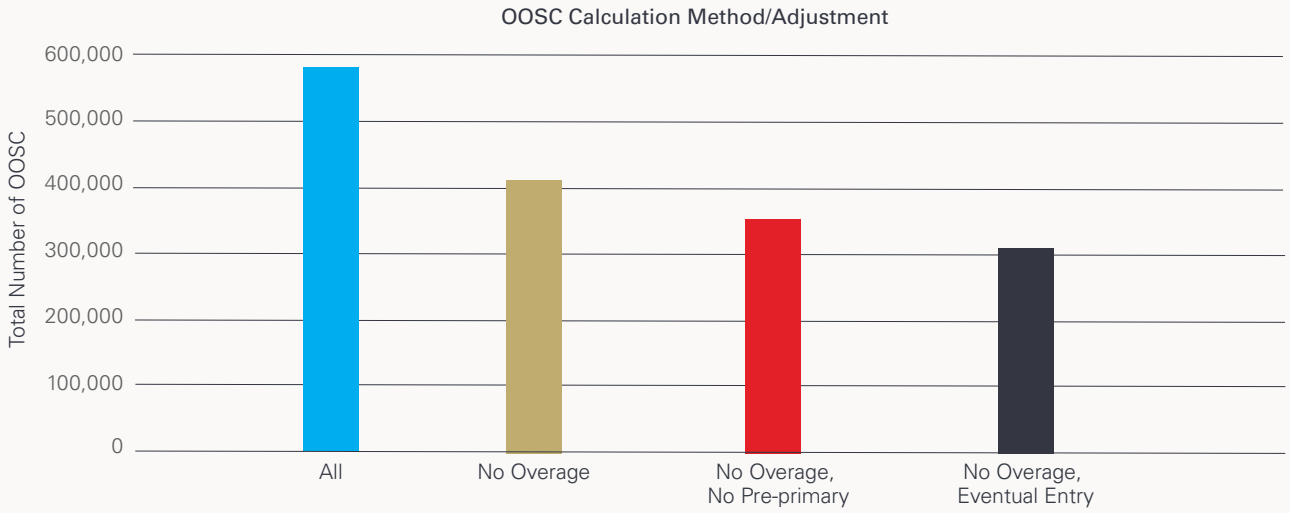
A key result in Figure 16 is that nearly as many 10–13-year olds are enrolled in primary grades (34 per cent) as are enrolled in lower- (or upper-) secondary grades (39.6 per cent). This is consistent with the overall enrolment figures by school level in Figure 12 above, as well as Gross Enrolment Rate above 100 per cent in primary (Table 11). This "age-grade distortion" problem (i.e., overage enrolment) is also related to the risk of drop-out which is part of the OOSC dimensions and is returned to in Section 4.3c. Technically the overage enrolled children are counted as out of school in the OOSCI framework, but the framework allows for local adaptation and flexibility; this will be useful below when summarising total numbers of OOSC.

The final dimension (6) covers high school-aged children and has been added to the Turkish study due to the compulsory 4+4+4 system. Not surprisingly, very few 14–17-year olds are in school at the time of the 2018 DHS, and half of the enrolled children are in lower-secondary instead of the correct upper-secondary level. Most have dropped out after initially enrolling (61.4 per cent), and again the data from the earlier UNICEF survey indicate that relatively few older children have dropped out of a Turkish school (Figure D4). The core message for the oldest cohort is that very few are entering school in Türkiye, and many who are in school are overage for their grade.

Figure 17 concludes the detailed overview with an estimated summary of the total number of OOSC based on different classification strategies. When counting all OOSC, including overage children as defined in the official OOSCI framework, the totals are quite large: almost 600,000 children at the time of the 2018 DHS, or almost 60 per cent of all Syrian children UTP aged 5–17. But this number is reduced to a more realistic figure when applying filters. This includes counting overage enrolees as being in school ("No over age") and dropping the 5-year olds who are not technically part of the OOSC framework since pre-primary is not compulsory ("No overage, no pre-primary").

The final correction in Figure 17 adjusts the figures for future enrolment of currently OOSC, including 5-year olds. For example, at the time of the 2018 DHS data collection roughly 90 per cent of 8- and 9-year-old Syrians UTP were in school (Figure 15 above). The enrolment rate of older children can be used as a rough estimate of the "eventual" enrolment rate for younger children. So, assuming that 5–7-year old Syrians UTP who were out of school at the time of the DHS data collection eventually enter at the same rate as these older cohorts, the eventual entry correction further reduces the overall OOSC figure ("No overage, eventual entry").

Figure 17:
Estimated Syrian UTP OOSC Overall Totals by Classification Strategy, 2018 DHS



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: DHS 2018–2019 (3,612).

The black bar on the far right in Figure 17 represents the most realistic measure of OOSC among Syrians UTP in Türkiye. The youngest children will eventually enrol. Based on this fully adjusted figure the percentage of OOSC is about 30 per cent in the 2018–2019 school year, which is a substantial improvement on the 37 per cent average based on official MoNE data for the 2018–2019 school year (Figure 11), and again the main reason is the adjustment for eventual entry. Who are the roughly 310,000 Syrian children UTP who are out of school in 2018–2019 based on the filtered measure? Almost two thirds (60 per cent) are 14–17-year olds, most of whom entered school at some point, most likely in Syria, but are not currently enrolled in Türkiye. The remainder are mainly primary- and (especially) lower-secondary-aged children who have also dropped out, although among these cohorts the proportion of drop-outs who are leaving Turkish schools is certainly larger than among the 14–17 age cohort. And included in this group is also a relatively small segment of children who will never enter school in either Syria or Türkiye.

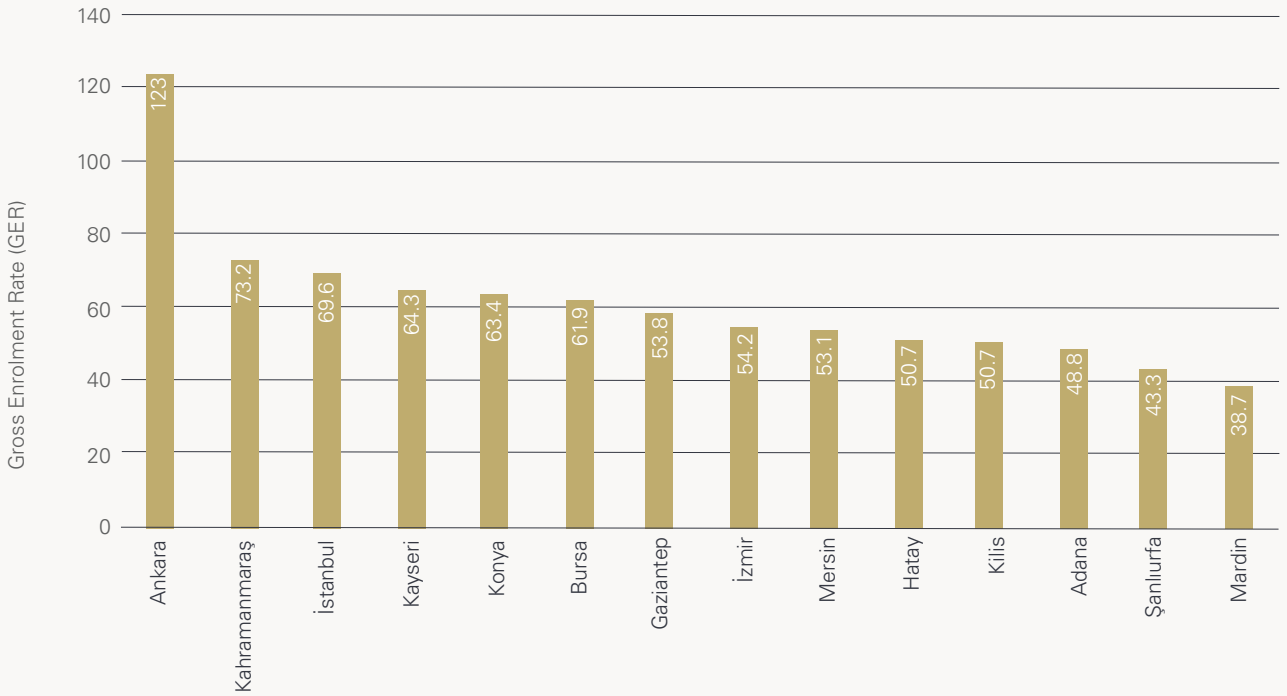
4.3.2 OOSC by Province

The global summaries of OOSC in Section 4.3.1 include some of the most important findings from this study. But the OOSC patterns are likely to vary between provinces, and it is useful to identify areas where the OOSC problem is especially acute. Province-specific estimations of OOSC using the OOSCI dimensions can only be done with the UNICEF Monitoring Data because the DHS 2018 data are organized by region, and it is not possible to obtain specific numbers by province. The reliance on UNICEF Monitoring Data is somewhat problematic because it is not possible to verify if the province-specific samples of Syrian children UTP are representative of the entire province. This is the only available information for this kind of disaggregated summary.

Box 3:
Syrian UTP School Enrolment Rates by Province

Comparisons of Syrian UTP schooling experiences across provinces make it possible to identify priority areas, which is useful for MoNE and partner programming. Figure 12 summarises a modified gross enrolment rate (GER) indicator provided by MoNE for the 2019–2020 school year. The 14 provinces included in Figure 18 are home to nearly 90 per cent of the school aged population of Syrians UTP. The results show a very high gross enrolment rate in Ankara, which may be due to students commuting from other provinces. But among the remaining provinces the numbers indicate that much work remains to ensure universal school participation among the Syrians UTP. This is especially true in Mardin, Şanlıurfa, and Adana where less than half of Syrian children UTP are in school (in any school level).

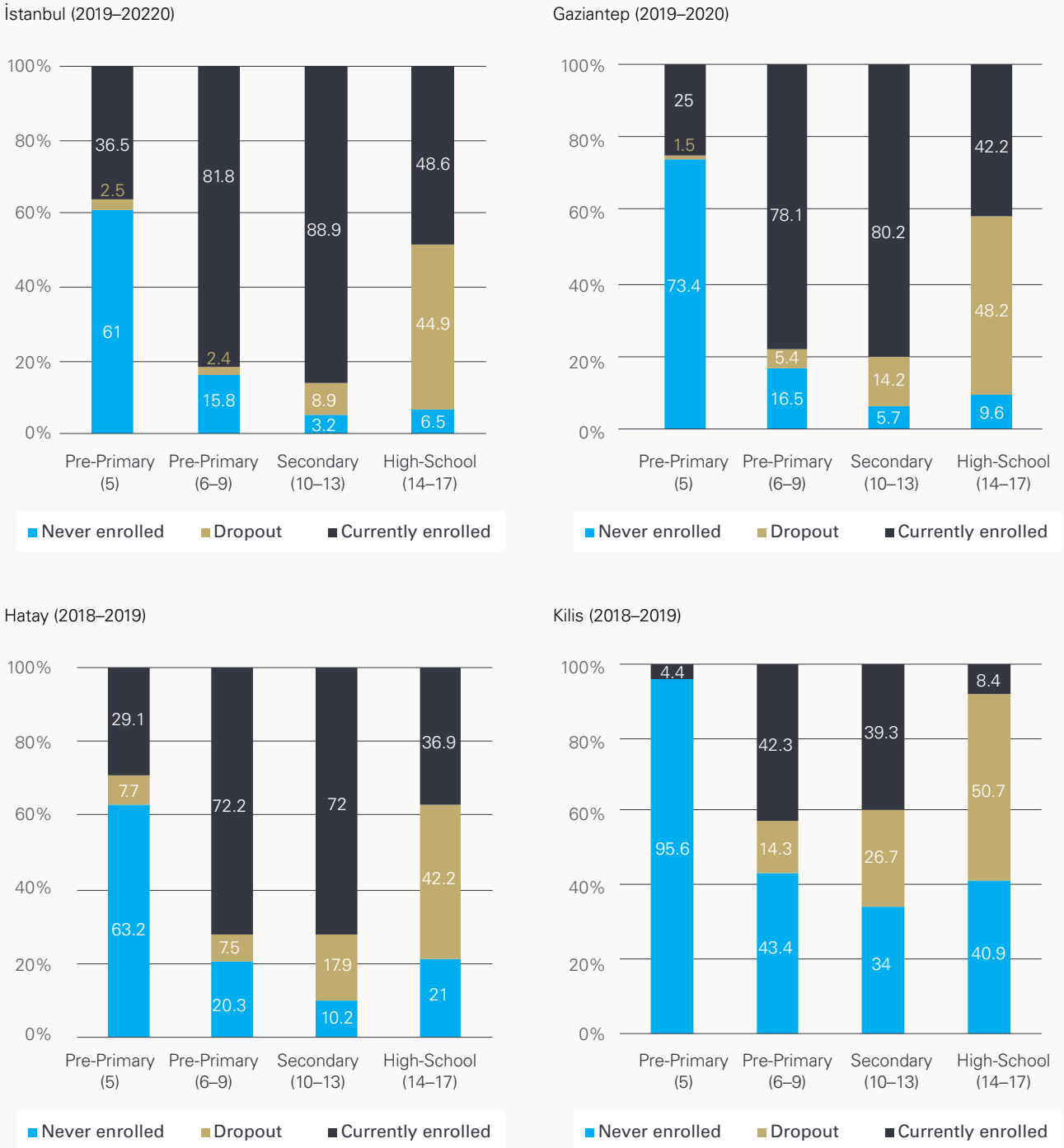
Figure 18:
Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) by Province Among Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17, October 2019



Source: MoNE.

Figure 19 presents the basic OOSC summary measure for four of the provinces with the largest Syrian UTP population: İstanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Kilis. The last province (Kilis) actually has only the ninth largest group of Syrians UTP in the country, but their presence has transformed the demographic makeup more than in any other province in Türkiye: 81 per cent of Kilis is now Syrian UTP (MoNE data from December 2019). The OOSC summaries are taken from the most recent UNICEF monitoring survey school year that has data available for that province (2018–2019 or 2019–2020).

Figure 19:
OOSC Summaries for Syrians UTP Ages 5–17 in Four Provinces, UNICEF Monitoring Data



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2020).
Notes: Sample sizes by province and year: Istanbul (1,001); Gaziantep (1,412); Hatay (4,523); Kilis (1,224).

The OOSC numbers for İstanbul, Gaziantep, and Hatay provinces are somewhat similar (the İstanbul averages are the highest) and as a group resemble the national OOSC summaries for Syrian children UTP from the DHS data (Figure 16) and the most recent UNICEF Monitoring Data (see Figure D4 in Appendix D). However, for Kilis the summary is very different, with much larger proportions of children who have never enrolled or have dropped out and, as a consequence, a much lower percentage are enrolled (based on 2018–2019 UNICEF monitoring survey). Box 3 (above) provides an additional comparison of provinces based on a modified gross enrolment rate[63] that MoNE provided for the 2019–2020 school year. This summary confirms the relatively low enrolment rate in Kilis and also flags other provinces where much work remains to get all Syrian children UTP into school.

The analysis in this section concludes with a summary of the share of the total OOSC by province for each of the four main dimensions (Table 12). The numbers are taken from the 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 monitoring surveys that cover 52,000 5–17-year-old Syrians UTP across 24 provinces. The summary provides an additional take on provincial "hot spots" where Syrian children UTP are most likely to be out of school, but with a focus on raw numbers rather than rates. For example, the largest group of OOSC are found in İstanbul, despite the fact that the OOSC rate in İstanbul is relatively low compared with other provinces where many Syrians UTP reside (see Figure 19a above). Across all four dimensions in Table 12, 16 per cent of the total number of Syrian OOSC UTP are in İstanbul (far right column), which corresponds to about 70,000 children. This is followed by Hatay (12.4 per cent), Şanlıurfa (10.9 per cent), and Gaziantep (10.6 per cent). Altogether, the first four provinces in Table 12 are home to roughly half of all OOSC identified in the UNICEF monitoring surveys[64]. The second group of provinces (Kilis, Adana, Mersin, and İzmir) are home to another 30 per cent of the total.

Table 12:
Percentage of Total Syrian OOSC UTP by Province and OOSC Dimension, 2018–2020 Outreach Surveys

Province:	By Dimension:			All Dimensions
	D2 (age 6–9)	D3 (age 10–13)	D6 (age 14–17)	All Dimensions (D2, D3 and D6):
İstanbul	12.2	16.5	17.7	15.9
Hatay	12.3	12.4	13.6	12.9
Şanlıurfa	10.1	9.1	12.1	10.7
Gaziantep	11.7	9.1	11.0	10.6
Kilis	13.4	8.7	5.8	8.7
Adana	9.5	9.4	7.3	8.5
Mersin	6.0	7.9	6.4	6.7
İzmir	5.4	8.8	6.0	6.6
Other provinces	19.4	18.1	20.1	19.7
	=100.0%	=100.0%	=100.0%	=100.0%
Total by gender (%):				
Girl	46.9	44.0	39.7	43.2
Boy	53.1	56.0	60.3	56.8
	=100.0%	=100.0%	=100.0%	=100.0%

Source: MoNE and UNICEF Monitoring Data outreach surveys, 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 school years.
Notes: Sample sizes by province: Istanbul (1,412); Hatay (4,523); Sanliurfa (1,453); Gaziantep (1,412); Kilis (1,224); Adana (887); Mersin (979); Izmir (2,485).

63 The GER figure is not explained but it presumably takes the number of 5–17-year olds who are enrolled in school in each province and divides this figure by the total 5–17-year old population. This is a modified gross enrolment rate because it does not specify by schooling level, although to be a truly gross enrolment figure it would also include children older than 17.

64 The outreach surveys covered the provinces with the most Syrians UTP, but since they were not conducted in every province, the figures in Table 8 do not correspond to the exact percentage of all Syrian OOSC UTP in Türkiye. However, the differences between the totals based on outreach data and the overall total are not likely to be large since relatively few Syrians UTP live in provinces that were not include in the outreach surveys.

The numbers of OOSC in each province do vary somewhat by level of schooling (or OOSC dimension). The variation across dimensions reflects different rates of OOSC within each province, as well as different population profiles. For instance, the concentration of young OOSC in Kilis, which is a small province but is home to 13.4 per cent of all Syrian primary-aged OOSC UTP in the country, likely reflects a concentration of young Syrians UTP in this province (or in the monitoring surveys).

Table 12 concludes with a summary of OOSC by gender. Across all four OOSC dimensions, girls make up only 43.2 per cent of the total OOSC population, compared with 56.8 per cent that are boys. This is consistent with earlier summaries of enrolment by age and gender (e.g., Figure 15), and simply confirms that **the majority of Syrian children UTP who are out of school are boys.**

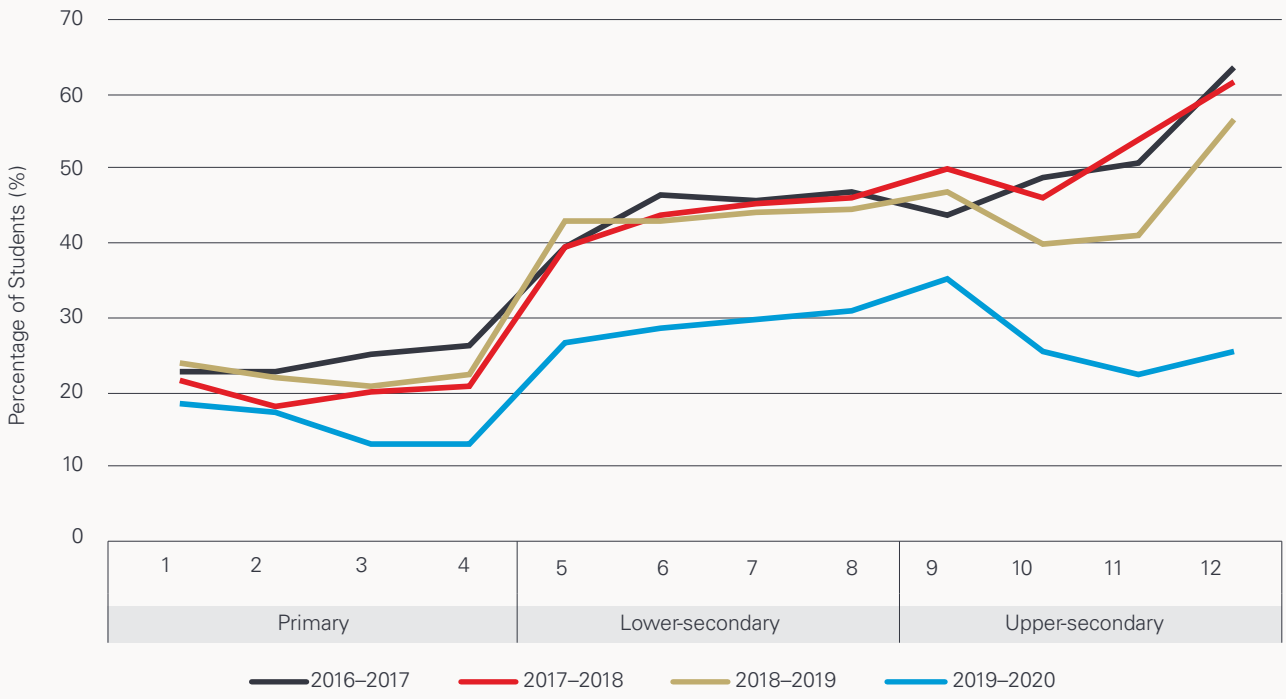
The comparisons by province provide some additional guidance for OOSC programming. Consistent with the summary in Section 4.3.1 that provided a more detailed overview of OOSC by age group and non-enrolment category, the provincial summaries identify provinces with high rates of OOSC as well as provinces with large (raw) numbers of OOSC. The main finding is that **a large segment of the Syrian UTP OOS population is found in a relatively small number of provinces.** However, from a programming standpoint the kinds of interventions that are required to address these situations will likely vary by province, especially when comparing places like İstanbul and Kilis. This is why an analysis of the underlying barriers and bottlenecks is so important (see Sections 5 and 6), and why this line of inquiry also needs to consider provincial and other contextual differences.

4.3.3 Syrian Children UTP at Risk of Dropping Out

As described in Section 3.1, one of the categories in the official OOSC framework is related to the risk of dropping out. This is the most challenging category to measure because it is not based on an actual result (like being out of school) but is instead based on a potential future outcome. There is also limited official guidance on the risk category, with most discussions in OOSC studies focusing on children who are much older than the intended age for their current grade (UNICEF-UIS, 2015).

For the risk of dropping out, two data sources are incorporated. The first includes MoNE data on absences ("non-attendance") that were made available for the four most recent school years (2016–2017 through 2019–2020). This information was used to create four categories for the number of absences per year: 0–9 days of absences, 10–19, 20–29, and 30 or more. Figure 20 provides a summary of the percentage of students with 20 or more absences for the school year by grade and school year. For the 2016–2017, 2017–2018, and 2018–2019 school years the absences numbers are very similar by grade, with the only notable difference being a slight decline in absences in upper-secondary grades 10–12 in 2018–2019 compared with the two previous school years. However, the numbers for 2019–2020 are substantially lower across almost all of the grades, presumably due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The results therefore do not show any significant trends in 20+ absences rates between years in the pre-COVID period, but because of the sizeable decrease in absences in 2019–2020 the focus in this section is on the 2018–2019 absences data.

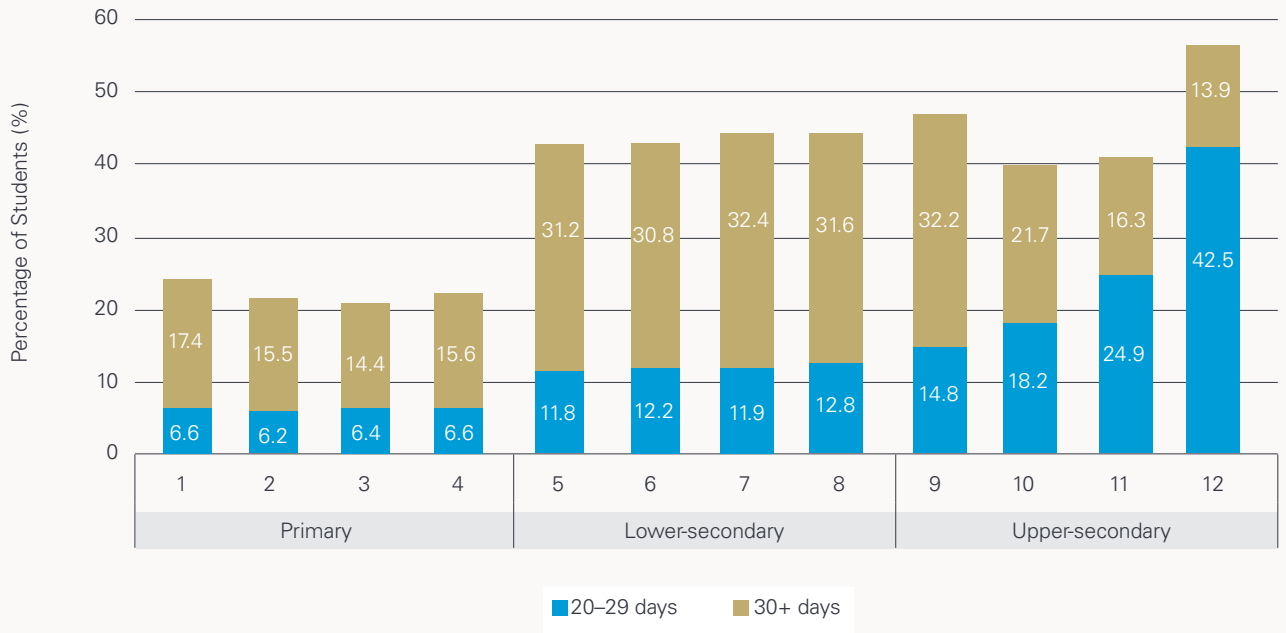
Figure 20:
Percentage of Syrian Students UTP Absent 20 or More Days During School Year, by Grade and School Year



Source: MoNE Data (2016–2020).

Figure 21 provides a more detailed summary of the absences for the 2018–2019 school year. The numbers show that sizeable proportions of Syrian children UTP missed 30 or more days during the 2019–2020 school year. This is especially true in the lower-secondary grades (plus Grade 9 of upper-secondary), where just over 30 per cent of students have 30+ absences. The share with 30 or more absences then tapers off in upper-secondary, although this trend is offset somewhat by the increase in the share of students with 20–29 absences.

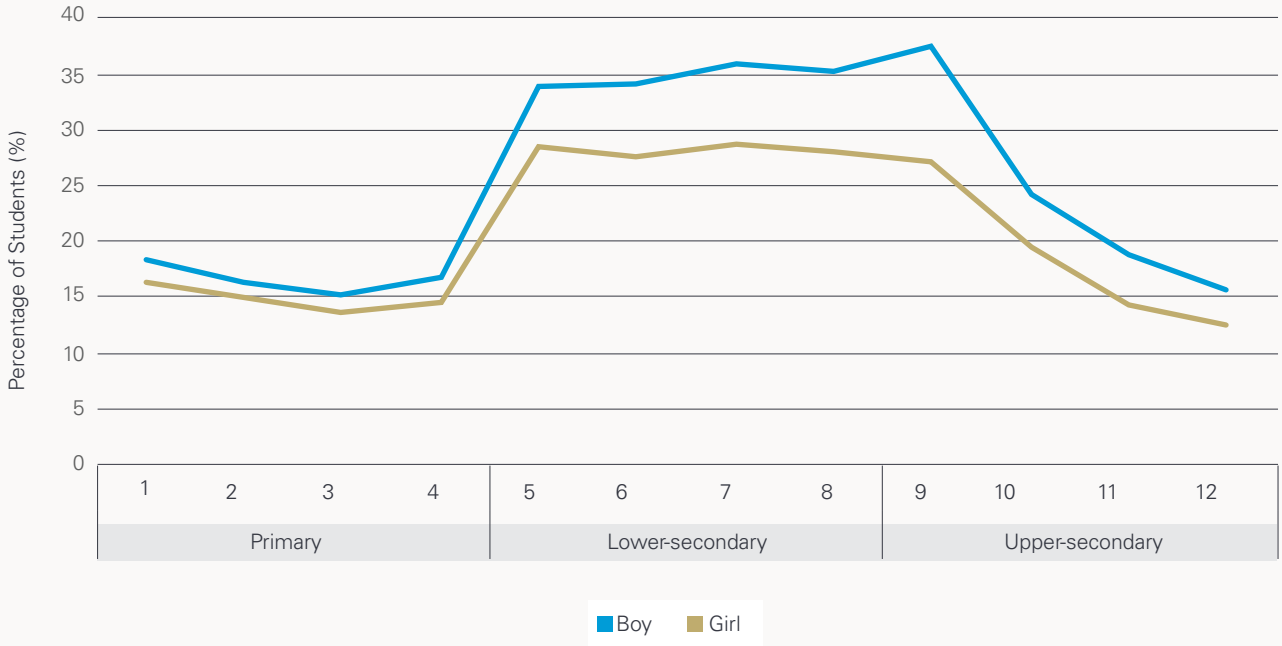
Figure 21:
Percentage of Syrian UTP Students with 20–29 or 30 or More Absences by Grade, 2018–2019 School Year



Source: MoNE Data (2018–2019).

Figure 22 continues the 2018–2019 summary of absences with a comparison between female and male absence rates. Absence rates are similar between boys and girls for primary but then in lower-secondary boys are more likely to have 30+ absences. In upper-secondary Grade 9 the gap is quite large, 38 per cent of boys have 30+ absences compared with 28 per cent of girls, but then in Grades 10–12 the gap closes somewhat.

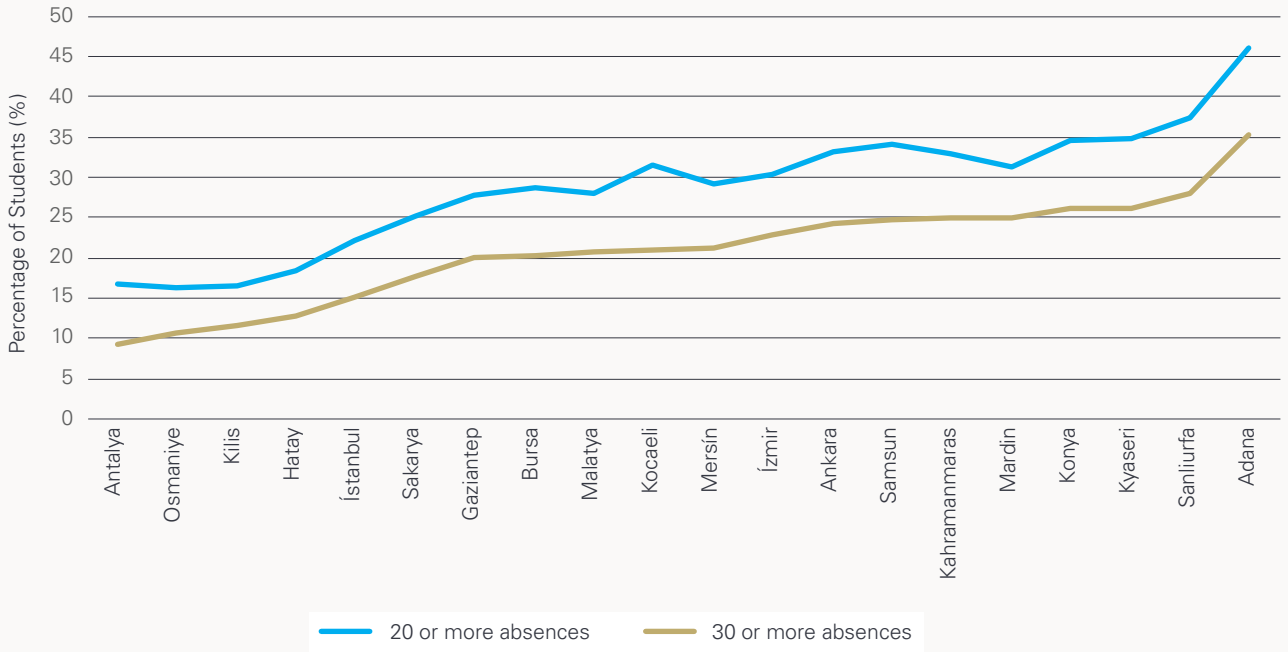
Figure 22:
Percentage of Syrian Students UTP Absent 30 or more Days During the 2018–2019 School Year, by Gender and Grade



Source: MoNE Data (2018–2019).

There is considerable variation in absences by province. Figure 23 provides the percentage of lower- and upper-secondary students (combined) that have 20+ or 30+ absences during the 2018–2019 school year in the 20 provinces with the largest enrolments of Syrian children UTP. In four provinces (Antalya, Osmaniye, Kilis, and Hatay) the percentage of secondary students with 30 or more absences is below 20 per cent. But at the other extreme there are four provinces with 30+ absences rates of 35 per cent or higher (Konya, Kayseri, Sanliurfa, and Adana). In terms of raw numbers there are five provinces that have roughly half of the total number of lower- and upper-secondary students with 30+ absences: Ankara (4,386), Adana (5,506), Sanliurfa (5,882), Gaziantep (6,783), and Istanbul (9,182). Finally, the provincial averages for 30+ absences in lower and upper-secondary do not vary much between boys and girls (Figure D6 in Appendix D). In all provinces, boys are more likely than girls to have 30 or more absences, and in most cases the difference is about 3–5 per cent. In only three provinces (Kocaeli, Kahramanmaraş, and Şanlıurfa) is the gap larger than 5 per cent.

Figure 23:
Percentage of Lower- and Upper-Secondary Syrian Students UTP Absent 20+ or 30+ Days During the 2018–2019 School Year in 20 Provinces with Largest Syrian UTP Enrolment



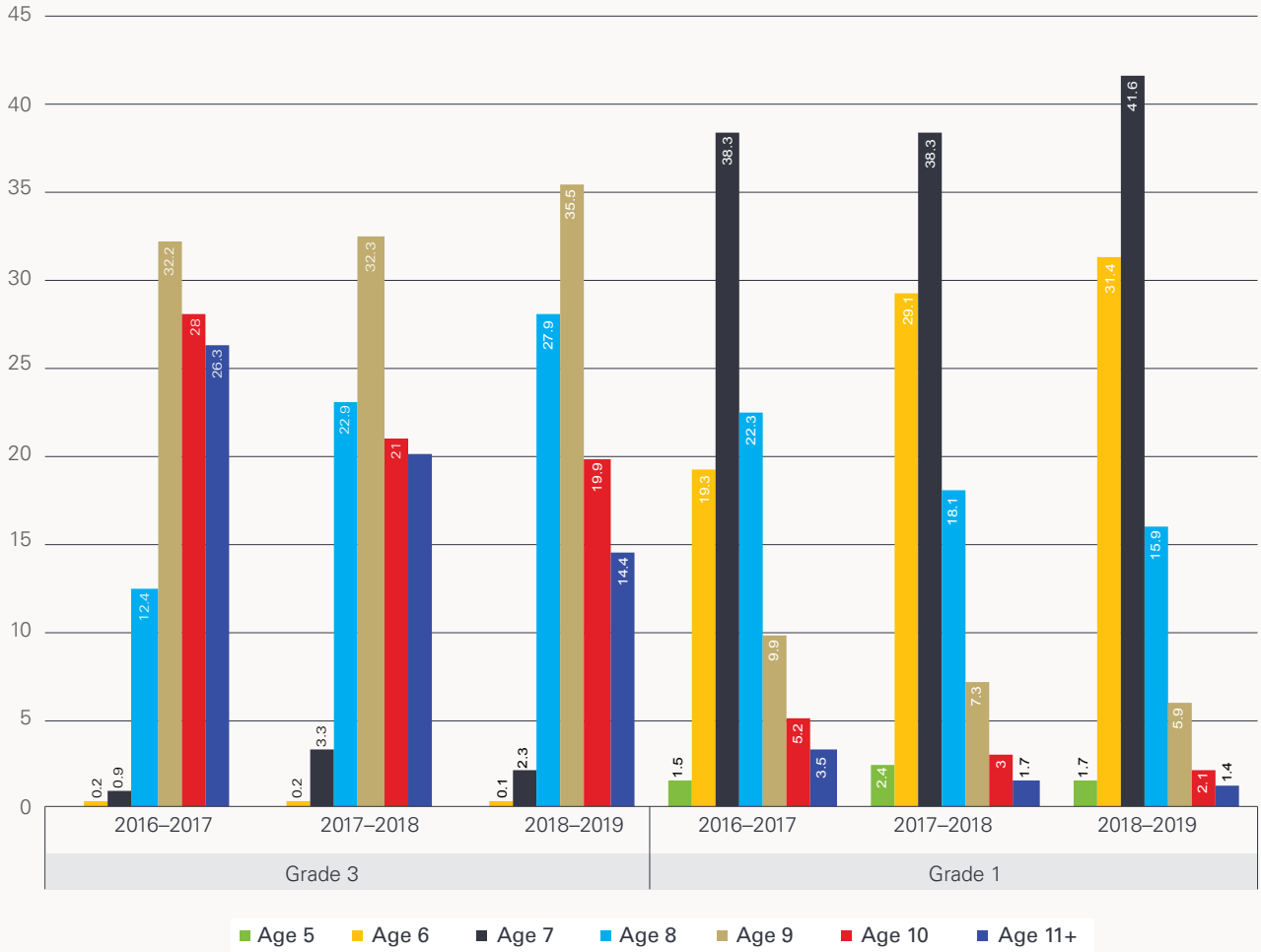
Source: MoNE Data.

Overall, the absences data from MoNE clearly demonstrates a high degree of vulnerability among a large segment of Syrian students UTP. The linkage between absences and early drop-out cannot be determined, and therefore it is not possible to estimate the percentage of children who are at risk of dropping out and add that to the OOSC summaries that were developed in previous sections. For younger Syrians UTP, even numerous absences may not cause them to leave school. Nevertheless, 30+ absences per year represent at least 15 per cent of lost learning time (for a 200-day school year), so regardless of the direct linkage with drop-out the absences data highlight a problem with engagement among a sizeable part of the Syrian student UTP population. And for older Syrian students UTP, these frequent absences may be a signal of imminent departure from the system.

The second source of information on risk of dropping out comes from UNICEF Monitoring Data of CCTE programme participants during the 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 school years. One advantage with these data is that they have the age of Syrian children UTP by grade, which makes it possible to identify children who are overage for their grade. The UNICEF Monitoring Data also includes information on absences to complement the summary in Figures 20–23 from MoNE. However, it is important to note that the CCTE programme monitoring data, while capturing a large proportion of enrolled Syrian children UTP, is not necessarily representative of all Syrian students UTP.

Figures 24 and 25 begin with a summary of age by grade for primary (Figure 24) and lower-secondary (Figure 25) levels. Figure D7 in Appendix D presents the summary for upper-secondary Grades 9 and 11. Across the three figures there is a clear pattern in terms of overage enrolment. The percentage of overage Syrian children UTP increases between Grades 1 and 5 but then begins to decrease after Grade 5. For example, among Grade 1 students roughly 75 per cent are aged 5–7 in 2018–2019, compared with less than 60 per cent of Grade 5 students who are aged 9–11. But then the trend reverses in higher grades: 65 per cent of Grade 7 Syrian students UTP are 11–13 years old (in 2018–2019), and over 70 per cent of Grade 9 students are in the 13–15 age range (Figure D7).

Figure 24:
Student Age Category Frequencies by Primary Grades 1 and 3, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017–2019



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (73,640); 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802); 2019–2020 (390,335).

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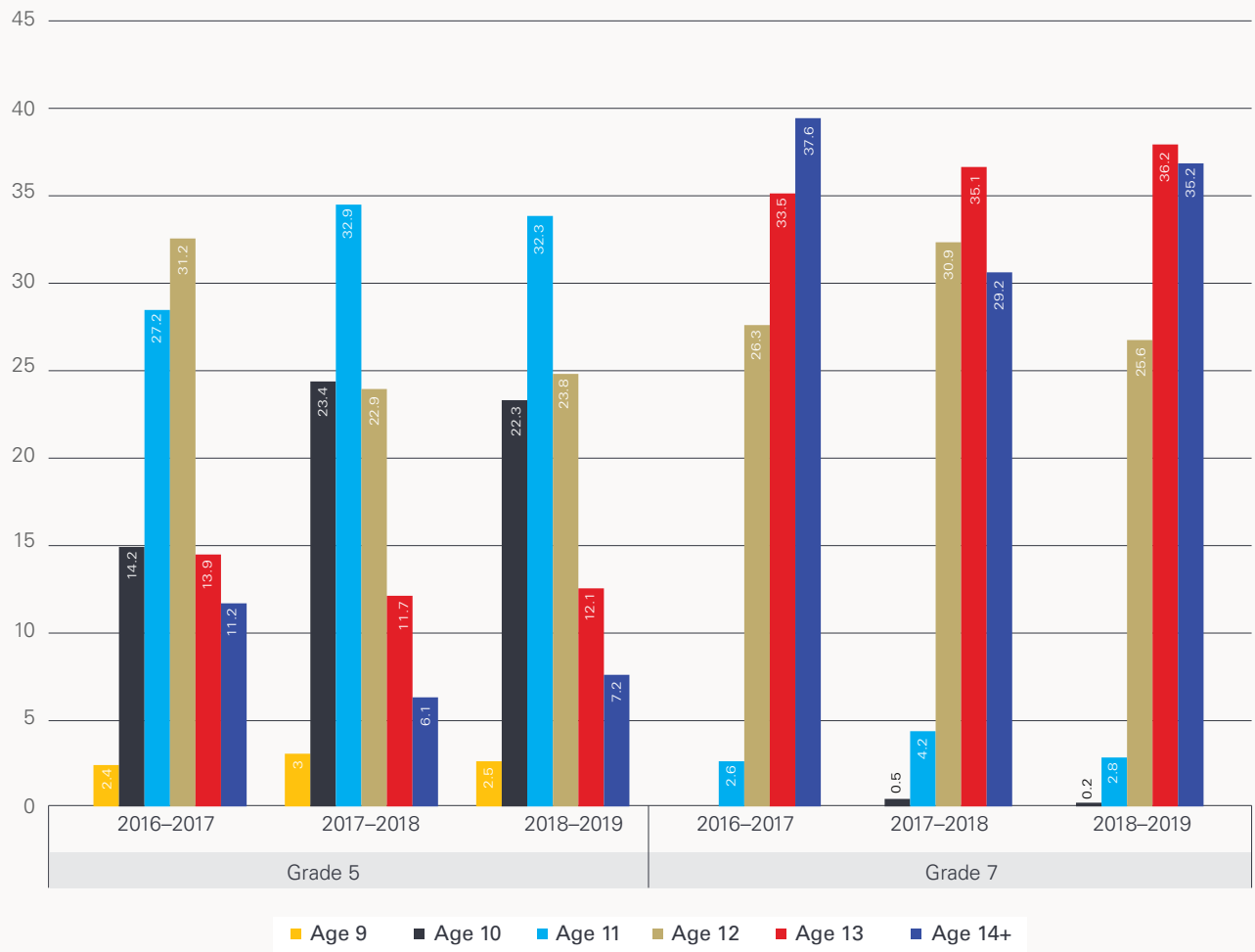
Figure 25:
Student Age Category Frequencies by Lower-Secondary Grades 5 and 7, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017–2019



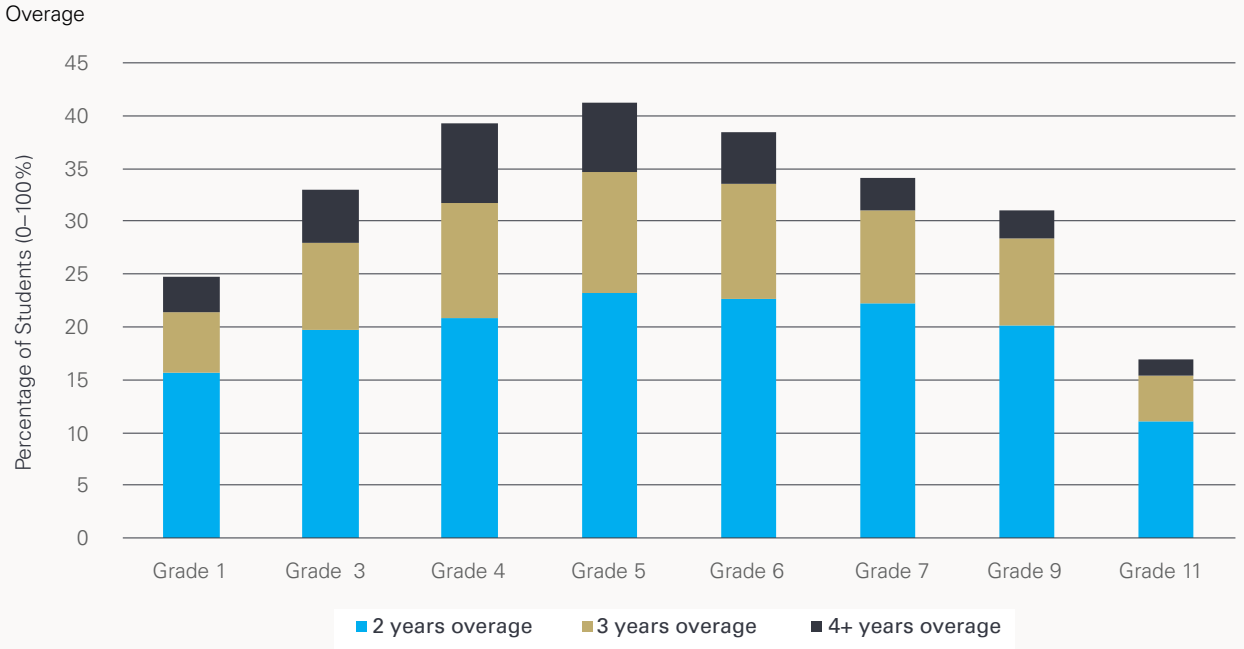
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (73,640); 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802); 2019–2020 (390,335).

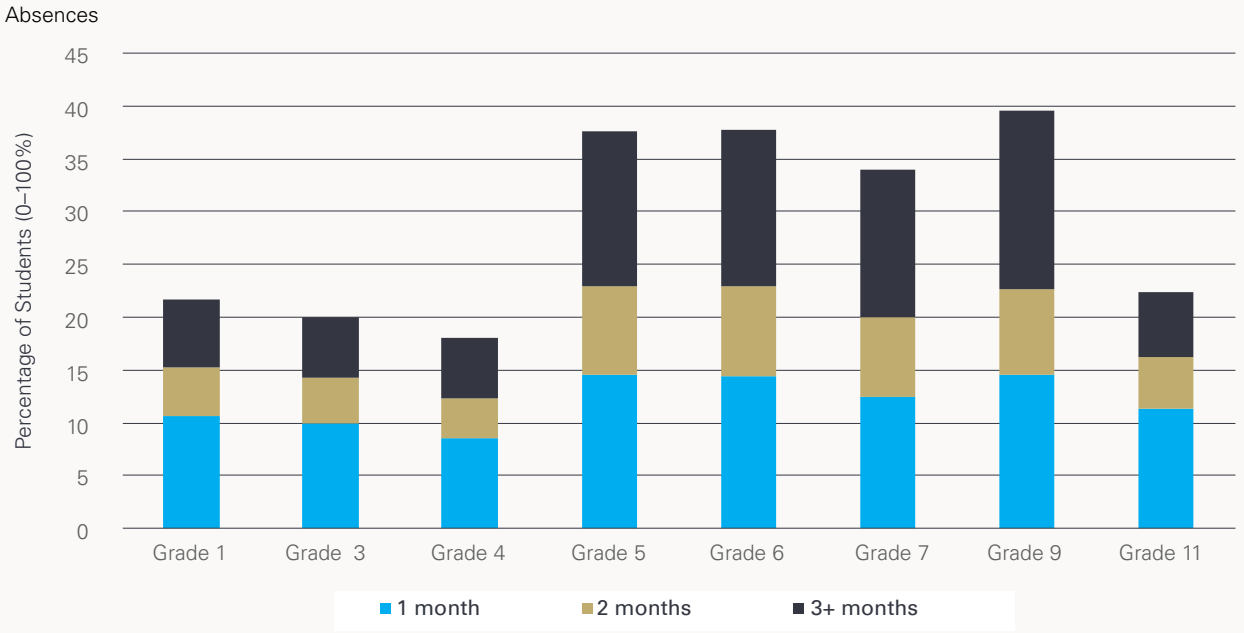
The second trend across the three age by grade figures mirrors the first trend: the age-grade profile is improving between 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 in primary grades, but in lower-upper-secondary grades it is getting worse (i.e., more overage children). The trend towards more overage enrolment in higher grades suggests that more older children are remaining in school or entering school who had previously not entered. In other words, **success in getting more children into higher grades may come with the trade-off of a worsening age-grade profile.**

The UNICEF Monitoring Data collected among CCTE participants also includes information on absences. Figure 26 brings together overage and absences into a summary of risk factors by grade, based on the most recent (2018–2019) monitoring data. The figure uses the same strategy as Figure 21 above for absences in the MoNE population, with blue shading for high levels of absences or overage and yellow and black shading for very high levels. For the overage factor, students who were 2 years older than the official entrance age (at the beginning of the school year) are coded as blue (slight risk), while students who were 3 and 4+ years older are coded in shades of yellow and black consecutively. For absences the blue shading is for students who had 4 or more unexcused absences in 1 month of the school year; yellow is for students who were absent 4+ days in 2 months and black is for 3+ months.

The first result that stands out in Figure 26 is that age- and absences-based drop-out risk measures are generally higher in the middle grades (late primary and lower-secondary) than in early primary or upper-secondary. This likely reflects some recent improvement in getting young Syrians UTP into primary school, while in Grades 9 and 11 the lower share of at-risk by age is probably due to the high rate of attrition before reaching these grades (especially Grade 11). Across Grades 4–9 there are sizeable proportions (about 30 per cent) of students who are 3 or more years older than their intended grade, which means in many cases they will be older than 16 when they finish the school year, and more pressure will likely be building for them to leave school.

Figure 26:
Percentage of Students at Risk of Dropping Out Based on Overage and Number of Months with 4+ Unexcused Absences, 2018–2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data





Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2019.
Notes: Sample size in 2018–2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data is 315,802.

For unexcused absences the UNICEF Monitoring Data show that only about 20 per cent of children in grades 1, 3 and 4 have 4+ absences in at least 1 month. For example, in Grade 1 about 10 per cent of the children were absent 4+ days in 1 month, 5 per cent had 4 or more absences in 2 months, and 6 per cent had 4 or more absences in 3 or more months. As a sum this reflects the percentage (21 per cent) that were absent 4 or more times in at least 1 month. But the recorded absences rapidly increase in Grades 5 through 9. Focusing on Grade 9, 15 per cent of the children had 4+ absences in 1 month, 8 per cent in 2 months and over 15 per cent had 4+ absences in 3 or more months. This means that nearly 40 per cent of Grade 9 students had 4+ absences in at least 1 month, compared with just over 20 per cent of Grade 1 students.

One important result for the absences summary in Figure 26 is that the pattern by grade is very similar to the pattern based on MoNE absences data. Absences are less prevalent in primary grades, then increase substantially in lower-secondary through Grade 9 of upper-secondary before dropping off again.

The data on risk factors that potentially predict drop-out clearly demonstrate the fragility of school participation for many Syrian children UTP, especially for Dimensions 5 (risk of dropping out in lower-secondary) and 7 (high school). The quantitative summary in Figure 26 provides some sense of the scope of this problem. The qualitative data on barriers (Chapter 5) will fill this in with more detail based in part on interviews with at-risk Syrian children UTP.

4.4 Quantitative Data on Syrian Schooling: Summary

MoNE and development partners like UNICEF have invested a lot of time and effort in creating a unique panorama of quantitative data relating to Syrian UTP (and other refugees) in Türkiye. This includes MoNE official enrolment figures, nine waves of UNICEF monitoring surveys, and the 2018 DHS. By harnessing this information, it is possible to create a very complete picture of the scope of the problem with Syrian OOSC UTP that will in turn set the stage for more detailed, mixed-methods analysis of the underlying barriers that explain these outcomes.

The main finding in the quantitative summary is that the percentage of Syrian children UTP who are out of school has declined substantially since the initial years of the Syrian refugee crisis (2013–2015), but this rate of progress has clearly levelled off in recent years. MoNE enrolment figures show that over 70 per cent of Syrians UTP aged 5–17 were out of school in the 2014–2015 school year, which has fallen to under 40 per cent in recent years. However, this OOSC rate has improved only very slightly between 2016 and 2020 across the entire school age range.

The lack of significant gains in reducing the OOSC rate in recent years highlights the challenges of getting these children into school, especially as vulnerable Syrian families UTP continue to arrive in Türkiye. Two sets of factors stand out. Firstly, there are likely to be persistent barriers to education for Syrian children UTP related to demand-side pressures. And secondly, the levelling off of Syrian UTP enrolment rates in recent years has coincided with the period where Syrian students UTP were transitioning from TECs to TPS, which opens the door potentially to a large number of barriers related to registration, language accommodation and social integration in the public-school system. Again, these issues will be explored in much more detail in subsequent sections.

The trends for age and gender are also central to the quantitative summary and help to identify the key pressure points for additional analysis and policy responses. For age there are three findings that stand out. Firstly, the combination of limited pre-primary options and an apparent preference among Syrian families UTP for late entry means that a large percentage of 5- and 6-year olds are not in school. Secondly, enrolment rates for Syrian children UTP aged 7–11 are in the 80–90 per cent range, so it is important to note that the vast majority of young Syrian children UTP are enrolling in school in Türkiye. However, enrolment rates drop off quickly as these children enter their teenage years.

The makeup of OOSC varies considerably across the four schooling levels. Almost all of the pre-primary- and primary-aged children who are not in school will eventually enrol, and very few (about 1 per cent) of these children have already dropped out of school. For lower- and upper-secondary-aged children the makeup of OOSC is very different. A total of 11 per cent of these older children have never entered school, but the larger group (especially in upper-secondary) is made up of children who have entered school but then dropped out. **Most of the drop-outs appear to be children who entered school in Syria but have not made the transition to school in Türkiye.**

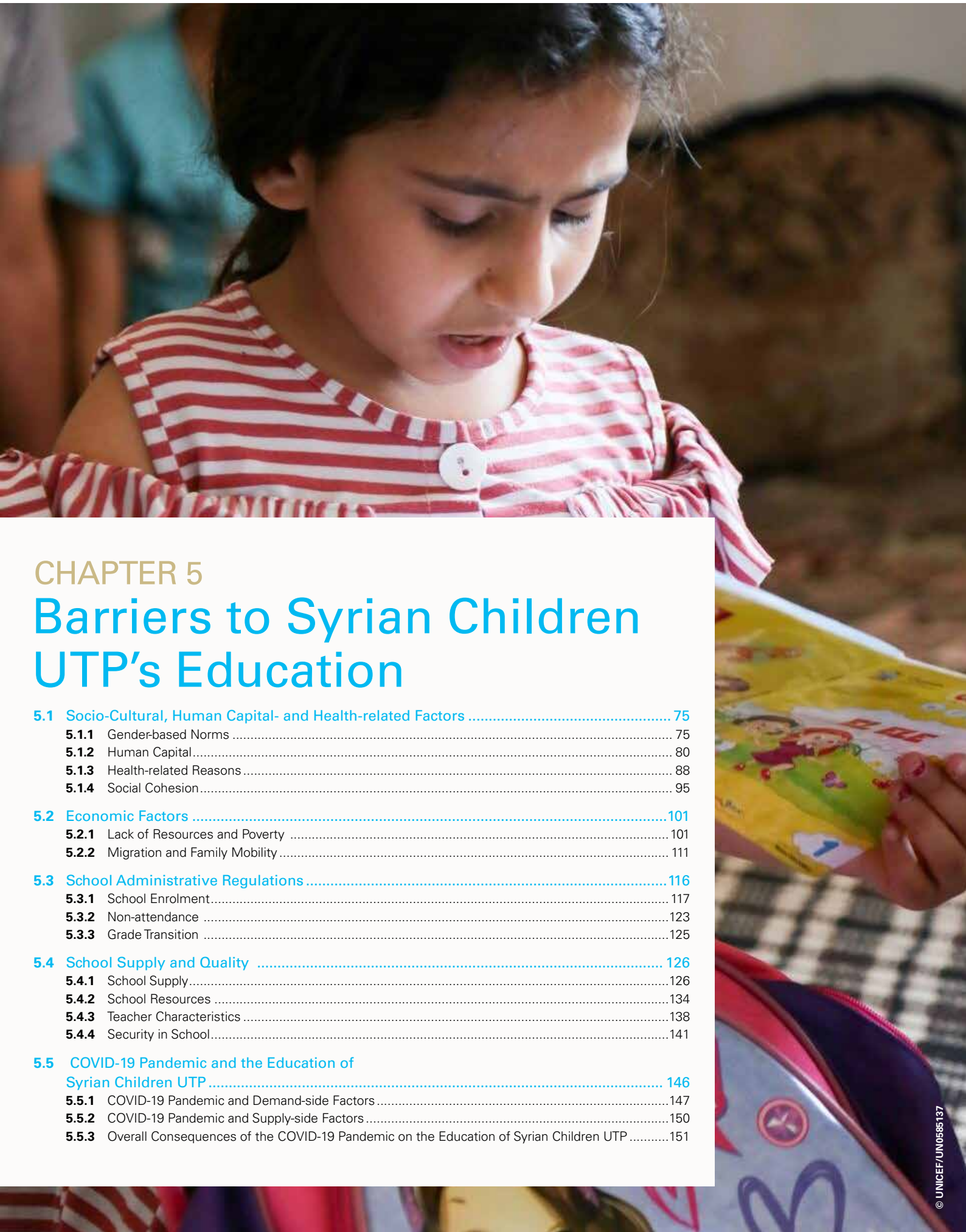
For gender the main finding is that after the age of 10 Syrian girls UTP are significantly more likely to be enrolled in school than boys. This result holds across different data sources (UNICEF monitoring, DHS). This finding does suggest a need to dig deeper into why boys are less likely to be in school (see barriers analysis in Sections 5 and 6). But given the large numbers of boy and girls out of school, and the likelihood that the reasons for OOSC vary substantially by gender, there is clearly a need to follow up on the gender theme in subsequent qualitative and policy areas of the analysis.

Finally, the detailed summaries of OOSC based on the official OOSCI framework provide additional guidance related to both recent trends and the overall scope of the OOSC problem among Syrians UTP. There are two important adjustments that are necessary for counting Syrian children UTP who are out of school. Firstly there is the overage enrolment issue, which is massive: roughly half of lower-secondary-aged Syrian children UTP enrolled in school are still in primary grades. These children are not included in counts of OOSC in this study, but they clearly need to be a point of emphasis given the various problems associated with being overage (adaptation issues, risk of dropping out, etc.).

Secondly, OOSC numbers (and rates) decrease considerably when correcting for eventual entry among the 5–7-year olds who are out of school. This does not mean that the non-enrolment of these children is not a problem. There are clearly issues related to pre-primary and late entry that need to be addressed. But when allowing for eventual entry the 'real' rate of OOSC among Syrians UTP aged 5–17 is closer to 30 per cent.

Most of the OOS Syrian children UTP are concentrated in the high school age range, and among this age cohort relatively few have dropped out of school in Türkiye (e.g., they have never enrolled in school in Türkiye). The next biggest group is for the 10–13-year-old cohort where the OOSC include a mixture of children who have never entered school in Türkiye and those who have dropped out from a Turkish school. Among primary aged children (6–9) almost all children are in primary school, pre-primary or will likely enter primary school eventually (i.e., late entry). And rounding off the official OOSCI framework categories are the children who are at risk of dropping out of school. Based on overage enrolment and the frequency of absences there is a sizeable proportion (20 per cent or more) of lower- and upper-secondary children who appear to be at risk for leaving school before completing high school.

In sum, the detailed summaries of enrolment and OOSC numbers and rates by OOSCI dimension, age range, gender and region are a necessary first step in the analysis of OOSC among Syrian UTP, and for showing how this problem has evolved over time. However, this is not sufficient, and what is missing from the quantitative summaries of OOSC is an understanding of why these rates differ by age and gender, which is the focus of the next section.



CHAPTER 5

Barriers to Syrian Children UTP's Education

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Understanding why children are not in school is central to the OOSCI. By describing barriers and bottlenecks that affect children's schooling, particularly according to the experiences and perceptions of children and their families, the analysis can facilitate the work of transforming quantitative and qualitative data into action on the basis of evidence. The ultimate goal is a set of policy recommendations that effectively address current gaps in policy and implementation, as presented in Section 7. This is only possible with an accurate diagnosis of what underlies the OOSC numbers described in Section 4, on the basis of the latest available qualitative and quantitative data.

This section brings in a very large amount of recent and original data to analyse a diverse set of factors that could affect the educational prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye and accordingly identifies the related barriers that could bring the risk of school dropouts. The main information source is the recent qualitative data collection undertaken for this study towards the end of 2020 and beginning of 2021, which included in-depth interviews with Syrian children and parents UTP, in-depth interviews with key informants at central and local levels and online focus group discussions with the teachers and Syrian Voluntary Education Personnel (SVEP). The qualitative data are augmented, when possible, with existing quantitative data, mostly from the same sources incorporated in Section 4 to provide some possible explanations to the findings of the quantitative data.

It is also important to state at this stage that the barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP that are presented in this section cannot be generalised to the overall Syrian children UTP population in Türkiye. This is due to the fact that the qualitative data analysed for this study are collected only from and for a segment of Syrian children UTP population who are specifically at risk of drop out or who are out of school at the time of the interviews. In addition, the qualitative analysis presents the perceptions and experiences of those in the study sample, which is another factor which prevents any generalisations. Still, the qualitative data are quite helpful to draw a global map of barriers that are not equally affecting each and every Syrian children UTP, but could still hinder the education prospects of Syrian children UTP in a differential way.

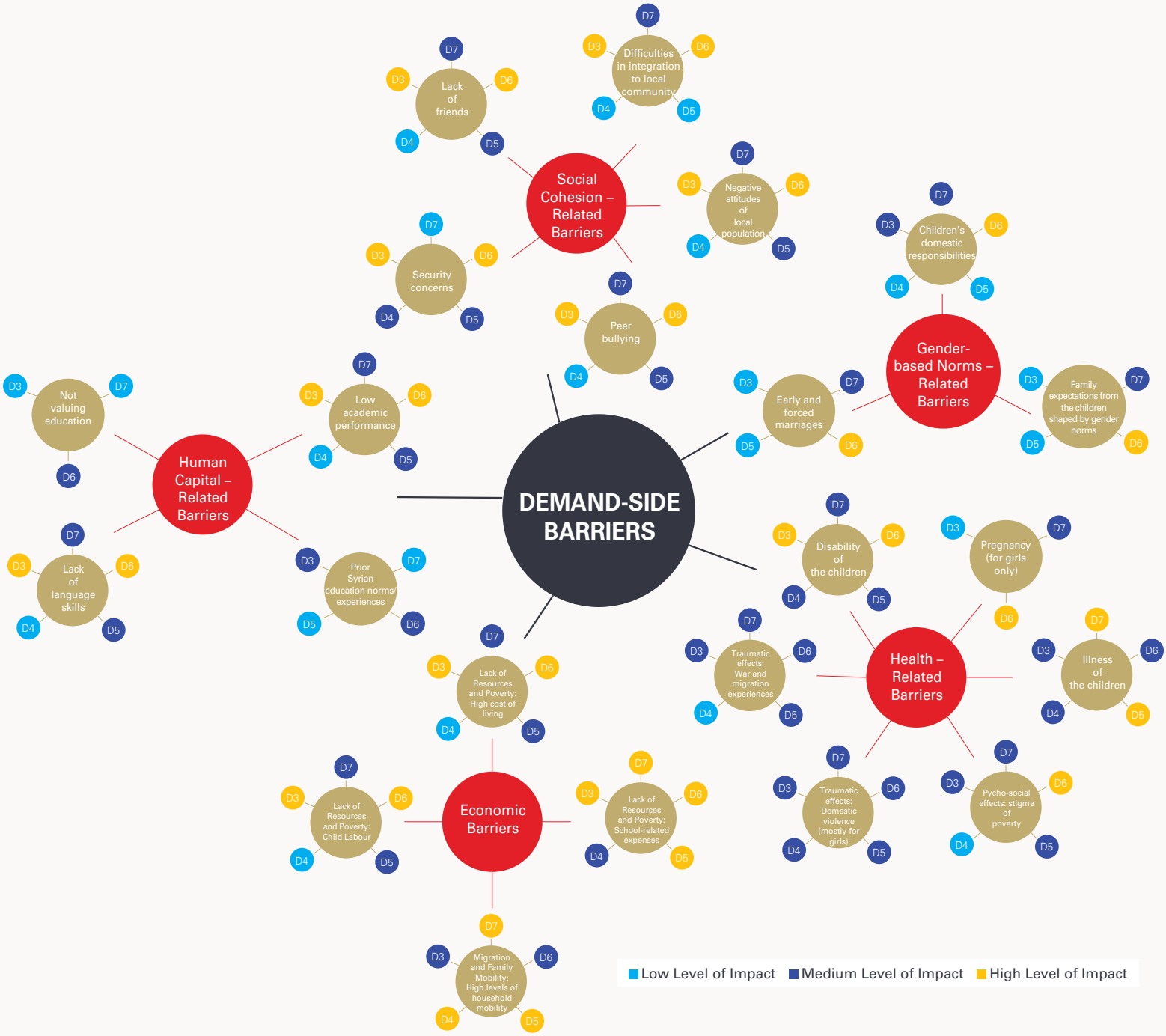
Section 5 is structured in line with the framework for analysing barriers and bottlenecks to children's education developed by the global OOSCI (UNICEF, 2015), tailored to the context of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. The qualitative data collection and qualitative analysis are based on demand-side and supply-side factors that are possible as barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP. Underlying this work is the preliminary overview of potential barriers that was prepared at the beginning of the study (see table A1 in Appendix A) as a heuristic map to guide the analysis of the multidimensional reasons for the OOS phenomenon for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

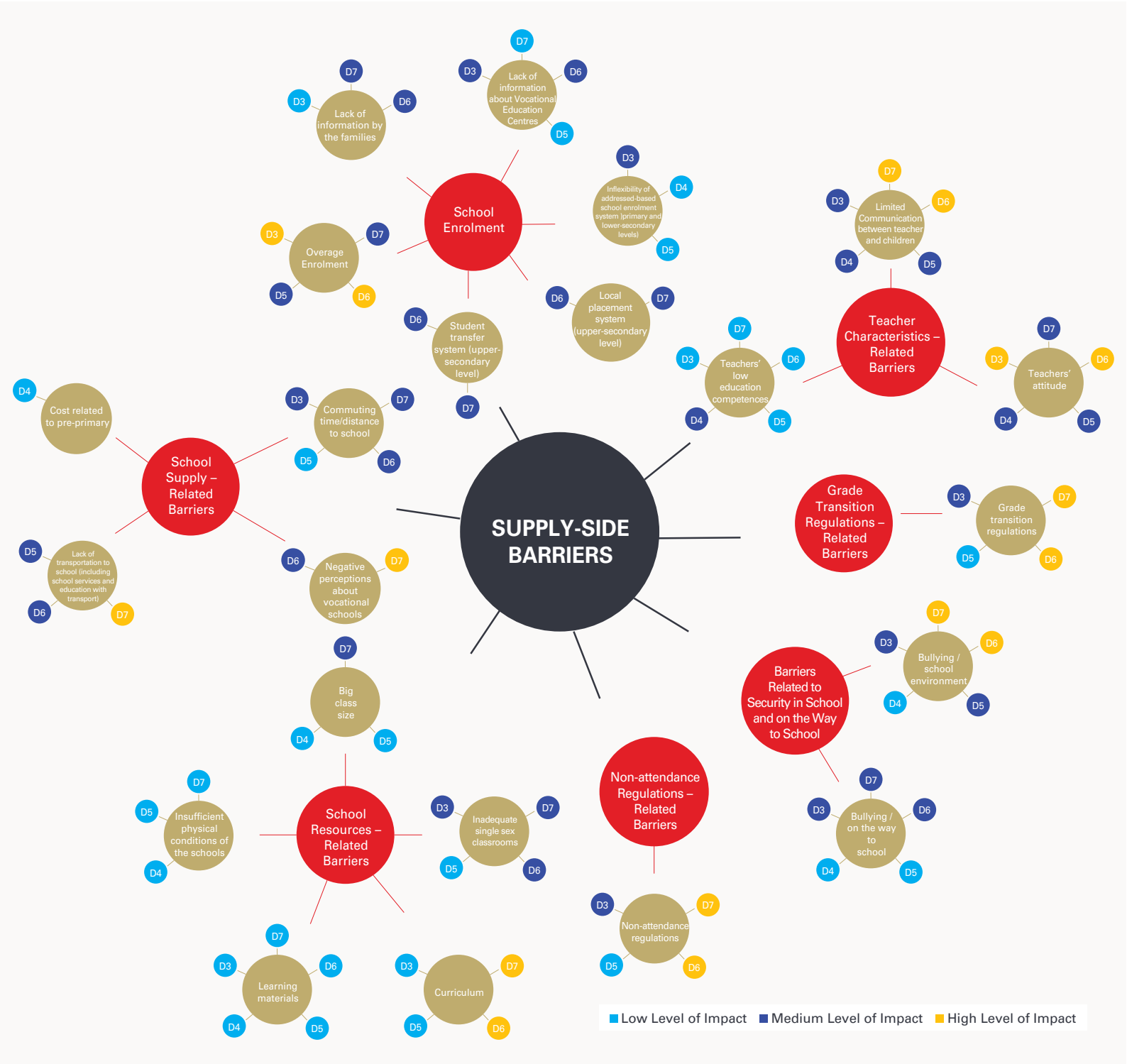
The demand-side factors are categorised as socio-cultural, human capital- and health-related factors (Section 5.1) and economic factors (Section 5.2). The supply-side factors are grouped as school administrative regulations (Section 5.3) and school supply and quality (Section 5.4). In addition, although the qualitative field research did not include any specific questions on the COVID-19 pandemic, the research was designed before the outbreak of the pandemic, the effects of the pandemic on the education of Syrian children UTP have still emerged from the qualitative data. These are analysed in Section 5.5 and include both demand-side and supply-side factors. The governance, finance and institutional set up of the education system in Türkiye is defined as a part of the enabling environment to the education of the Syrian children UTP and is analysed separately under the Section 6 Policy Analysis.

The overall objective of Section 5 is to fill in as much detail as possible related to the barriers that prevent Syrian children UTP from participating in school and, when possible, align these barriers with different age categories of OOS and at-risk Syrian children UTP on the basis of the dimensions of exclusion (adjusted to the Turkish case). In addition, the analysis of the factors also aims to highlight the differential impact of any particular factors on the girls and boys from a gender perspective. Given the wide spectrum of potential barriers, this is an ambitious task. However, the analysis of qualitative data mixed with the available quantitative data helps achieve these goals by providing linkages between different factors that helps illuminate both the reasons for and consequences of a range of barriers that affect the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, on the basis of the perceptions and experiences of the interviewees and key informants in the study sample.

The analysis provided in Section 5 is structured as follows. Each sub-section first analyses the particular demand-side or supply-side factor in light of the identified components for each factor in question. In this analysis, whenever some links are identified in relation to other components under different factors, the cross-referencing system is used to highlight and refer to those possible linkages between the factors and the potential barriers. At the end of the analysis of each component of the factors, a summary of the major barriers identified from the analysis is presented. This

presentation also includes a map/table of the barriers on the basis of dimensions of exclusion. The asterisks (*) in the boxes aim to show the relevance of that particular barrier to children at a particular dimension. For example, if the lack of ID cards acts as a barrier to the education of OOSC, it is considered to be relevant to the children at Dimension 3 and Dimension 6. Accordingly, if a barrier does not appear to be relevant for any dimensions of exclusion, the box is left empty. The number of asterisks for each barrier show the identified severity/weight of the impact of that barrier from the existing qualitative data for the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP under different dimensions of exclusion. One star refers to low level of impact, two stars refer to medium level of impact and three stars refer to high level of impact of the barrier on children in a particular dimension. For example, overage enrolment has low risks for the at-risk primary school children aged 6–9 (Dimension 4), but it has high risks for the at-risk students (aged 10–13) at the lower-secondary level (Dimension 5). This means that it is less likely for the former category of children to be out of school due to overage enrolment, but those children in the latter group are quite likely to drop out when they are placed in lower grades than their age. Lastly, the asterisk does not mean that identified barriers have an equal impact for 'all' the Syrian OOSC UTP in a particular dimension of exclusion, but rather it means that this barrier has a bigger risk to affect or to have affected those children compared to other dimensions.




SUPPLY-SIDE BARRIERS
School Enrolment
Lack of information by the families
Lack of information about Vocational Education Centres
Inflexibility of addressed-based school enrolment system)primary and lower-secondary levels)
Overage Enrolment
Local placement system (upper-secondary level)
Student transfer system (upper-secondary level)
Teacher Characteristics – Related Barriers
Limited Communication between teacher and children
Teachers' low education competences
Teachers' attitude
School Supply – Related Barriers
Cost related to pre-primary
Commuting time/distance to school
Lack of transportation to school (including school services and education with transport)
Negative perceptions about vocational schools
Grade Transition Regulations – Related Barriers
Grade transition regulations
Barriers Related to Security in School and on the Way to School
Bullying / school environment
Bullying / on the way to school
Non-attendance Regulations – Related Barriers
Non-attendance regulations
School Resources – Related Barriers
Big class size
Insufficient physical conditions of the schools
Inadequate single sex classrooms
Learning materials
Curriculum
D3
D4
D5
D6
D7
Low Level of Impact
Medium Level of Impact
High Level of Impact

5.1 Socio-Cultural, Human Capital- and Health-related Factors

The demand-side factors in relation to children's education include socio-cultural, human capital- and health-related factors. In this section, *socio-cultural factors* are analysed in relation to the role of the *gender-based norms*, which may have a differential impact on the education prospects of Syrian children UTP in terms of families' expectation about children's future being shaped by gender roles, children's domestic responsibilities, and early and forced marriages.

Human capital can be considered as the accumulation of knowledge, skills and abilities in life[65], and low human capital, not only of the Syrian children UTP but also of their parents, may serve as a barrier to the education of children. For this reason, human capital-related factors are analysed in relation to different components, namely valuing education, language, academic performance at school and Syrian education norms/backgrounds.

Health-related factors examine the impact of disability, illness, psycho-social experiences and traumas, and pregnancy on the education prospects of Syrian children UTP.

And finally, this section focuses on different aspects of *social cohesion* of the Syrian children UTP related to friendships, difficulties in integration to the local community, attitudes of the local population and attitudes towards the local population, security concerns and peer bullying.

The analysis is based on the qualitative data collected for this report and available quantitative data from the UNICEF Monitoring Data and DHS 2018.

5.1.1 Gender-based Norms

From the qualitative data, it is possible to identify some gender-based norms which could (mostly negatively) affect the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. Bearing that in mind, this section analyses the relationship between the gender norms with the expectations of the Syrian families UTP for their children in general and in relation to domestic responsibilities, as well as with early and forced marriages.

The qualitative data show that *the expectations of Syrian families UTP for their children* are usually the well-being of the children. There are Syrian parents UTP who indicated that the children should study to save their lives and futures, and there could be no other expectations from the children apart from education.

However, mostly due to the economic problems of the households, it is also possible to see that the expectations of the parents could be shaped by gender roles. In that sense, the general tendency of the Syrian parents UTP indicates that older boys were expected to work outside the home to contribute to the family budget (and sometimes to ensure that their siblings could go to school). Girls attended school at least until the upper-secondary level as their outside work was not considered to be appropriate and at the same time they also helped with household chores to different extents, and younger boys also continued their education. Some variations were also observed. For example, in the qualitative data there were some cases where only the boys were sent to school due to security concerns for the girls, or girls could not go to school due to increasing domestic responsibilities.

The qualitative data provide an overall understanding of the *domestic responsibilities of the Syrian children UTP*. From the qualitative data, a clear separation of labour at home emerges: the girls are more engaged in domestic chores, such as cleaning, cooking, and helping mothers, whereas the boys are responsible for the tasks outside home, such as shopping or going to the supermarket or to the bazaar. From the qualitative data, such a division of labour appeared to stem from gender roles or security concerns, due to which girls were not readily allowed to go out of the home alone. In the qualitative data, there were very few girls who indicated that they did not have any domestic tasks.

65 https://www.unicef.org/globalinsight/human-capital.

> "Families make their sons drop out schools so that they could support their families financially. On the other hand, daughters attend schools as they are not expected to support the family financially as much as sons. For example, for families, boys can work in industry and support their families financially as working in industry is considered not suitable for girls to work. The common cultural thinking is that whilst boys work, sisters can study as families cannot afford the schooling and life expenses." (SVEP, Izmir)

In cases where there were not any daughters, the boys were also reported to help with the household chores. Almost none of the Syrian children UTP complained about having such domestic responsibilities. The time that children spent with the domestic responsibilities ranges from half an hour to 6 hours per day. The tasks were assigned to children by the parents, mostly by the mother, but there were also some cases where the children themselves assumed or decided on their own for domestic responsibilities. In addition, there were also some cases in which the Syrian children UTP, both girls and boys, helped their parents with homemade productions.

With regard to having domestic responsibilities, differences for the girls in terms of being out of school or at risk was not observed. In almost all the cases, the Syrian girls UTP and their parents indicated some type of tasks for the children at home. However, in terms of the time spent on those domestic responsibilities and in terms of the tasks that they are responsible for, there occurred some differences. For instance, Syrian OOS girls UTP were observed to spend more time on household chores (up to 4–6 hours per day) and also to take more responsibilities such as taking care of their younger siblings or those with disabilities, or in cases, for example, when their mothers were pregnant or their mother worked outside.

It can also be observed that some of those households were single-parent families, where the fathers have died, left the household or were in another country. So, regarding this, there were some Syrian parents UTP, who indicated that they wanted the daughter to leave the school to help the mother with the household chores. A last observation in the case of the Syrian OOS girls UTP is that it was mostly the elder girls who took more domestic responsibilities at home, sometimes assuming the role of the housekeeper to ask other siblings to help themselves.

> "My older daughter and my other daughter did not want to study themselves. The older one started to work. I wanted the little one to drop out of school to help me. I couldn't keep up with housework alone." (Mother, Dimension 4, Bursa)

For the Syrian OOS boys UTP, a determinant for the domestic responsibilities is observed as their work situations (also see Section 5.2.1. Lack of Resources and Poverty). There were many Syrian boys UTP in the study sample that reported that they did not take any responsibilities at home, because they worked outside, and in that sense their contribution to the household was rather in financial terms. There were also some working Syrian boys UTP indicating that they helped with the domestic tasks during the weekends, when they did not work.

When the Syrian at-risk children UTP are considered, in many cases a balance between school and domestic responsibilities could be identified from the qualitative data. There were some Syrian parents UTP that mentioned that the children helped them "when they finish homework" or "if they do not have homework", etc. In addition, there were also some Syrian children UTP who indicated that they did not get engaged with any domestic tasks apart from tidying up their own items, because they attended school. Still, in some cases, it can be observed that domestic responsibilities caused school absences when the need for the children's contribution to household chores increased, for example, due to the birth of a new sibling.

> No, I do not do any housework because I work 10 hours a day in a cafe." (Boy, Dimension 3, Hatay)
>
> "There is no work on Saturday and Sunday. Then I help three to four hours a day. It is not tiring." (Boy, Dimension 3,İstanbul)

The qualitative data provides a number of *gender-based factors* which could affect the education prospects of the Syrian girls UTP, particularly after the lower-secondary level. One of those factors is the physical appearance of the girls, starting to change with adolescence. There are many key informants and teachers who indicated that when the girls physically grew up and entered puberty, the parents with a conservative perspective refrained from sending them to

school. In that context, it was reported that at the end of the lower-secondary school, or even before completing that level, the girls could be deprived of their education rights.

A second interrelated factor emerges as cultural norms. Many key informants and teachers/SVEP in the study sample stated that conservative cultural norms, which did not consider it appropriate for the girls over 14–15 years old to study, could be observed as a common reason for the school drop-outs of the Syrian girls UTP. Such cultural norms were stated to be shared among some Syrian UTP population, which could also act as "community pressure" for girls not being sent to school after a certain age. The qualitative data shows that such cultural norms were mostly reproduced by the male members of the households, such as the father and (elder) brothers of the girls.

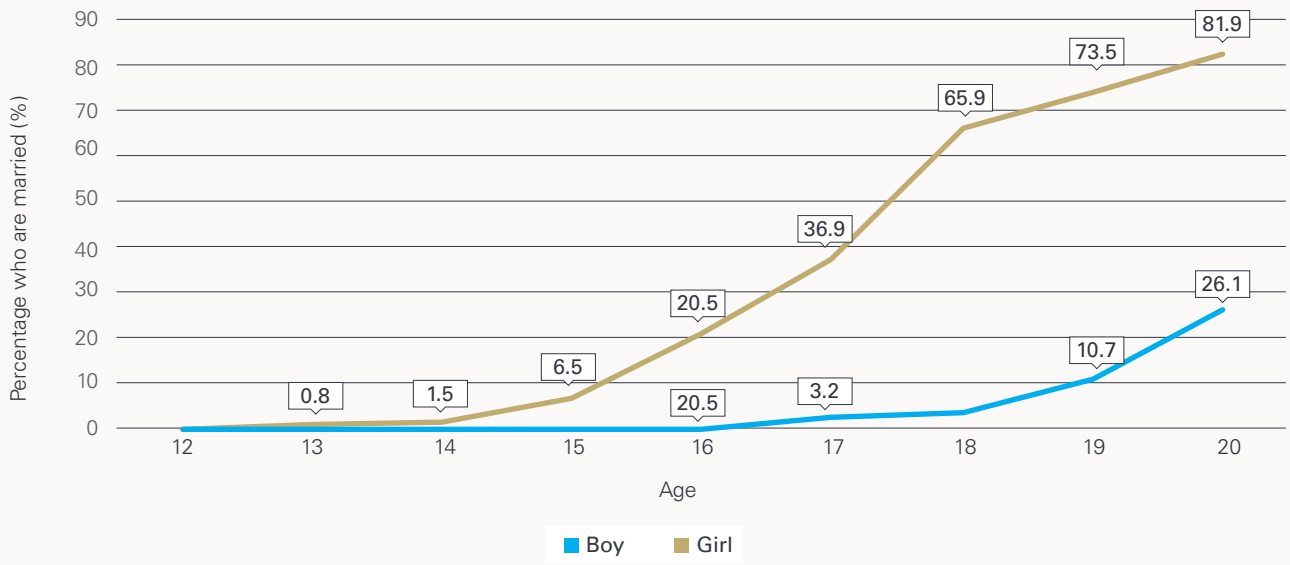
> "Also, girls are not sent to school on the grounds that they are growing up. The family thinks that the girl's body has grown too big. Especially if she looks a little grown than her peers, the child must be really successful, she must be very good in his lessons so that the family can allow her to finish the lower-secondary school." (Key Informant, İzmir)
>
> "I have absences from school. I stay at home when my mother has things to do. I am absent for one or two days a week. I wasn't having absences before. But I started to have absences after my brother was born." (Girl, Dimension 5, İstanbul)

Such cultural norms were argued to stem from some factors. For example, it was indicated that the ratio of sending girls to school had already been low traditionally among the Syrian UTP population. Or, in some cases it was stated that after a particular age, such as 14–15, children were not considered to be children by the parents anymore, but rather young adults, assuming different roles in life. In addition, the religious beliefs of some of the Syrian parents UTP or their children were also mentioned among the cultural norms which could act as a barrier for children's education. In the qualitative data, there were also some statements indicating that such cultural norms might differ in line with the regions in Syria from which the Syrian UTP population came from.

Last but not least, maybe the most important repercussion of the cultural norms was observed as the phenomenon of *early and forced marriages*. In Türkiye, since 2002, the legal age of marriage is 17 for both men and women, with the consent of the parents or caregiver, according to the Article 124 of the Turkish Civil Code and the Regulation on Marriage Procedures. The same legislation also indicates that "in exceptional circumstances and for some very important reasons", the judge may allow for marriages at the age of 16. Only civil marriages are recognized as legal, although the religious marriages are also widespread, either to accompany the civil marriages or as the only form of marriage.

DHS 2018 Syrian Migrant Sample provides quantitative data for the prevalence of early marriages among the Syrian UTP population, for all persons aged 12 and above. Figure 27 clearly shows that early marriage is common among Syrian children UTP, although mainly for girls. Almost no girls aged 12–14 were reported as being married, and for 15-year-old girls the marriage rate is 6.5 per cent. However, this quickly increases between the ages of 16 and 20: 20.5 per cent of 16-year olds, 36.9 per cent of 17-year olds and then 65.9 per cent of 18-year olds reported that they are married. For boys the rate reaches 26.1 per cent for 20-year olds, and boys start to get married at 17 instead of 15. In addition, according to the DHS 2018 Syrian Migrant Sample, among Syrian women UTP aged 20–24, the proportion of marriage before age 18 was 44.8 per cent and the proportion of marriage before age 15 was 9.2 per cent (Child, Early and Forced Marriage in Türkiye Data Analysis of Türkiye Demographic and Health Surveys 1993–2018).

Figure 27:
Percentage of Syrian Children UTP Who Are Married by Age (Ages 12–20) and Gender



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample size in 2018 DHS is 2,198.

The qualitative data provide evidence in terms of the relationship between gender-based norms and early marriages, especially for the Syrian girls UTP. Many key informants and teachers/SVEP mentioned that they witnessed the cases of early marriages, especially at the upper-secondary level. It was also mentioned that most of those early marriages were not legal. However, even when some early marriage cases (mostly at the stage of engagement) were reported to the authorities, and the parents and children were warned about the legal sanctions related to it, it became impossible to reverse the marriage decisions.

From the qualitative data, it is also possible to identify some interrelated reasons for early and forced marriages. The first reason is related to the general cultural norms. Some key informants and teachers/SVEP mentioned that for some Syrian UTP households, early marriages, especially kin marriages, were common to consider early marriages as the norm. In that sense, "age of marriage" was reported to be quite low among this population. Another reason for early marriages was reported as the parents' own marriage experiences at their early ages, in the sense to normalise early marriages for the children. The third reason emerges as the parents' perception of their children as young adults after a certain age, which results in consideration of children to get married.

From the qualitative data, it is possible to observe that all those factors were not only assumed by the parents but were also agreed by the children themselves in some cases. In this regard, there were examples of the children who wanted to get married at early ages, even when the parents did not give consent to marriage. In addition, poor academic performance at school was also mentioned as another reason which may facilitate early marriages of the girls.

The qualitative data show that when some Syrian girls UTP did not feel successful at school and the education prospects were not promising, those children or their parents did not make much effort to keep the children at school with the idea that they could get married rather than getting an education. A similar problem also existed for the Syrian girls UTP who had education gap years. The qualitative data show that in some cases when some girls missed some school years, their possibility to get back to school decreased due to early marriages based on cultural norms and tendencies.

> "We were at the camp. She had many Syrian friends. She was caught in them. Then she wanted to get married. I tried so much but I just could not convince her [not to get married]. She got married and had three children. She worked in Istanbul for 3 years. When she looked back, she could not save money either. I could not force her about school, because she was not convinced somehow."
> (Father, Dimension 7, Adana)

A last reason for early and forced marriages emerges as the high number of children at the household coupled with a lack of sufficient economic resources. Although none of the Syrian children UTP or their parents in the qualitative study sample indicated economic factors as a driver of early and forced marriages, some key informants and teachers/SVEP reported that some Syrian families UTP had many children and early marriage of any of those children were considered to decrease the number of dependents at home, which would in turn decrease their economic costs to the household (also see Section 5.2. Economic Barriers).

The qualitative data suggest that all those factors which lead to early and forced marriages also have severe consequences for the Syrian children UTP. One of the (almost direct) consequences is school drop-out. The qualitative data from DHS 2018 shows the severity of this consequence as not even one married person aged 12–17 is reported as attending school during the 2018–2019 school year. The qualitative data also indicate that even if they themselves wanted to continue their education, at several stages of the early marriage from engagement to pregnancy the children had to leave school (even without getting their diplomas), due to factors such as the pressure from their fathers of fiancées, or if the marriage is a civil one, due to legal rules. The qualitative data shows that in some cases interventions of the authorities such as teachers, school administrators or representatives of civil society organizations could help avoid early marriage, but in some cases, they were not successful.

At this stage open education appears as an alternative for the children, as those who are married are automatically referred to the open schools in line with the legislation. In the study sample, there were some SVEP who indicated that they directed those girls to open education (For more details see Section 5.4.1. School Supply and the Case Study on Early and Forced Marriages).

"I have been engaged for two months and at the moment my father does not want me to go to school or leave the house at all." (Girl, Dimension 6, Hatay)

"Syrians marry their 15-16-year-old daughters, they marry so early in their hometown. You know, there is also no civil marriage. We got the news of another student that she was going to get married, we prevented it. The girl also wanted to study; she is currently attending school." (Key informant, Bursa)

Gender-based Norms as a Barrier

Among socio-cultural factors, gender-based norms emerge as the most relevant factor for the Syrian children UTP. The analysis clearly shows that most of the expectations of the Syrian parents UTP for their children is to get an education. Although gender-based norms are visible in terms of children's domestic responsibilities (where girls are more responsible for household chores, and boys with more outdoor responsibilities), they do not seem to act as a barrier as most of the children indicated they do not spend too much time on domestic responsibilities, nor did they voice any particularly negative effect of those responsibilities on their well-being.

However, there are also some other demand-side factors such as economic difficulties, family size and health status of the household members, etc., that could increase the severity of the impact of domestic responsibilities on the children's education prospects and generate a gendered and age-related impact on children. In those cases, the older girls can be observed to take over more domestic responsibilities, and older boys may end up in the labour market, resulting in more non-attendance or school drop-outs. In terms of gender norms, a severe bottleneck is early and forced marriages, especially of girls at the upper-secondary level. The analysis shows that early marriages are likely to increase if the girls are out of school, because the school may act as a mechanism to protect children from unwanted early marriages.

Table 13:
Gender-based Norms-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Family expectations from the children shaped by gender norms	*		*	***	**
Children's domestic responsibilities	**	*	*	***	**
Early and forced marriages	*		*	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.1.2 Human Capital

UNICEF defines *Human Capital* as "the set of knowledge, skills and abilities that individuals accumulate towards personal well-being and improved work opportunities"[66]. Regarding the aforementioned, education is not only an instrument of investing in human capital, but also low human capital can act as a factor to decrease the chances for further education. In this section human capital is analysed in relation to different factors, namely the value of education, language skills, academic performance at school and Syrian education norms/backgrounds, to examine its role for the education of the Syrian children UTP.

The qualitative data indicates that the Syrian parents UTP and their children highly acknowledged the *value of education*. A sizeable majority of the Syrian parents UTP in the study sample, both of the at-risk and OOSC, stated a positive approach to the education of their children, not only as something important but also necessary in life. Such an approach is mostly related to the vision of a better future for the children, as the parents indicated that they would like their children to have better and comfortable lives and good/better jobs. Under that mindset, education was perceived as an instrument of having a diploma and acquiring a profession.

Some of the Syrian children UTP mentioned that their parents supported their education for them to be able to find better, less tiring, more prestigious jobs, to achieve their aspirations, and to be able to enjoy independent lives, as mentioned repeatedly as "to save the children's lives". In addition, education was also reported to be necessary for the children to become cultured people. Many Syrian children UTP, both girls and boys, indicated that their parents (mothers and fathers) always emphasised the importance of education to better understand life, to express oneself better, to be a better informed, more responsible and enlightened person, to be helpful not only to oneself but their own children in the future and also other people in the society.

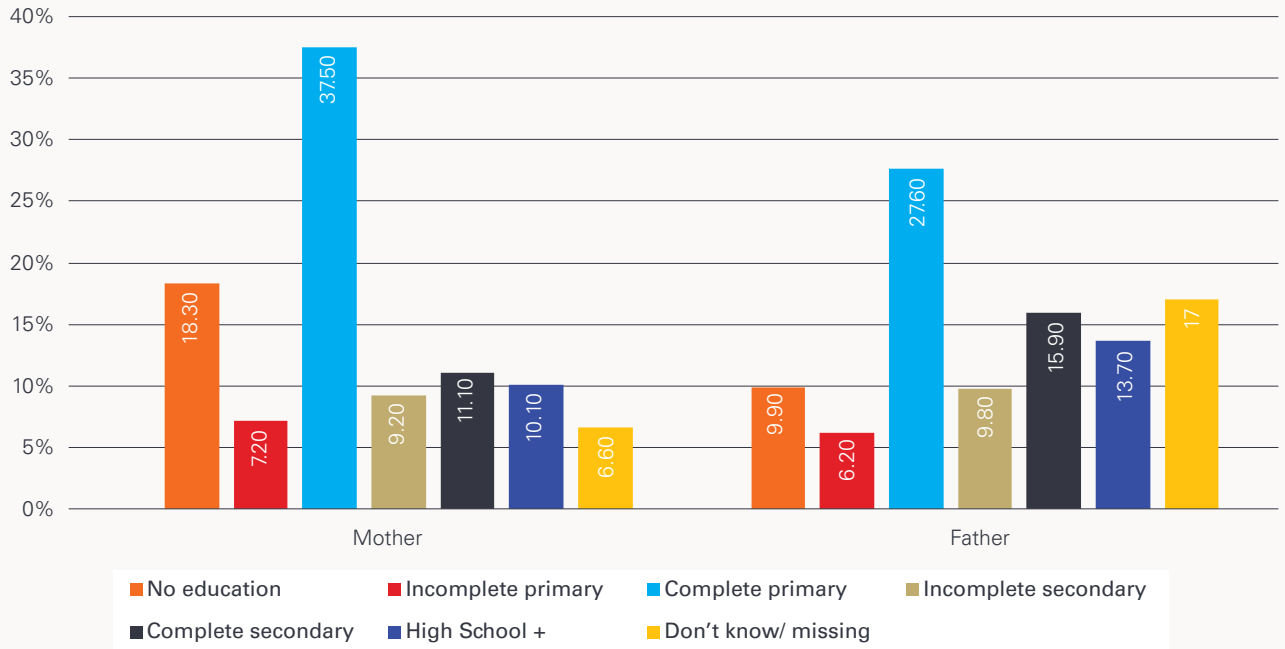
Different parents used a striking common expression, which was "education is light". Some of the Syrian parents UTP also indicated that they came to Türkiye from Syria to be able ensure that their children could get an education and earn for their future.

> **"They say 'study to reach your dreams'. They want me to study."** (Girl, Dimension 5, İstanbul)

In terms of valuing education, education levels of the Syrian parents UTP could be considered as an indicator for school attendance and drop-out rates of the children. The DHS 2018 Syrian Migrant Sample provides some quantitative data on the parental education levels of the Syrian children UTP. Figure 28 shows that 18 per cent of Syrian children UTP mothers have no education, compared with 10 per cent of fathers. The largest bars are for primary school complete. Just over 30 per cent of Syrian mothers UTP have education beyond primary, compared with nearly 40 per cent of Syrian fathers UTP. Syrian fathers UTP are more likely to be in the "don't know/missing" category with 17 per cent.

66 https://www.unicef.org/globalinsight/human-capital.

Figure 28:
Parental Education Levels of Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample size in 2018 DHS is 3,612.

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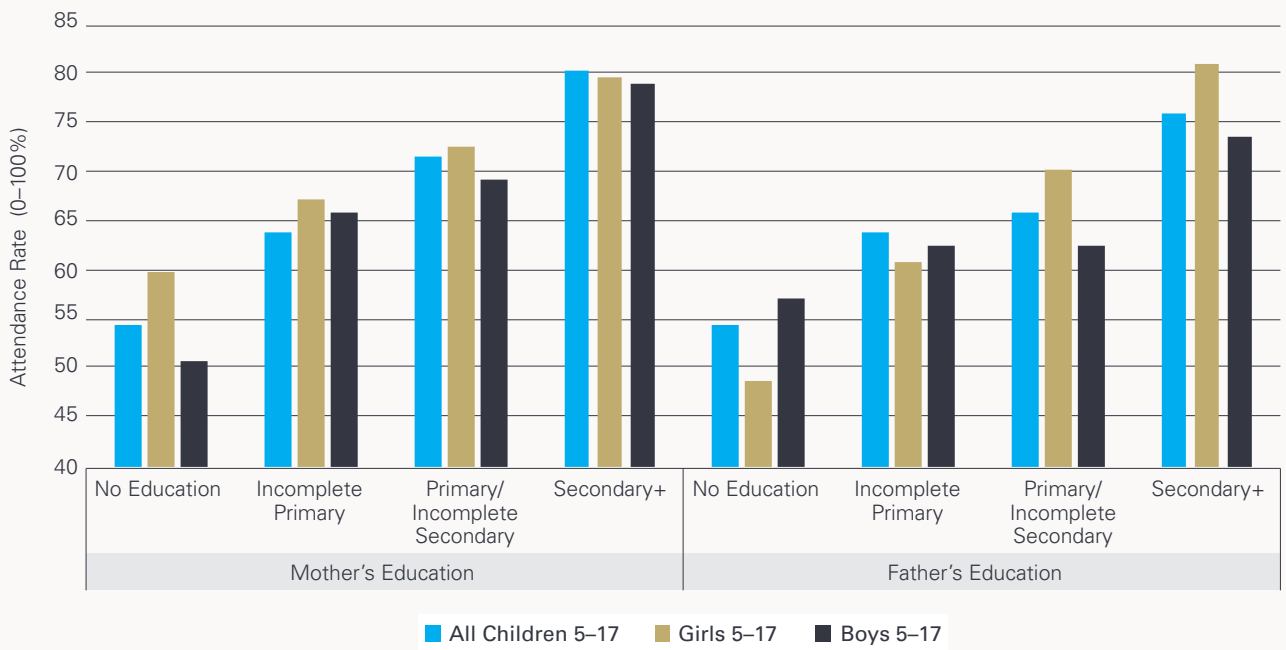
Figure 29 below continues with comparisons of school attendance rates by parental education levels, with separate results for the overall sample and then girls and boys (5–17 age category). From the figure, one can see that there is a clear positive relationship between parental education and the child's school attendance. For example, only about 55 per cent of children aged 5–17 are in school when their parents have "No education", compared with 80 per cent when the mother has "Secondary" or higher, and 76 per cent when the father has "Secondary" or higher. For the overall sample the association (or correlation) between education and parental education is moderately stronger between the mother's education and child attendance compared with the father's education. However, there is some evidence that girls are especially impacted by the father's education: only 48 per cent of girls are attending school when their father has no education, but this increases to over 80 per cent when the father has "Secondary" or higher. With the exception of the "No education" category, the results for boys and girls are fairly similar in relation to their mother's education. Thus, the DHS 2018 findings suggest that there is a pretty strong relationship in the sense that Syrian children UTP from households with low levels of parental education are less likely to be in school.

Figure 29:
School Attendance Rates of Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17 by Parental Education Levels



Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample size in 2018 DHS is 3,612.

The qualitative data confirm that if the parents are educated, they also encourage and support their children to get an education. However, the qualitative data also provide evidence that at least in some cases, parents with low or no education levels were also motivated to send their children to school, with the argument that they wanted their children to benefit from the education opportunities that they themselves could not get in the past, not to "be like them". Such a finding points out to the existence of other factors, in addition to the parental education levels to explain the low levels of school attendance among the Syrian children UTP.

> "They say why don't you send the kids to school? My children are studying, but I can only afford it by working in many places. I could not finish my school, but I want my children to finish. I want them not to say one day tomorrow that our father did not send us to school." (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

Having a positive approach to children's education, some of the parents of the Syrian OOSC UTP voiced their willingness to have the opportunity to send their children back to school, and even to push their children back to school in cases where it was the children themselves who decided to leave school. Thus, in addition to the approach of Syrian parents UTP to education, children's own perceptions about school and education appear as another factor for non-attendance and school drop-outs. The qualitative data shows that most of the Syrian children UTP, both at-risk and OOS, were quite positive about education. Many children stated that education is important in order to learn how to read and write, to learn Turkish language, to be able to develop themselves and to have profession, to have a respectful life, to be knowledgeable about life, and to realise their own aspirations. When they were asked about the profession that they would like to have in the future, their responses reflected a great variety: children stated, among other things, that they would like to be a doctor, lawyer, police, pharmacist, teacher (kindergarten, physical education, or maths), *hafiz*, engineer, eye doctor, soldier, actor, dentist, inventor, scientist, stylist, electronics engineer, or painter.

> **"I want to be a petroleum engineer. I think education is very important. I see my friends dropping out of school, life is getting harder for them. But if I study and become an engineer, my life will be more comfortable, and I will avoid being an ordinary worker. I will be able to get a better salary and have a better life."** (Boy, Dimension 7, İstanbul)

In terms of valuing education, the qualitative data from the study sample do not reflect any variation according to different categories of children (at-risk or OOS) or sex. This suggests that school drop-out or non-attendance might not directly stem from not valuing education, as other reasons such as economic considerations/conditions or problems with registration with the Turkish authorities could also play a role (also see Section 5.2. Economic Barriers and Section 5.3. School Administrative Regulations).

To be discussed more in Section 5.2 Economic Barriers, it is important to mention here that there were many Syrian parents UTP of OOSC (Dimension 3 and Dimension 6) in the qualitative study sample who referred to economic problems as a reason for not being able to send their children to school, although they would like to send them.

Nevertheless, there was a rather small group of Syrian children UTP who reported that they did not value education. One of the statements in this regard appears as "not liking/loving school". A few Syrian parents UTP in the study sample indicated that their children did not want to learn how to read and write, or their children resisted going to school because they were bored or not interested in studying. For such cases, some key informants indicated that other siblings who did not attend school could act as a negative role model for the children, or the parents did not insist on sending the children to school if the children did not want to go to school.

Another reason why children do not value education was reported to be not believing in the benefits of education. Some key informants indicated that they witnessed some cases where Syrian children UTP did not have any hopes for finding a job even when they had a diploma. In that sense, it was possible to observe that not believing in the benefits of education acted as a reason for some of the Syrian children UTP to enter into the labour market, rather than attending school, with economic considerations.

A final aspect of the value of education is the person who makes the decision for leaving school. The qualitative data show that it is mostly the Syrian children UTP who are indicated to make the decision of leaving school, despite their parents' non-approval in many cases. Among other reasons, work seems to be the major reason for boy's school drop-out as a consequence of economic problems (also see Section 5.2 Economic Barriers).

> "**Boy:** No, I decided myself [to leave the school].
>
> **Interviewer:** What did your mother or father say?
>
> **Boy:** They didn't force me, I did it myself. I said I will work.
>
> **Interviewer:** You wanted?
>
> **Boy:** Yes.
>
> **Interviewer:** How did your parents respond to your decision?
>
> **Boy:** They said okay, but because I understand them, because my father was sitting at home, we did not eat anything until that day. For lunch, I was hungry at school.
>
> **Interviewer:** I got it, have the condition of the house got more comfortable when you work now?
>
> **Boy:** Improved a bit." (Boy, Dimension 3, İstanbul)
>
> **"I decided to stop going to school, my parents tried to persuade me to learn Turkish and go to school, but I always refused because I did not feel ready."** (Girl, Dimension 6, İstanbul)

In the case of Syrian children UTP and their parents, an important component of human capital includes *language* skills. The qualitative data provides rich evidence on the issue of language skills, the lack of which is a potential barrier to the education of Syrian children UTP, in terms of the level of Turkish language at the household and household members who are competent in Turkish language, advantages of knowing Turkish language for the children, and the consequences of Turkish language incompetence for the children.

Within the limits of the study sample, the qualitative data pointed to three types of Syrian UTP households with regard to household members who are competent in Turkish language. In some households, particularly some of those with OOSC (Dimension 3 and 6), none of the household members were competent in Turkish language. Those are usually the cases, who indicated that their children recently stopped attending school.

In the second category of households, it was indicated that everybody in the household could speak in Turkish with different levels of language competence. Many Syrian children UTP and their parents in this group reported that their children learned Turkish mostly at school and language courses. And parents were reported to learn the language from their children, from their environment (e.g., friends, neighbours), at work or at the language courses such as those at the PECs. Among those households, there were also some Turkmen Syrian households, whose native language was already Turkish, and some Kurdish Syrians, who mentioned that even when they were in Syria, they were sending their children to language schools to learn Arabic and they sent their children to learn Turkish language when they came to Türkiye. Also, in this second category, there were a few parents who indicated that their children born in Türkiye can only speak Turkish.

> **"I learned (Turkish language) through my children, I learned it for their school and did not encounter any difficulties. I was learning when they brought their homework to home, I learned the letters when my son started the first grade. Then I went to the A1 course. It is similar to Arabic. It is not that difficult."**
> (Mother, Dimension 7, Bursa)
>
> **"My little children all speak Turkish. My older son knows a little, just to save himself. I also learned. I went to the course. I had an exam two days ago."** (Mother, Dimension 7, Adana)

In the third category of Syrian UTP households, the sole Turkish language speakers were children. In those households, Arabic was spoken at home. Also, some of the Syrian parents UTP in this category mentioned that they would like to learn Turkish if they did not have limited resources.

The respondents in the qualitative study sample provided many examples about the advantages of having Turkish language skills. The Syrian children UTP and their parents stated that having Turkish language skills considerably facilitated their life, for example, in the public offices especially at hospitals or pharmacies, in terms of communicating with people on the streets or in the shops, for searching/finding jobs and using it at work, for solving problems that they faced, for communicating with friends, for not being isolated from the society, and for being able to help the siblings with their lessons. In addition, a particular advantage of Turkish language skills was mentioned in relation to education. Some Syrian children UTP reported that being able to communicate in Turkish facilitated their interaction with their teachers, made it easier for them to follow the courses and understand the course content better, and helped them have friends at school. Some of the key informants and teachers also indicated that children with Turkish language skills could have an easier adaptation process, could integrate well into the education system and school environment, and could be quite successful in their courses.

> **"For example, our top student in the last two years is a Syrian female student. They speak Turkish very well. I mean, I did not understand that they were actually Syrians without seeing their surname, let me say that. They learned Turkish very well. Because these people think that 'we are now in Türkiye, we will live in Türkiye, we will stay here'."**
> (Teacher, Dimension 5, İzmir)
>
> **"One of those students, who learned Turkish here, performed as the presenter in our classical official ceremonies at the primary school, by using Turkish in a perfect way. These were good things for us."**
> (Key Informant, Bursa)

One important observation is that especially in the households where only the children can speak Turkish, having Turkish language skills might also work to the disadvantage of the children in terms of attending school. In the qualitative data there were numerous examples,

particularly for the Syrian OOSC UTP, in which the children were helping the household members as "interpreters". It was possible to observe many cases in which, to be able to establish the communication in Turkish, the children accompanied their parents to the hospitals or public offices, or they were communicating with the houseowners or neighbours.

> **My three elder sons speak Turkish. When the landlord comes, they talk to him; they translate when we go to the hospital; they understand what they wanted when a Turk came and knocked on our door. I do not understand Turkish. Language helps in everyday life."** (Mother, Dimension 3, İstanbul)

The qualitative data also suggest some negative consequences of not being competent in Turkish language for the Syrian children UTP at different stages of their education. Indeed, some of those consequences are not mutually exclusive and are further discussed under different topics in the following sections.

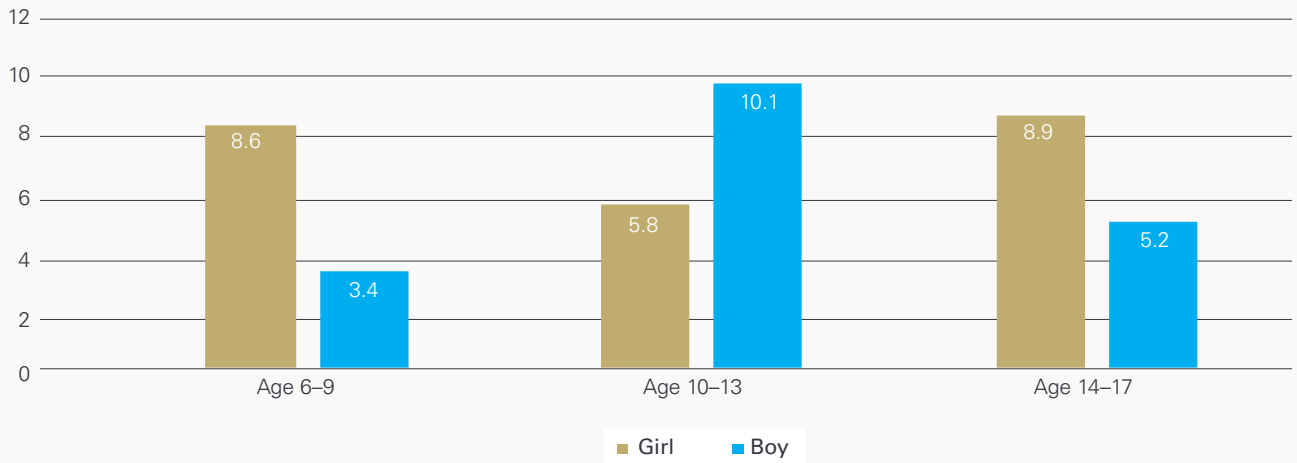
One of these consequences is the problem with social integration at and outside the school due to not being able to express themselves well, not being able to communicate or socialise with other children at school, or not being able to make friends (See Section 5.1.4. Social Cohesion).

The second consequence the teachers and Syrian children UTP mentioned in the qualitative study sample was bullying at school, on the basis of language incompetence (See Section 5.4.4. Security in School). Another consequence was overage enrolment, in other words placement of children in lower grades, due to lack of Turkish language skills (See Section 5.3.1. School Enrolment).

Another consequence was low academic performance at school due to not being able to follow the course content or the teachers or due to not having anybody at home to help their learning process (also see below Academic Performance at School). Also, as an important factor for the education of the Syrian children UTP, some of the teachers indicated to have difficulties in communication with the parents due to the parents' lack of Turkish language skills.

All those factors resulting from not being competent in Turkish language were observed to negatively contribute to the risk of dropping out of school for the Syrian children UTP. The UNICEF Monitoring Data (2019) shows that Syrian families UTP cited "language" as one of the major reasons for children not being in school. Figure 30 displays that at all age groups and for both sexes, language acts as a barrier for access to school, seeming to affect the Syrian boys UTP aged 10–13 and the Syrian girls UTP aged 14–17 the most. The qualitative data also point out to similar findings by providing evidence that it was mostly the Syrian OOS girls UTP aged 14–17 (Dimension 6) reporting their school drop-outs due to lack of Turkish language skills. A positive observation from the qualitative data is that those OOSC reported their willingness to go back to school if and when they learned Turkish language.

Figure 30:
The Percentage of Syrian Families UTP who Cited "Language" for Child Not Being in School by Age and Gender



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2019).
Notes: Sample size in 2018 DHS is 3,612.

An important aspect of children's human capital is the level of *academic performance at school*, which can act as a barrier to school attendance and result in school drop-outs. The qualitative data show that academic performances of some of the Syrian children UTP were quite high, as their parents and teachers acknowledged. Some factors that increase the success levels can be identified from the statements of the key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample.

One of those was a high level of Turkish language competence, which was stated to ensure school attendance of the children and academic success. Some teachers indicated that those children who were born and finished primary school in Türkiye proved to be quite successful at higher levels of education. In addition, some Turkmen Syrian children UTP in the study sample also referred to the advantage of having Turkish language competence as a success factor for themselves.

Another reason was indicated to be the level of education of the Syrian parents UTP, as children with highly educated parents were mentioned to achieve better academic performances. It can also be observed from the qualitative data that students with high academic performance had less school non-attendance and fewer drop-outs. Some key informants also reported that when the children were successful at school, they were less likely to leave school.

Finally, many Syrian parents UTP in the qualitative study sample seemed to be quite content with the appreciation of the school administrators and teacher of their children's success at school. The parents stated that when teachers or school administrators apprised the success of children and paid attention to such success, the children and parents were more motivated and had closer bonds to school, teachers and course topics. Thus, such attention could act as a reason for less non-attendance and drop-outs.

> **"In fact, our third successful student was a Syrian student in grade 6 last year. They are also very good in terms of success. There are those who push towards the first place."**
> (Key informant, İzmir)
>
> **"They do not have any difficulties. My children's lessons are very good. The youngest ones are highly praised, for example, by the school principal and teachers."**
> (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

In the study sample, there were some other Syrian children UTP who were indicated to have low levels of academic performance at school. A number of reasons for poor academic performance can be identified from the qualitative data. A major problem was indicated in relation to a lack of Turkish language skills. Some Syrian children UTP and their parents stated that as the children could not learn Turkish at sufficient levels, they could not achieve well at school. It was stated especially by some teachers and SVEP that knowledge of daily, casual knowledge of Turkish was not sufficient to catch up with the curriculum and comprehend the course materials or content.

Also related to that, a lack of resources or support persons at home who were competent in Turkish was voiced mostly by the Syrian parents UTP as a factor that decreased the academic performance of the children. Another reason of low academic performance occurred as missed years of education and overage enrolment, as some of the Syrian children UTP indicated.

They stated that when they missed school for a few years, it was quite difficult for them to catch up with the course load of the upper grade that they were placed in and even when they passed the grade, they had more difficulties in the higher grade. A final reason for poor academic performance was indicated to be related to the personal characteristics of the children, both by the Syrian parents UTP and teachers. In that sense, some of the children were considered to be less persistent in coping with the feeling of not being successful and they could give up more easily in case of low academic performance at school. There were also some Syrian parents UTP who identified their own children as "without enthusiasm for education". A final factor for poor academic performance was mentioned concerning the difficulties faced in schooling during the COVID-19 pandemic as analysed further in Section 5.5.

> **"I was young when I was in Syria. After I came here, I enrolled in grade 2. Everyone in the class had already studied the grade 1, and when I started from the grade 2, I couldn't catch up with them. I could not learn. I passed to the grade 3 but I couldn't not learn. My teacher also said I didn't learn either."**
> (Boy, Dimension 3, Istambul)

From the qualitative data, a frequently cited consequence of the poor academic performance is non-attendance and school drop-out. Actually, the qualitative data show that many Syrian children UTP with low levels of academic performance at school were easily distanced from school

and education and in tandem with other reasons such as economic difficulties, they ended up in child labour or early marriages. On the other hand, the qualitative data provides evidence that good academic performance has the potential to decrease non-attendance and school drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP.

> **"Education in Syria did not contribute to the solution of livelihood problems. We did not know the importance of education very much. We had our own workplaces. We preferred working to education."**
> (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

The final component of human capital is the *Syrian education norms/backgrounds* and their role in ensuring or hindering the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. One of the factors was reported to be the regions in which the Syrian families UTP were living in Syria and their socio-economic differences on the basis of rural/urban distinction. Some of the teachers indicated that some of the parents from the rural parts of Syria were observed to be more conservative towards the education of girls, and to have lower education levels compared to those from more urbanised regions. A second aspect of the Syrian education norms and backgrounds was observed as the non-compulsory characteristics of education in Syria after Grade 6[67]. In connection with this, some key informants and teachers indicated that some of the Syrian parents UTP were not very aware or informed about the 12-year system of compulsory education in Türkiye, and children considered starting to work upon the completion of basic education instead of attending upper-secondary school. Similarly, the Syrian parents UTP were reported not to be well-informed about different schooling options in Türkiye such as vocational schools or centres, which was stated as a factor to limit the education practices of some of the Syrian children UTP. Both of those factors were indicated to create the consequences of early and forced marriages or child labour.

Human Capital-related Barriers

Human capital as a demand-side factor has different elements. A quite positive observation regarding human capital is the high levels of appreciation that both the Syrian parents UTP and their children place on education. Almost none of the respondents in the qualitative study sample denied the importance of education for the children and they provided a wide perspective on the benefits of education and schooling. This makes it possible to assume that non-attendance and school drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP are not likely to stem from not valuing education but depend on other reasons. Among those reasons, the language barrier stands out. It is evident from the analysis that the lack of Turkish language skills has an impact on school non-attendance and drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP.

A variation could be observed in terms of the year of arrival of the children to Türkiye. For the children spending more time in Türkiye or even the ones born in Türkiye have more chances to get competent in the Turkish language. Many other demand-side factors also affect the level of language skills for the children, such as the number of household members speaking in Turkish language, engagement in language support activities, the level of integration within the local community, and the schooling experiences of children.

It is clear from the qualitative analysis that Syrian children UTP who are not competent in Turkish may face a variety of problems in relation to the benefits from schooling. They experience communication problems and poor academic performance at school, which are observed to likely result in non-attendance and school drop-out. The prior Syrian education norms and experiences seem to affect the OOSC more as they affect the level of awareness of the parents about the education system and schooling options.

67 Within Syria itself, a 12-year system of primary and secondary education is followed, consisting of 6 years of primary and 6 years of secondary education which is divided into two cycles (UNESCO-IBE, 2011). Compulsory education in the country is 9 years (Grades 1–9).

Table 14:
Human Capital-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Not valuing education	*			**	*
Lack of language skills	***	*	**	***	**
Low academic performance	***	*	**	***	**
Prior Syrian education norms/experiences	**		*	**	*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

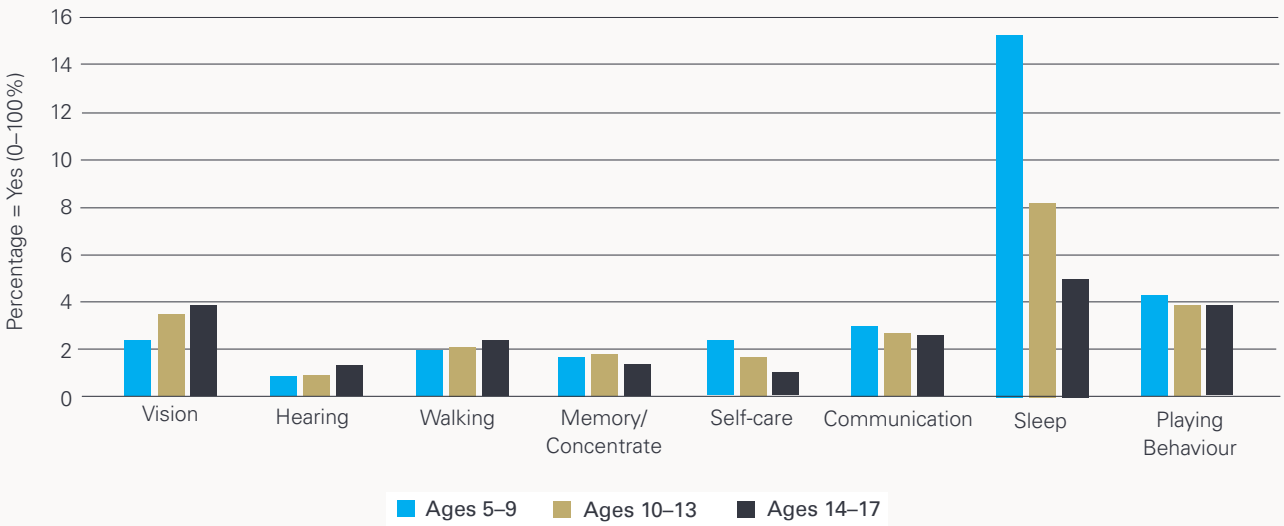
5.1.3 Health-related Reasons

A variety of health-related reasons may act as a demand-side barrier that prevent Syrian children UTP from attending school. This section discusses health-related reasons in terms of disability, illness, psycho-social effects, traumatic experiences and pregnancy, in light of the qualitative data and enriched by the available quantitative UNICEF Monitoring Data.

Globally speaking, discrimination against individuals with *disabilities* is a quite widespread social problem. For children with disabilities, a severe consequence of their disability can be being deprived of the right to education. UNICEF Monitoring Data provide insights about the disability status of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. The overall disability rate for the Syrian children UTP, who indicated that the child had any of the problems listed in Figure 31, was about 8 per cent at the time of the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data collection.

However, there are three difficulties in identification of disability status of children through the available surveys. The first is that disabilities could be under-reported, as disability may refer to a range of issues, some of which the respondents may not strictly consider as disabilities. Another difficulty is that defining disability status includes both the nature of the disability as well as its severity, for which further details were not always available in the UNICEF Monitoring Data. And finally, there are the potential limitations in terms of the sampling coverage of the UNICEF Monitoring Data, especially the 2017 survey that has the most information on disabilities but covers some of the poorer regions in the country. Unfortunately, there is no information in DHS 2018 on child disabilities.

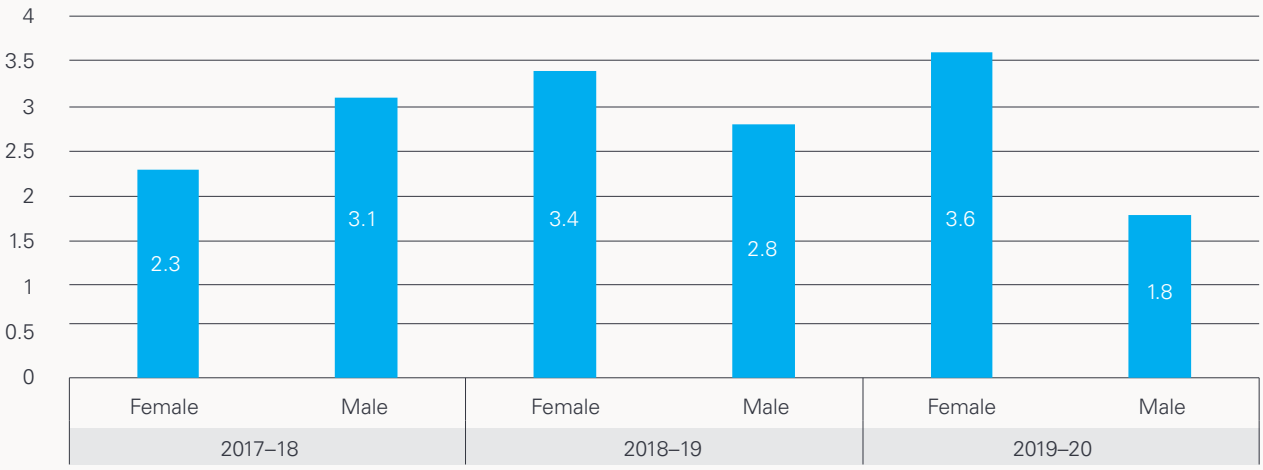
Figure 31:
Percentage of Children with Disabilities by Type and Age Group



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample size in 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data is 11,445.

In addition to the prevalence and type of disabilities among Syrian children UTP, a central question is how disability status affects school enrolment (and attendance). When the Syrian children UTP with disabilities in Türkiye are concerned, the UNICEF Monitoring Data shows that (Figure 32) about 1.8–3.6 per cent of the Syrian families UTP attributed non-enrolment to the child's disability.

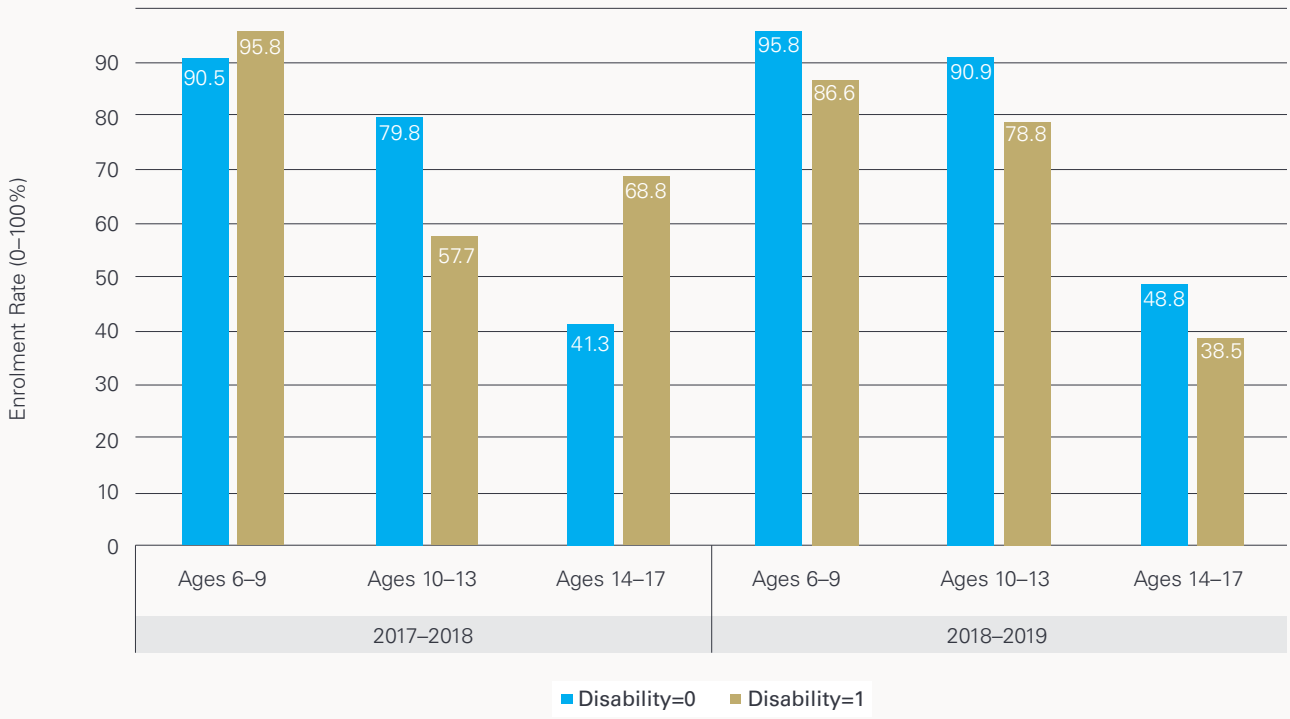
Figure 32:
The Percentage of Syrian Families UTP Who Cited Disability of the Child as a Reason for a Child's OOS Status



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data.
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: UNICEF Monitoring 2017–2018 (34,997), 2018–2019 (42,778), 2019–2020 (10,777).

Figure 33 below shows that children who were reported as having disabilities are significantly less likely to be in school across most of the age-group specific comparisons. For example, according to the UNICEF Monitoring Data for the 2018–2019 school year nearly 91 per cent of children aged 10–13 with no disability were enrolled in school, compared with nearly 79 per cent of children who were reported as having some kind of disability. Moreover, qualitative data show that there were also many instances where the children with disabilities were never enrolled in school, which was rarely reported among the children with no disabilities in the qualitative study sample.

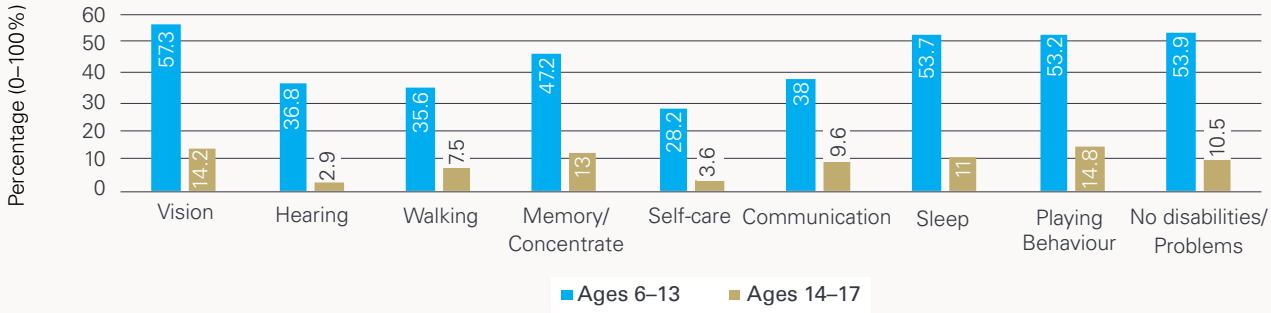
Figure 33:
School Enrolment Rates of Syrian Children UTP With and Without Disabilities



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data.
Notes: Sample sizes by data source and year: UNICEF Monitoring 2017–2018 (34,997), 2018–2019 (42,778).

When the enrolment rates by disability type from the UNICEF Monitoring Data in Figure 34 are compared, it can be observed that for children aged 6–13 having issues with hearing, walking, self-care and communication are associated with a lower probability of being enrolled in school. For older children (ages 14–17) the hearing and self-care conditions are associated with much lower enrolment rates.

Figure 34:
School Enrolment Rates for Children with Disabilities by Type and Age Group



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample size in UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017 is 11,445.

The qualitative data helps explore some aspects of the educational status that the Syrian children UTP with disabilities have to explain their lower level of school enrolment compared to the Syrian children UTP without disabilities. In the qualitative data, there were some examples of Syrian children UTP with disabilities who could not attend or register in school due to their disabilities, mentioned as visual impairments, mental disabilities, orthopaedical disabilities, speech impairments or some combination of disabilities. When the reasons for disabilities were concerned, some of the key informants referred to the disabilities occurring due to lack of nutrition or proper physical environment during the pregnancy which resulted in unhealthy births, war conditions that mothers were exposed to in Syria, and kin marriages.

> **"We did not enrol my 16-year-old daughter to school because she had a leg injury, she never went to school."**
> (Mother, Dimension 6, İstanbul)
>
> **"It varies from region to region. I rarely saw Syrians with disabilities going to school. You know, depending on the level of disability, maybe they send them to school. But I haven't seen a child with a physical disability go to school. But I saw a child with low autism or down syndrome going to school. But I can say this is at very low levels. I can say that they cannot reach education."**
> (Key Informant, Hatay)

The qualitative data also provides some evidence concerning the reasons for not enrolling in school for the Syrian children UTP with disabilities.

The first reason some key informants and teachers/SVEP indicated in the qualitative study sample was a lack of information for the Syrian families UTP about the procedures of registering their children with disabilities to school. In that sense, it was indicated that the parents were not aware of the role of the Guidance and Research Centres (GRCs/RAM), nor about the schooling options for their children such as special education schools, special education classes in regular schools or regular classes with their peers.

A second problem was mentioned as the language problems, which were observed to exist both at the level of benefiting from the existing services (e.g., to communicate with the GRC (RAM) staff or following all the procedures for receiving the education reports), and in terms of the difficulties that some Syrian children UTP with disabilities could have in learning Turkish language.

The third reason was stated as the inability to register the Syrian children UTP with disabilities to school. One of the SVEP exemplified a case in which the school administration did not accept enrolling the children with disabilities with the argument that the child had to be enrolled instead in special education schools. However, the non-existence or extended distance of special education schools seemed to result in non-enrolment of those children to any schools.

Some of the key informants stated that special efforts were needed to get the Syrian children UTP with disabilities into the school. In cases where an effective cooperation was established between the parents, GRC/RAM, schools and support persons (such as the representatives of NGOs working in the field), some of the Syrian children UTP with disabilities were registered in school. The qualitative data also provide some examples of Syrian children UTP with disabilities who could integrate well into the education system and proved to be quite successful at school when given the chances and necessary support.

However, there were also some Syrian parents UTP who reported that their children with disabilities had some problems at school. Those problems included the insufficiencies of the physical conditions of the schools (e.g., lack of ramps or elevators, non-placement of the children at the more accessible classrooms), bullying at school (e.g., making fun of the disabilities of the children at school), and teachers' attitudes towards the children with disabilities, which could act both as an incentive or disincentive for the children to remain in school.

> **"My son with disabilities had problems. There were people at school telling him 'you were crippled.' He was feeling sad and intense. I can say that my child with disabilities had more difficulties at school. He repeatedly wanted to drop out of school. He was discriminated against. But he was convinced for the teacher's sake."** (Father, Dimension 4, Gaziantep)

A final observation is that in some cases the disability of any of the household members could be a factor negatively affecting the school attendance or drop-out of Syrian children UTP, even those who did not have any disabilities themselves. In the qualitative data there were Syrian parents UTP who indicated that there were one or more (up to three) children or adults with disabilities in the household, and some of the children in those households

had to take care of their siblings/parents with disabilities. This in turn could result in non-attendance or drop-out. There were also some cases where the children, mostly boys, had to leave school and work due to the disabilities of the main breadwinner of the household (also see Section 5.2.1. Lack of Resources and Poverty).

Illness of Syrian children UTP acts as another barrier to their education, mostly in the form of high levels of excused non-attendance and in some cases as school drop-out. Indeed, the UNICEF Monitoring Data show that 58 per cent of all CCTE Beneficiary Children indicated illness as the reason for their irregular attendance (UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2018d). The qualitative data provides examples of some cases in which Syrian children UTP could not attend school due to their chronic or acute illnesses such as kidney problems, heart diseases, thalassemia, obesity or various types of pains. Almost all of those children and their parents in the qualitative study sample stated that they frequently had to visit or stay at hospitals and receive treatments, which prevented them from going to school regularly. Even in periods when those Syrian children UTP could attend school, they were still indicated to have some health risks such as getting infected, bleeding or incontinence, for which they might require special support whilst attending school.

Similar to the Syrian children UTP who had household members with disabilities, some Syrian children UTP who were not ill themselves, but who had ill household members, were also observed to face difficulties in attending school. The qualitative data points out some reasons for this situation, which are discussed below.

One of the reasons was that health problems at the household brought some extra economic costs to the Syrian UTP households, which were sometimes too high to be afforded or sometimes causing income losses due to the health problems of the main earner of the household. In those cases, it was observed that some children, especially the elder sons/brothers, had to leave the school and start working to support the family budget or to cover the health-related expenses since the mothers did not work or had to take care of the ill household members (also see Section 5.2.1 Lack of Resources and Poverty).

Secondly, even when the Syrian children UTP were still at school, they might be needed to accompany the ill members of the household to the hospital, due to their Turkish language skills or physical support, or due to the need for domestic care of the ill household members at home.

Thirdly, some of the Syrian children UTP were reported to be psychologically affected in a negative way by the illness of the household members, for example, if they had severe health problems such as cancer, to affect their academic performances at school. And lastly, it was stated that when there were ill family members at the households, the Syrian parents UTP could not properly follow-up the education needs or attendance of their children. Thus, it was possible to observe that some of the Syrian children UTP had irregular attendance or non-attendance to school due to the illness in their households, and some of them had to drop-out of school.

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Another health-related factor affecting the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP is referred to as *psycho-social effects*, which can be categorised into two groups: the stigma of poverty and the effects of engagement in labour activities. In terms of the stigma of poverty, there were some instances in the qualitative data where the Syrian children UTP were reported to feel the negative effects of poverty in terms of being well aware of the economic difficulties at the household, being deprived of many daily needs that the children would like to have, or witnessing the efforts of their parents/brothers to bring economic contributions to the household. Regarding issues of poverty and its effects, some key informants stated that the school environment, as a place comprising of children from many different income levels, could perpetuate such (negative) feelings, when the Syrian children UTP came together with their peers with more opportunities in life. The qualitative data also provides some examples of bullying at school, for example, on the basis of lack of clothes or food, as visible indicators of poverty (also see Section 5.4.4. Security in School). Thus, it was stated that feeling inferior, ashamed or frustrated in the school environment may act as a factor to decrease the motivation of Syrian children UTP towards school and education.

Some psycho-social effects of child labour were also observable in the qualitative data. Although the qualitative data did not provide any instances where the Syrian children UTP were reported to be engaged in extreme forms of child labour, it was still evident that working had considerable psychological and physical effects on the working Syrian children UTP. Many Syrian parents UTP and their working children indicated that the children felt extremely tired; they worked long working hours, and they were exposed to maltreatment by their employers. Among other consequences, a severe consequence of child labour occurred as weakening ties with education, which was indicated to make it very difficult to return the children back to school who left school for work (also see the Case Study on Child Labour).

> **"When we were children, we didn't know whether our father went to work, made money or not. But today's children are aware of everything. They are aware of our economic problems. They are affected by these situations."**
> (Father, Dimension 4, Gaziantep)
>
> **"Our employer doesn't want us to talk about education. When I was talking with a friend about school once, the employer hit me."**
> (Boy, Dimension 3, İstanbul)

Some key informants and teachers/SVEP indicated that some of the Syrian children UTP were observed to be psychologically distressed, introverted, scared, timid and diffident due to the *traumatic experiences* they went through either due to the conditions of war in Syria, migration or domestic violence. As evident from many statements of the Syrian children UTP and their parents in the qualitative study sample, some of the Syrian children UTP witnessed devastating war conditions at a very early stage in their lives; they lost loved ones or members of their families, and they had to survive and migrate under difficult conditions.

Such bad experiences were indicated to create traumas for some of the Syrian children UTP, especially those who were born in Syria and are now in the lower- or upper-secondary-age range. In addition, even in cases where the children were younger at the time of migration or born in Türkiye, some of them were still indicated to be exposed to the traumas of their family members. Some key informants stated that such traumas in relation to war were also observed to be exacerbated with the dynamics of migration and starting life in a new country, and many Syrian UTP households had to prioritise survival rather than having a social life or education after migration.

Particularly due to the limited systematic psycho-social support mechanisms for the Syrian children UTP and the lack of demand for those from the Syrian parents UTP, the traumatised children seemed either to be deprived of their education rights or perform poorly at school.

> **"There is no war here. There was war in Syria. I feel safe. I love the parks and the sea. I love the summer weather."**
> (Boy, Dimension 6, Bursa)
>
> **"One of my students came back to school after attending only in the first week of school and then being absent for a semester. When I asked about what happened during this period, he said that he lost his father in the war. When there were no parents, there was an absence. When he came to school, I was already finished with teaching all the letters. When I met him, I saw that he felt very incomplete. He had of course missed some of the letters, but although we closed the gap very quickly, he still felt bad for being behind the others. So, he again stopped comming to school."** (Teacher, Dimension 4, Gaziantep)

From the qualitative data, another reason for traumatic experiences emerged from cases of domestic violence. Some key informants and teachers voiced cases in which some of their student Syrian girls UTP at home were exposed to physical violence from their fathers or harassed by relatives. The same key informants and teachers also stated that working in cooperation with relevant public institutions, it was possible to keep those children at school, for example, by helping them in issuing complaints about the perpetuators of violence or providing protection and shelter for the girls. It is also evident that a lack of any intervention mechanisms concerning domestic violence cases, those Syrian children UTP, mostly girls, would not only be deprived of their education rights but also of their physical and psychological integrity. In that sense, the school as an institution acts as an important protection and intervention mechanism to save the lives of the Syrian children UTP in many cases.

The final component of health-related reasons for school drop-outs is *pregnancy*, affecting the education prospects of Syrian girls UTP, predominantly of those at the upper-secondary level. There were some key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample who indicated that they had pregnant Syrian students UTP in their classes due to early and forced marriages. Evidently, pregnancy is a factor which makes it physically and legally impossible for the students to attend school after a particular stage of pregnancy. Still, one of the teachers indicated that there were also some Syrian students UTP who came back to school to take their exams after giving birth, as those children did not have any civil marriages. In case of civil marriages, the children are automatically referred to open schools according to the regulations (also see above Section 5.4.1. School Supply).

Health-related Barriers

Qualitative data show that when health-related factors exist, they act as barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP. The most prominent barrier is having disabilities as it appears as a major reason for never enrolling to school or leaving school at a certain level of education. Compared to disability, illness of the children acts more as a factor for high levels of absence from school, mostly in the form of excused non-attendances.

An important observation is that disability and illness do not only negatively affect the school prospects of that particular child but also of other children in the household. Disability and illness bring additional economic costs or care responsibilities, that sometimes other children undertake, that can then affect schooling, especially for older boys and girls.

Another aspect of health-related factors appears as the psycho-social effects of poverty that are visible among the Syrian children UTP. Although this factor is generally not severe enough to act alone, it combines with other reasons to affect the child's schooling. In the qualitative data there were not any instances of children engaged in extreme forms of child labour. However, child labour itself is a demanding experience both physically and psychologically, and its risks for children are considered further under the economic barriers below.

Under the health-related factors, the traumatic effects of war and migration experiences seem to affect older children more. Domestic violence is observed as a barrier for Syrian girls UTP from the qualitative data. In this regard, the role of school as an intervention mechanism for protecting the well-being of children is very important and significant. Pregnancy appears as a very specific barrier for girls at the 14–17 age group, which results in school drop-outs.

Table 15:
Health-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Disability of the children	***	**	**	***	**
Illness of the children	**	**	***	**	***
Psycho-social effects: Stigma of poverty	**	*	**	***	**
Traumatic effects: War and migration experiences	**	*	**	**	**
Traumatic effects: Domestic violence (mostly for girls)	**	**	**	**	**
Pregnancy (for girls only)	*			***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.1.4 Social Cohesion

Ensuring social cohesion of the Syrian UTP population in general, and of the Syrian children UTP in particular, in terms of minimising their exclusion from society and increasing their chances for dialogue and interaction with the local community is a factor which is likely to increase the education prospects of the children. The qualitative data provides evidence to elaborate on different aspects of social cohesion, namely the level of friendships of the Syrian children UTP and factors that affect the establishment of friendships, the level of integration in the local community in terms of participating in social life, mutual attitudes between local (host) population and the Syrian UTP population, security concerns, and peer bullying, including bullying on the way to school.

When the *friendships* of the Syrian children UTP in the qualitative study sample are concerned, the qualitative data shows that two categories of children exist: those with friends, and those with no or very few friends. For the first category of children, the Syrian children UTP and their parents indicated that the children had many friends, with whom the children encountered at the school, at the language course, at the neighbourhood, at work. Another way of making friends was mentioned to be through the people they knew, such as their cousins or neighbours. Also, for this category of children, the friends are not only Syrian children UTP, but also local Turkish children and even in some cases the children only have Turkish friends. The language used between the friends were reported as Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, and rarely English. It is also possible to see that children might prefer to speak in Arabic or Turkish with the Syrian UTP friends and in Turkish with the Turkish friends.

The qualitative data shows that having friendships had a positive effect on the emotional health of the Syrian children UTP, as they and their parents indicated that the children had no difficulties in communicating with their peers; they learned Turkish from their friends, and their friends were helpful to them. When those children were asked about the activities that they did with their friends, a number of activities emerged as playing a game (outside or inside), playing ball/football, cycling, studying or doing homework together, going to the park or each other's homes, talking/chatting, wandering around, going to eat something (desserts or lunch), going to swimming or to the seaside, painting or playing with on their phones.

"I have many Syrian and Turkish friends. I met in the neighbourhood, at school. I speak Arabic with Syrians; we speak Turkish with Turks. When we gather together, we speak Turkish so that everyone can understand."
(Boy, Dimension 5, İzmir)

"I have two Turkish friends. I met them at school. We studied in the same class for three years. We visit each other at their homes. We would wander outside and help each other with our homework. Now we have passed to high school, the schools have changed. We usually meet outside. I have no problem with friends. I don't have any Syrian friends."
(Boy, Dimension 7, Adana)

It is also evident from the statements of the Syrian children UTP and their parents in the qualitative study sample that school (or language course) was an important venue for socialisation with the peers and establishing long-lasting friendships. There were also some Syrian parents UTP who indicated that having friends at school and spending time with them were quite beneficial for their children as they were sharing a lot, teaching new games to each other and establishing communication between children, which altogether contributed to increasing the motivation of the children to go to school. In addition, children who stated that they were conducting school-related activities with their friends such as studying or doing homework together provided examples of peer learning, which is an important complement to formal education processes, particularly in terms of increasing Turkish language skills. Some key informants also underlined the role of the school in the social life of the children by stating that even when it was closed during the COVID-19 pandemic the school facilities (the garden or EBA support facilities) provided a space for children to spend time together with their friends and socialise (also see Section 5.5. COVID-19 Pandemic).

The second category of Syrian children UTP is the children with almost no friends. Those children stated that they had at most one or two friends, mostly the children of their relatives. Those children seem to be mostly the OOSC, but there were also some at-risk children who stated that they also had no friends at school. From the qualitative data, a number of reasons for not having friends can be identified. The most prominent reason was staying at home and not going out. Some Syrian OOSC UTP, mostly girls, but also some boys, indicated that they did not leave home alone, nor did they spend any time outside home, for reasons such as security concerns, not being allowed by their fathers or parents, having domestic care duties (of their siblings for example) and economic insufficiencies.

A second prominent reason for not having friends was reported as the language barrier. Many Syrian children UTP and their parents indicated that they had difficulties in making new friends, as they could not communicate in Turkish with other children.

A third reason was the perception of the Syrian children UTP that the other children did not like them. Some of those children stated that even if they met some (Turkish) children, they felt that they those children did not want to make friendship with them, and they ignored them the next time they met.

Maybe related to the third reason as a reaction, the fourth reason is that the Syrian children UTP indicated that they did not want to make new friends, by arguing that they did not like new people in their lives or they did not feel comfortable with them due to cultural differences.

> **"There is no difficulty in making friends, but we don't go out alone. I am spending time with my 17-year-old sister."**
> (Girl, Dimension 3, Adana)
>
> **"I do not spend time outside. Sometimes my mother takes me to the market. But I don't go out and play on my own. I want to go to the park, I want to go to the seaside, but I'm not going because Turkish people behave badly."**
> (Girl, Dimension 3, Bursa)

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The fifth reason occurred in relation to the schooling experiences of the Syrian children UTP. Some Syrian OOSC UTP stated that since they did not go to school, they could not make any friends. In addition, there were also some children who indicated that even at school they could not have friends due to negative attitudes of other students in the form of bullying.

The sixth reason for not having friends was mentioned as the recent arrival of the children to Türkiye or to the city that they lived in. The final reason is related to the child labour phenomenon in the sense that many children indicated that they did not have time to make friends or to spend time with them as they worked.

The numerous consequences of not having friends for the Syrian children UTP emerge from the qualitative data. Those include feeling under psychological pressure, feeling isolated, trying to protect themselves by keeping a distance from the other children, not feeling comfortable in social environments or at school, and not being able to initiate any communication with the other children. All those consequences seem to get severer when the children could not attend school. In that way, increasing the school enrolment and attendance rates of the Syrian children UTP seems to be quite instrumental for ensuring their well-being and social cohesion.

Another component of social cohesion is the level of *integration of the Syrian children UTP into the local community*, referring to the participation in social life and establishing contacts with the local community. When the Syrian children UTP and parents were asked about their feelings in the city where they were living, almost half of them expressed their positive feelings. Those feelings were observed to stem from feeling more settled down in Türkiye and getting used to live in Türkiye. Some of the parents indicated that the children feel freer, more comfortable and safer in Türkiye compared to the living conditions in Syria. It can be observed that this group of households developed contacts and relationships within the local community, and they had been living in the same cities or neighbourhoods for several years.

There was also another group of Syrian children UTP and their parents who voiced their concerns about living in Türkiye or in the city of residence, such as feeling cautious or unsafe. This group of respondents were observed to have little contact with the local community, to remain in a small circle of acquaintances and habits, and to have no access to most other parts of the city. Many of the Syrian children UTP in this category were reported not to go out of home much, unless they worked. If they left the house, it happened only a few times a month and they were mostly accompanied by some members of the household.

In this category of children, it was also observed that the parents were rather cautious about letting their children interact with the members of the local community with some concerns such as the attitude of the neighbours. It was also stated that when the Syrian UTP households would like to develop relationships with the local community, they did not know how to start the communication process. Some key informants also stated that when the families also started to live in the neighbourhoods where there were already some other Syrian UTP population, the possibility of integration with the local community decreased even more.

> **"To tell the truth, my children don't go out. My older daughter is already working. She goes to work from home, and home from work. My other daughter at home helps me with chores at home. She watches TV when things are done. They don't go out. If I take the little ones out sometimes, they go out. They, too, go from school to home, from home to school. It would be a lie if we say we saw the city. I have been living here for 5 years, and I could not see the city."**
> (Mother, Dimension 5, Bursa)

The qualitative data also shows that most of the Syrian children UTP and their parents seemed not to be informed about the social activities in the city. The children stated that there were not many activities in the city, and they were only informed about the activities at school and participated in them. In that sense, the school seems to be a very important venue for the children to socialise with their peers, in addition to getting an education.

When the children were asked about their leisure time activities, they mostly mentioned some activities done at home such as playing with siblings or in front of the house with friends, drawing pictures, listening to music, watching TV, reading books, spending time with the phone or on the internet, studying for their homework, helping their mother, cooking, learning how to sew, sleeping, praying, etc.

When some outdoor leisure activities were mentioned, they were most of the time activities done with the family members (such as visits to relatives, attending the weddings of the relatives or going to the park or picnicking with the family), or with the friends at the neighbourhood (such a playing football).

Some children reported that they went to Quran courses or to mosques for Friday prayers. Only a few children (not more than eight children) stated that they went to shopping malls or parks, to sports facilities, to concerts/festivals, or to the activities some associations organized. Thus, it was observed that a great deal of the Syrian children UTP or their parents did not mention any instances of getting engaged in some collective social activities such as football matches, cinema, concerts, youth centres, etc.

Thus, the qualitative data shows that even in cases where the Syrian families UTP felt more settled down, still their access to the social life in the cities is rather limited. Again, the school gains an importance for the children to have opportunities to get socialised and attend social and cultural activities together with their peers.

Another related aspect of social cohesion is the *attitudes of the local population towards the Syrian UTP population and the attitudes of the Syrian UTP population towards the local population.* Here, it is possible to identify three categories of perceptions from the statements of the Syrian children UTP and their parents in the qualitative study sample.

The first category is that some of the Syrian parents UTP and their children were quite positive about the approach of the local population. Most of the Syrian parents UTP in this category expressed their gratitude to the local population in the sense that they felt welcomed and well-hosted in Türkiye. Many of the parents and children stated that their neighbours liked the Syrian children UTP; they did not treat them differently from their own children; the children felt comfortable outside the home (e.g., when playing on the street); they were known and protected in the neighbourhood; they were helped by the neighbours when they moved in (e.g., they were donated furniture); and they were not exposed to any discrimination. Accordingly, the respondents in this category reported that they had very little (only when they first arrived) or no serious problems with the local population, especially in the neighbourhood that they were living in.

> **"I can say that is much better when we first came. Everyone is respectful to us now. We don't have a proble with anyone. They are happy with us and we are happy with them. No one is treating us negatively or hinting us because we are Syrian. We have good relations with our landolord. ...We are loved in the neighbourhood. We have been living in the same neighbourhood since 2013."**
> (Mother, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

In this respect, an influential factor seems to be the period spent in Türkiye or in that particular neighbourhood/city. There were some Syrian parents UTP who indicated that they had been living in that particular neighbourhood for some years (from 4–8 years), and their relationships developed better as the years passed and they continued to develop mutual respect and communication.

Related to that, another factor facilitating positive relations with the local population is the language, in the sense to enable the Syrian parents UTP and their children to communicate comfortably with the local population. A final observation is that the Syrian children UTP in this category were mostly the children in school (Dimension 4, Dimension 5 and Dimension 7), which suggests that positive relations with the local community and children's inclusion in the local community increased the chances of the children to attend school.

The second category of Syrian parents UTP and their children had a rather indifferent approach to the local community. An important characteristic of this category is that they kept their relationship with the local population at a quite limited level, mostly to not have any problems with them. In that sense, there were some Syrian parents UTP who stated that their relation was limited to greeting each other on the street. Also, they did not play a big part in the local population, and accordingly, they did not experience any problems with the local community. Such a pattern seems like a self-protection mechanism.

> **"We do not meet with anyone, we live on our own, we have no problems with anyone."**
> (Mother, Dimension 6, İstanbul)
>
> **"I don't feel a problem. We are not very intertwined with society."**
> (Father, Dimension 6, Bursa)

The third category of Syrian parents UTP and their children in the qualitative study sample are the ones who experienced some challenges in integrating to the host community. Some of the examples of those challenges were exemplified in form of intolerance towards the children (e.g., when they played outside), keeping a distance from Syrian children, or feeling uncomfortable in the environment where there were Syrian children.

As for the reasons of experiencing such challenges, some key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample pointed out to any prejudices in the host society against the Syrian UTP population. These were mostly created on the

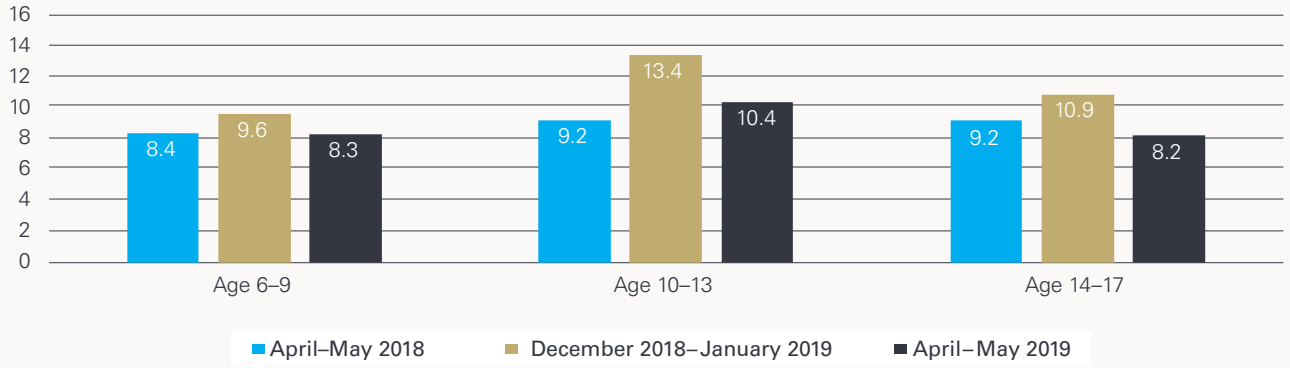
basis of cultural and ethnic grounds, and of the misperceptions that society developed regarding the support provided for the Syrian UTP population. As a consequence of such attitudes, the Syrian parents UTP and their children in this category were not allowing their children to go out. This also diminishes the possibility of Syrian children UTP being sent to school by their parents.

From the qualitative data, peer bullying, emerged as an example of unpleasant attitudes from the local children. Some Syrian parents UTP and their children in the study sample stated that other children in the neighbourhood could disturb their children on the streets from time to time. Some of the reasons for peer bullying were indicated to be a lack of communication because of language barriers, or prejudices against the Syrian UTP population. Such instances were reported to create fear and insecurity among the Syrian children UTP and resulted in staying distant from the local population, by mostly remaining at home rather than going out. It was clear from the qualitative data that such acts of peer bullying discouraged some of the Syrian children UTP from going to school and resulted in school drop-outs.

Peer bullying may exist also on the way to school and at school. The latter is further discussed in Section 5.4.4, concerning *bullying on the way to school*, referring to the relationship between the society and the Syrian students UTP. As shown in Figure 35, a significant number of CCTE beneficiary Syrian children UTP reported bullying, intimidation and violence instances on the way to school. The UNICEF Monitoring Data shows that bullying on the way to school is rather a problem for the lower-secondary level (aged 10–13) and then for the upper-secondary level (aged 14–17) Syrian children UTP.

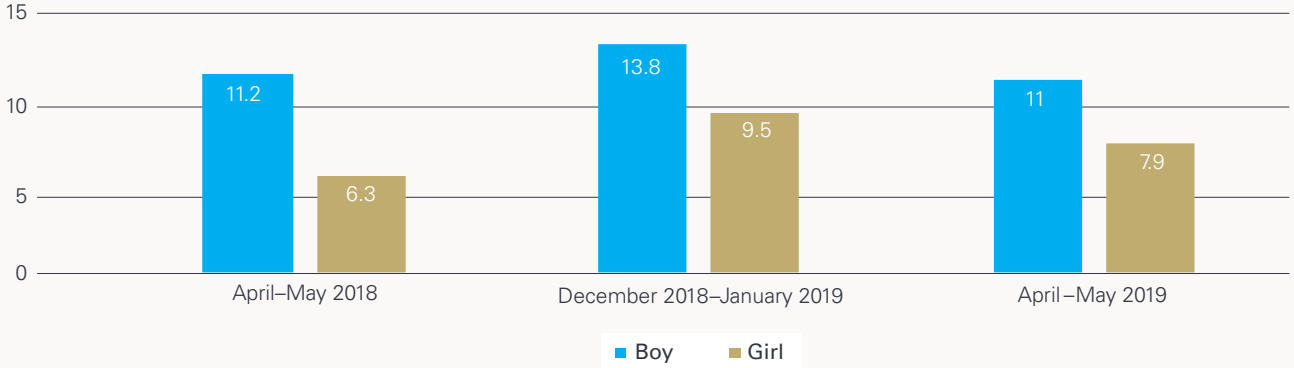
Figure 36 indicates that it is more boys than girls who are bullied on the way to school. A factor to explain the lower levels of bullying at the primary school level could be related to the vicinity of the primary schools to home, as discussed under Section 5.4.1. School Supply in relation to the location of the school.

Figure 35:
Bullying, Intimidation and Violence on the Way to School by Age Groups Cited by CCTE Beneficiary Syrian Children UTP (%)



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802).

Figure 36:
Bullying, Intimidation and Violence on the Way to School by Gender Cited by CCTE Beneficiary Syrian Children UTP (%)



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802).

The qualitative data also provides some complementary information in terms of characteristics of bullying on the way to school. Some Syrian children UTP reported some types of bullying, namely stalking or verbal/physical assaults/harassments. From their statements, it can be observed that bullies were usually the members of the local community, either adults or other children in the community. There were also some cases in the qualitative data where the bullies were the students, to the extent that the problems at school could expand outside the borders of the school. It was stated that since the students in the school might also live in the same neighbourhoods, bullying instances at school became likelier to reoccur outside the school walls.

A final observation regarding bullying on the way to school is related to the location/district of the school, as well as the location of the residence of the children. Some key informants indicated that when the school was located in a socially disadvantaged area, the tensions stemming from the local dynamics of those localities could also bring concerns about the safety of the Syrian children UTP on their way to school. In addition, it is also likely that the longer the commuting time to school, the more the Syrian students UTP are susceptible to bullying on the way to school as already discussed in relation to the location of school under Section 5.4.1. School Supply.

The qualitative data show that cases of bullying on the way to school often created the feeling of insecurity among the children, particularly among the girls and their parents, which in some cases resulted in children's non-attendance to school or drop-out due to fear of being stalked or assaulted on the way to school.

> **"There are Roma children outside and after school, they struggle a lot with us. They are not from the school. School seems safer to me than outside."** (Boy, Dimension 5, İzmir)
>
> **"I didn't like the school. When studying in Diyarbakır, somebody stalked me from school to home. I was so afraid. I cried. I didn't want to go to school."** (Girl, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

Under PIKTES, social cohesion activities such as social events, cultural and artistic competitions, and sports tournaments are carried out to contribute to the social cohesion of refugees and Turkish students and parents. By the end of PIKTES (October 2022), a total of 100,000 foreign and Turkish students and 50,000 refugees and Turkish parents will have been involved in social cohesion activities. In addition, PIKTES and the General Directorate of Special Education and Guidance Services are preparing a social integration guidance activities' programme and a social emotional skills development programme in cooperation.

Social Cohesion-related Barriers

The analysis shows that social cohesion may act as a prominent barrier to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, although progress over the course of years has also been reported. Regarding levels of social cohesion, the qualitative analysis suggests that in the study sample there are basically two types of Syrian UTP households: those who are settled down and have integrated better into the society, local community and education system, and those who still face problems and have concerns in terms of different aspects of social cohesion. For the latter category, it is mostly the OOSC, both girls and boys, who are observed to be influenced by the lack of or limited social cohesion and by the barriers such as lack of friends/social isolation, difficulties in integrating into the local community, and peer bullying.

It is also possible to see that all of those barriers are causally related to each other. For example, experiencing challenges in integration with the local community or concerns about local people create security concerns, that results in isolation of the children from the society even at their closer environments such as the neighbourhood. Such effects narrow down the spaces of children, including their opportunities of benefiting from education. Although the security threats on the way to school are minimally reported, it is observed to create barriers for the Syrian children UTP at 10–13 and 14–17 age groups.

Table 16:
Social Cohesion-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Lack of friends/social isolation	***	*	**	***	**
Difficulties in integrating into the local community	***	*	*	***	**
Negative attitudes of the local population	***	*	**	***	**
Security concerns	***	**	**	***	*
Peer bullying	***	*	**	***	**
Bullying on the way to school	**	*	**	**	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.2 Economic Factors

Economic factors are an important determinant of the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. In this section, economic factors are considered in two categories, namely lack of resources and poverty, to cover the costs of living, school expenses and child labour, and migration and family mobility. The analysis of those two aspects of economic factors depends on the available quantitative data from DHS 2018 and UNICEF Monitoring Data and qualitative data collected for this study. In addition, the latest data from different resources such as IFRC and TRC (2021) and WFP (2020) were also incorporated into the analysis.

5.2.1 Lack of Resources and Poverty

Qualitative field research shows that lack of resources and concomitant poverty constitute a serious barrier for the education of Syrian children UTP. In this section, different factors of economic problems derived from the qualitative data are analysed in terms of their overall impact on school attendance and drop-outs of Syrian children UTP, supported by the available quantitative data mostly from UNICEF Monitoring Data. These factors include characteristics of paid work and income levels at Syrian UTP households, difficulties faced in meeting the costs of living, and the share of school expenses within living costs, which may push some of the children to work that can in turn diminish their opportunities for education. Keeping this in mind, this section also provides an analytic discussion of child labour, as a consequence of economic problems for children, acting as a barrier to education both for the Syrian OOS and at-risk children UTP.

The major source of income to cover the *costs of living* for the Syrian UTP households in the qualitative study sample is paid work. There were also some respondents reporting to receive ESSN and CCTE cash transfers or limited financial support from family members abroad. The main earner differs within the households of the at-risk and OOSC. In most of the households of the at-risk children, fathers were observed as the primary earners, sometimes supported by the mother. In those households, the sons who might work casually (e.g., once in a week or month) or at home to help the parents in production of goods, and sons who are older and married also appeared to support the main earner occasionally. The picture considerably changes when the households of the OOSC (Dimension 3 and Dimension 6) are considered: it was observed that fathers could not work due to reasons such as sickness, disability, old age or being unable to find a job. When this

was the case, mostly the elder sons in the family assumed the role of the main earner, in addition to other members of the household such as the uncle, mother or daughters, to much lesser extents. For this category of children, even when the father worked, there were also some of the sons who supported their family income by working. In any case, the 2018 DHS Syrian Migrant Sample shows that employment levels of mothers appear to be quite low, as only 9 per cent of the Syrian women UTP were currently working in paid labour at the time of the survey.

Within the qualitative study sample, the main earners (the fathers) were observed to work mostly in low-skilled jobs, for example, in the restaurant, construction, textile workshop or agriculture sectors, or they work as a porter, paper/nylon collector, milkman or house painter. In some cases, they are also occupied with artisanal jobs as tailors, repairmen, electricians or carpenters. Although it is rather rare among the study sample, there are instances where the mothers also worked as house cleaners, teachers and in the textile sector or home-based production. The types of work children performed (mostly OOSC in the household) vary, as will be discussed in more detail at the end of this section in relation to child labour.

Income generated from paid work seems to be at quite low levels. The UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017) demonstrates that the average monthly income level of the household was about 1,200 TL/month, and in the UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018) it was at about 1,800 TL/month. Among the households of the qualitative study sample, paid work was observed to generate income on a daily, weekly or monthly bases. In a great deal of the cases, the amount was not reported to exceed the amount of the minimum wage[68] per month. In addition, there were also households which reported that they benefited from the ESSN[69] (please see Section 6 Policy Analysis for more information) even though the programme has been suspended[70]. A last source of income was mentioned as the financial support received from the family members living outside the household or abroad, however, it seems to be neither regular nor a significant amount.

The qualitative data shows that the prospects of securing income through paid work are constrained by a number of factors for the main earners of the households. First of all, it was observed that there was no guarantee that the income would be regular, stable or sustainable, due to the type of work which is usually casual, seasonal or part-time. Secondly, there was no guarantee that the salary was actually going to be paid by the employer, as some of the respondents reported. Thirdly, many respondents mentioned the difficulty of finding a job, in fact any jobs, due to reasons such as age, sickness or lack of ID cards. There were also interviewees who stated that the COVID-19 pandemic caused job losses, which left the household without any income. All these factors were observed to seriously affect the ability of the Syrian UTP households to cover the monthly costs of living. Considering the hunger limit (2,718 TL) and poverty line (8,856.31 TL) identified through TÜRK-İŞ survey[71], it seems that many families in the study sample with OOS and at-risk children were living below the poverty line, if not below the hunger limit. Indeed, WFP (2020) has already estimated that 49 per cent of all registered refugees in Türkiye (around 2 million) were below the World Bank poverty lines and this number increased by 3 per cent since their previous monitoring in 2019.

Such conditions of economic problems can be observed to make some of the monthly expenses very difficult to cover for the households in the qualitative study sample. UNICEF Monitoring Data have already shown that around 80 per cent of the CCTE beneficiary households reported their monthly expenditures exceeding their monthly income (UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2019e). The situation appears to be worsening, as many respondents of the qualitative field work reported that the *cost of living* was very high and the gap between the monthly income and expenditures had been further widening for the last 1.5–2 years (meaning since 2018). The most frequently cited living cost item, which the respondents found difficult to cover, is the accommodation costs, i.e., rent. The respondents perceived the costs as high and increasing over time. It was followed by the electricity, water, natural gas/heating and internet costs, food costs, costs for the children including clothing and school expenses, and health- and care-related costs such as those for hospitals/doctors, medicine and nappies/diapers for the babies and elderly.

68 Net minimum wage is 2.825 TL as of April 2021. https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/tr-tr/asgari-ucret/asgari-ucret-2021.

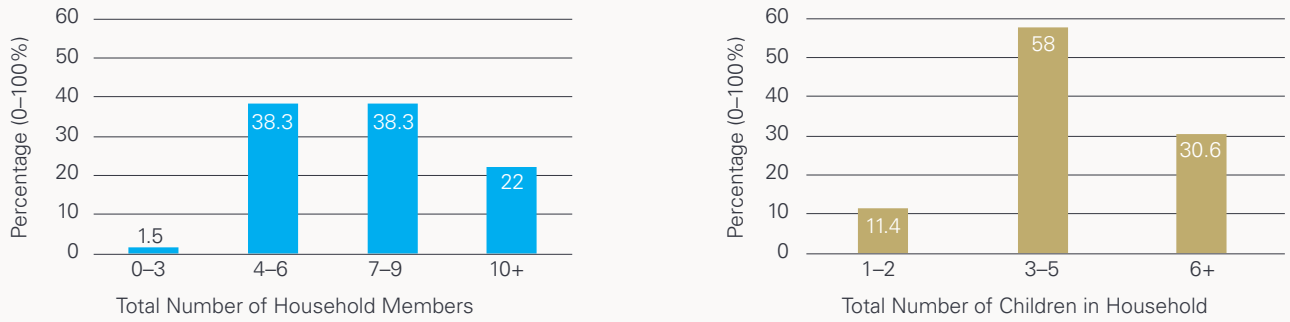
69 Kızılaykart is a cash-based humanitarian platform operating in the organization of the Turkish Red Crescent (Türk Kızılayı). Humanitarian assistance programmes with different themes can be implemented through the Kızılaykart Platform with the participation of different partners and donors. Periodic payments are made on the beneficiary payment lists of the programmes defined in Kızılaykart (https://platform.kizilaykart.org).

70 Amount as of 06/04/2021 https://ec.europa.eu/echo/essn_en.

71 In the TÜRK-İŞ survey of February 2021, hunger limit is defined as "Monthly food expenditure (hunger limit) that a family of four must make for a healthy, balanced and adequate nutrition" and poverty limit is defined as "Together with food expenditures, other compulsory monthly expenses including clothing, housing (rent, electricity, water, fuel), transportation, education, health and other expenditures". Available at http://www.turkis.org.tr/SUBAT-2021-ACLIK-ve-YOKSULLUK-SINIRI-d488756.

Most of these costs were observed to be multiplied by two important characteristics of the households: high number of household members, and the health status and care needs of those in the household, particularly the children or elderly with disabilities or chronic diseases (such as diabetics, hearth diseases, etc.). The 2018 DHS Syrian Migrant Sample report (HUIPS, 2019) stated that Syrian UTP households in Türkiye consist of six members on average. The qualitative study sample of this report also confirms this finding that 41.6 per cent of the households had seven or more members, and in 18.5 per cent of the households there were six or more children (Figure 37). Qualitative data also shows that in addition to high numbers of children in the family, living together with close relatives who lost some of their household members was also a factor for crowded households.

Figure 37:
Number of Household Members and Number of Children in Households with Children Aged 5–17, 2018 DHS



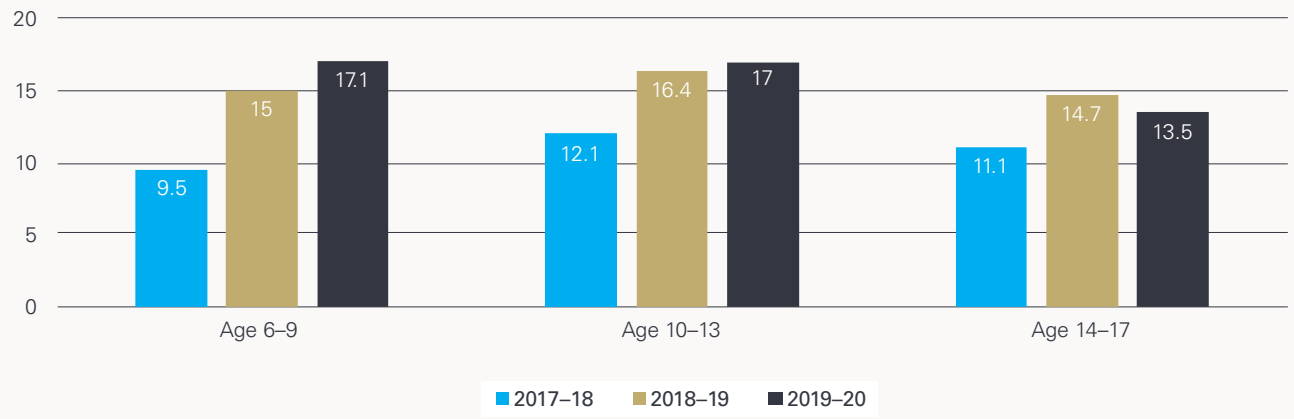
Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802).

As expenditures exceeded income for many households in the qualitative study sample, borrowing appeared to be a substantial coping mechanism of the households with high living costs. Moreover, IFRC and TRC (2021) shows that, during the COVID-19 pandemic, debt levels have dramatically increased and the ratio of households with debt was observed as 83.8 per cent for ESSN non-recipients and 80.9 per cent for ESSN recipients. The same report shows that in times of family crisis, the most frequently used coping mechanisms are reducing education (23.5 per cent) and health expenditures (16.2 per cent), and 6.2 per cent withdrew children from school (IFRC and TRC, 2021). The qualitative data of this study also points out similar mechanisms. Many parents and children in the qualitative study sample stated that they either borrowed money from their immediate environments, or they were indebted, for example, to their householders. There were also reported instances in which the households had unpaid bills, resulting in service cuts (e.g., for electricity), or they simply could not purchase some vital items (e.g., fuelwood), which eventually created quite difficult living conditions for all members of the household including the children.

An integral component of the costs of living was reported as the costs related to the needs of the children including clothing and school expenses. Many of the interviewed parents stated that they could not afford the requests of their children, particularly for clothes or pocket money, and that they could only buy clothes for their children once a year or for the feasts (*bayram*). In this context, *school-related expenses* appear as a visible barrier both for the OOS and at-risk children according to the qualitative and quantitative data. In a more detailed discussion below, quantitative data helps identify the frequency of citing school expenses as a reason for being out of school (Dimensions 3 and 6), whereas qualitative data provides evidence on how school expenses actually act as a barrier particularly for the at-risk category of children (Dimensions 4, 5 and 7), how the parents are coping with this barrier, and what the consequences of not being able to afford school expenses can be.

In the 2019 UNICEF monitoring survey, nearly 15 per cent of the Syrian UTP families with OOSC mentioned school-related costs as a barrier. The same data for three school years show that there is an increase in school costs in those years for almost all OOSC age groups (Figure 38).

Figure 38:
Citing "School-related Costs" as a Reason for Being Out of School by School Year



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2017–2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

In Türkiye, education (and registration) is free-of-charge in public schools. The textbooks are distributed free-of-charge to all students by MoNE, "supplementary resource support package" booklets for Grades 2 to 12 are available at the website of MoNE[72] and the students cannot be asked to purchase the books which are not recommended by MoNE. Still, some of the respondents in the qualitative study sample referred to some other expenditures directly or indirectly incurred by children's schooling. These include costs of items such as school clothes, supplementary learning materials, stationary, transportation to school, lunch, clothing, pocket money, celebrations/meetings or contributions/donations to schools.

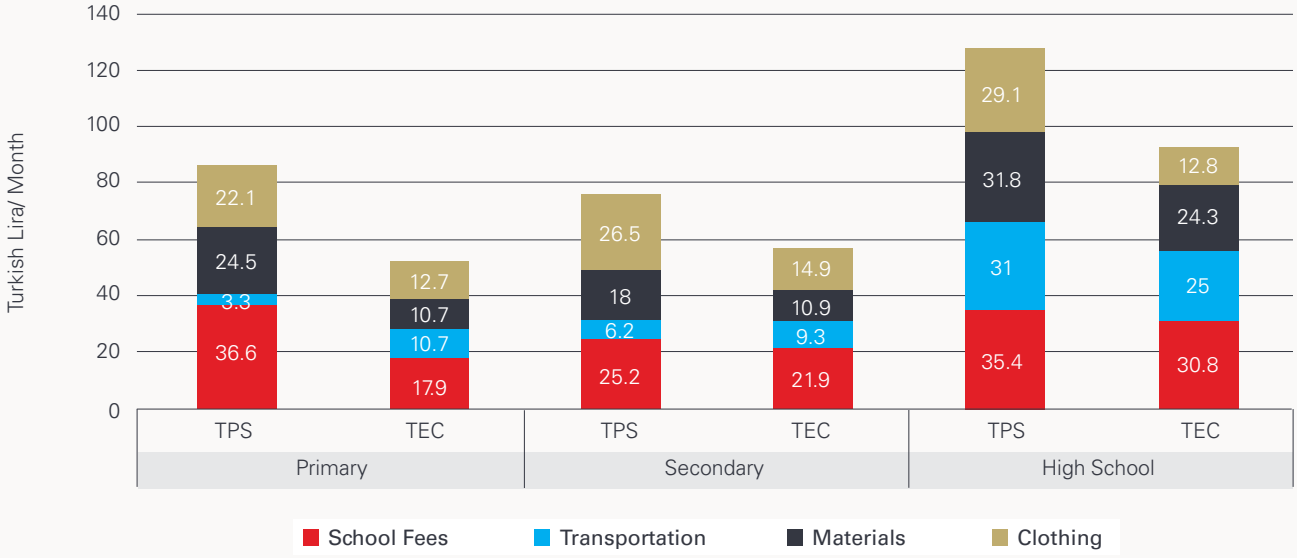
Syrian UTP families reported the average education expenditure per child (Figure 39) is identified at about 70 TL (or USD $8) per month per student in UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017), and 78 TL (or USD 9) per month (not including lunch money) in the UNICEF Monitoring 2018–2019 survey[73]. In comparison to the total income of households, the same surveys show that this amount corresponds to 4–6 per cent of their total income spent on education per child. The qualitative data also reiterated that in the households there were usually more than one child at school age, which is a factor increasing the share of education within the monthly expenditures of the household. In addition, the quantitative data from UNICEF Monitoring (various years) make it possible to observe that monthly education expenditures increased by schooling levels, especially in upper-secondary grades, and they seem to be higher in TPS compared to the TEC. Considering that the TEC have closed down by July 2020 as a part of the transition of Syrian children UTP into TPS, it is also possible to expect an increase in the school expenditures for the Syrian UTP families.

72 http://yardimcikaynaklar.meb.gov.tr/#/.

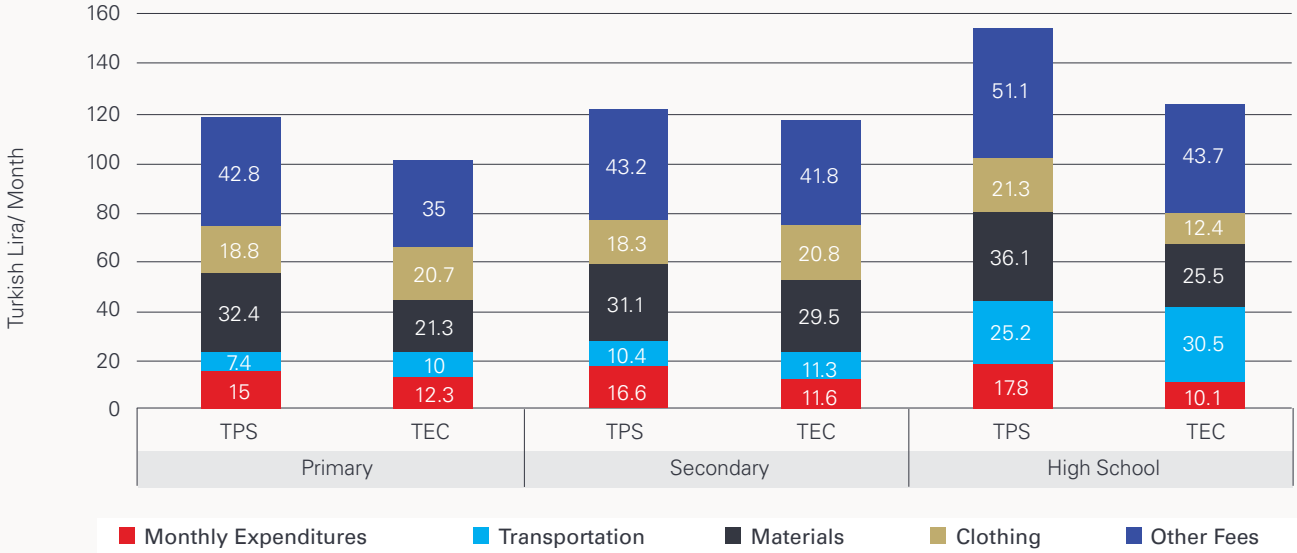
73 Based on the exchange rate dated 16th July 2021 of the Central Bank of the Turkish Republic.

Figure 39:
Mean Education Expenditures (per child) in the Last Month by School Level and Institution Type

(a) UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017



(b) UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2019)



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017–2019).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2018–2019 (42,778).

Qualitative data showed that considering the difficulties in affording regular costs of living, many interviewed Syrian parents UTP perceived *school expenditures* as an extra spending item to cope with. It was indicated that although the parents continued to send their children to school, they could not purchase all the necessary items such as supplementary materials or stationary, and when they were obliged to provide such materials, they did so by getting into debt (by borrowing). In addition, for the children registered in rather physically distant schools, expenditures for transportation to school were often mentioned to bring additional financial burden, particularly in big cities such as İstanbul, Bursa, and Adana, where children had to use more than one vehicle to reach the school (also see Section 5.4.1 School Supply). The quantitative data display transportation costs as a more relevant problem for the children at upper-secondary level (Figure 37). Last but not least, some interviewed teachers/ SVEP and key informants noted that the parents were asked to contribute or donate to schools, creating extra school-related expenditures for the parents.

The qualitative data reveal some consequences related to school expenses, coupled with the high costs of living, especially for the at-risk children. Some of the interviewed teachers/SVEP indicated that when the parents could not afford the supplementary learning materials, the children could lag behind the curriculum since they could not practice at home what they learned in class. Thus, it appears as a factor negatively affecting the school performance of the children. The teachers/SVEP mentioned another consequence which was bullying, particularly observed when the lack of proper clothing became a reason for humiliation directed by other children in the school, which in turn can contribute to the child not liking the school environment (also see Section 5.4.4 Security in School). A third consequence derived from the qualitative data is that economic vulnerabilities clearly cause more non-school attendance for the at-risk children. This could not only be due to lack of resources, but also sometimes due to working while still at school, which can lead to leaving the school (mostly) to start working to contribute to the family income. And finally, due to school-related costs and high costs of living, parents could not send their children to school, or as some parents reported they could only afford the schooling costs of a limited number of children in the household, to leave other children in the household deprived of their education rights.

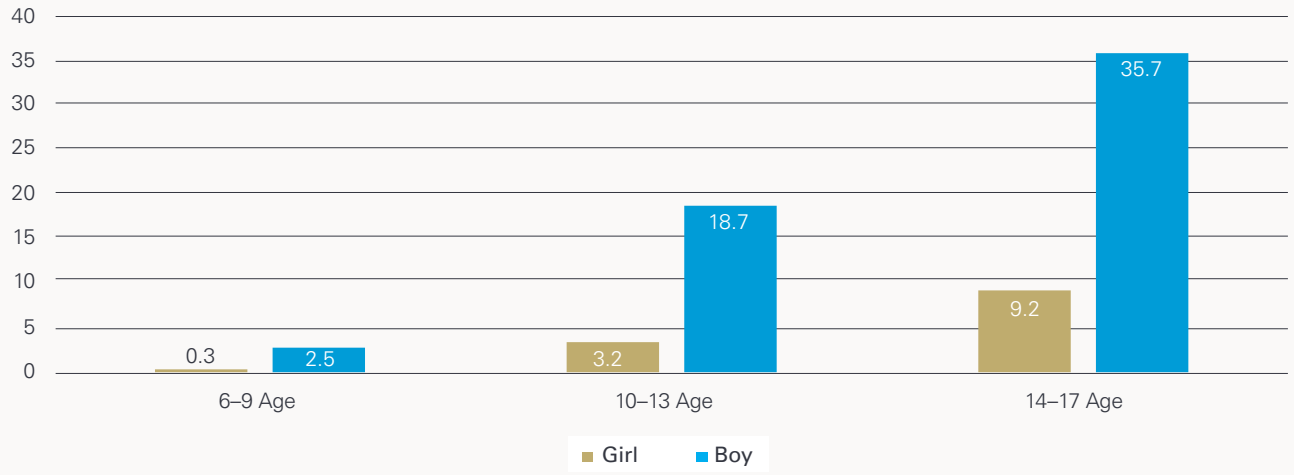
An important point is that although a majority of the parents of at-risk children complained about the economic difficulties including school-related expenses, they still stated that they believed in the benefits of education, and if they had more resources they would have no hesitations for ensuring the continuation of their children's education. A similar positive attitude towards education can also be observed both from the at-risk and OOSC's statements mentioning that studying would enable them to get a diploma or better jobs in the future. However, the qualitative data shows that those parents and children were sometimes forced to decide between education and economic concerns, which could end up with a severe consequence of economic problems: child labour.

> **"We would like to send the children to school a lot if we had money. I cannot do it because of the expenditures. School is good. For example, I would like him to be a doctor. Working outside would not do anything for him, does not teach him, and he gets tired."**
> (Mother, Dimension 3, İstanbul)

Child labour is a multi-faceted phenomenon. Below, child labour is discussed in relation to its prevalence on the basis of age and gender; and, the relationship between child labour and the education prospects of the Syrian at-risk and OOSC UTP on the basis of the qualitative and quantitative data from UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years) (also see Case Study on Child Labour).

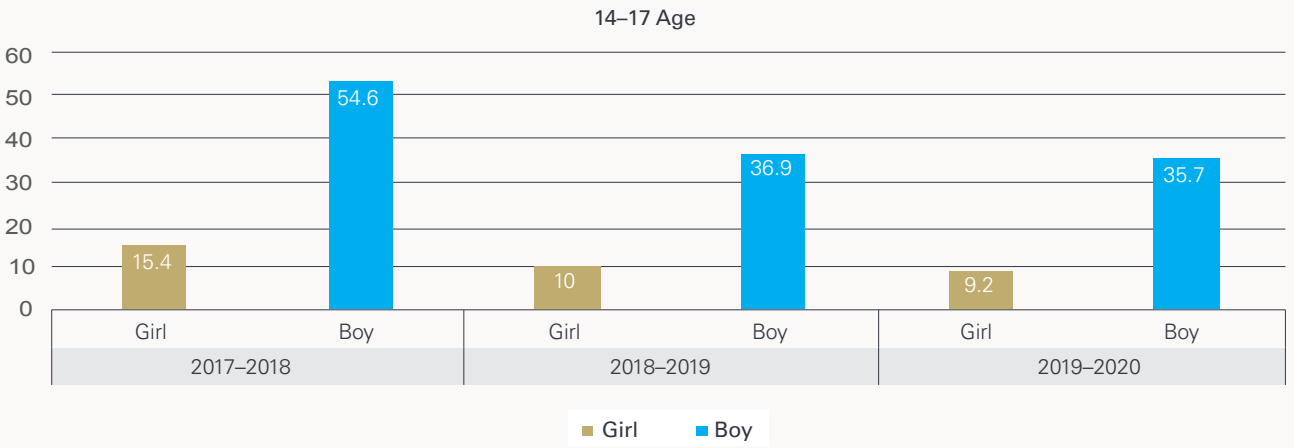
The UNICEF 2019 Monitoring Data that frequently cite "working" as a reason for the children not being in school reflect two notable characteristics. Firstly, child labour engagement increases by age and affects Syrian children UTP aged 14–17 more compared to those aged 10–13. Moreover, the UNICEF Monitoring Data also shows that working hours per week also increase by age (UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2019). Secondly, child labour is more relevant for boys compared to girls at all age levels (Figure 40). A third characteristic can be added from the qualitative data: although child labour is usually considered as a phenomenon for the Syrian OOSC UTP, it also appears as a factor that perpetuates the risks for receiving education of Syrian at-risk children UTP.

Figure 40:
Reasons Cited as "Working" by Syrian UTP Families for a Child Not Being in School by Age and Gender



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2018–2019 (42,778).

Figure 41:
"Working" Cited as the Reason for Being Out of School Among Children Aged 14–17 by School Year and Gender



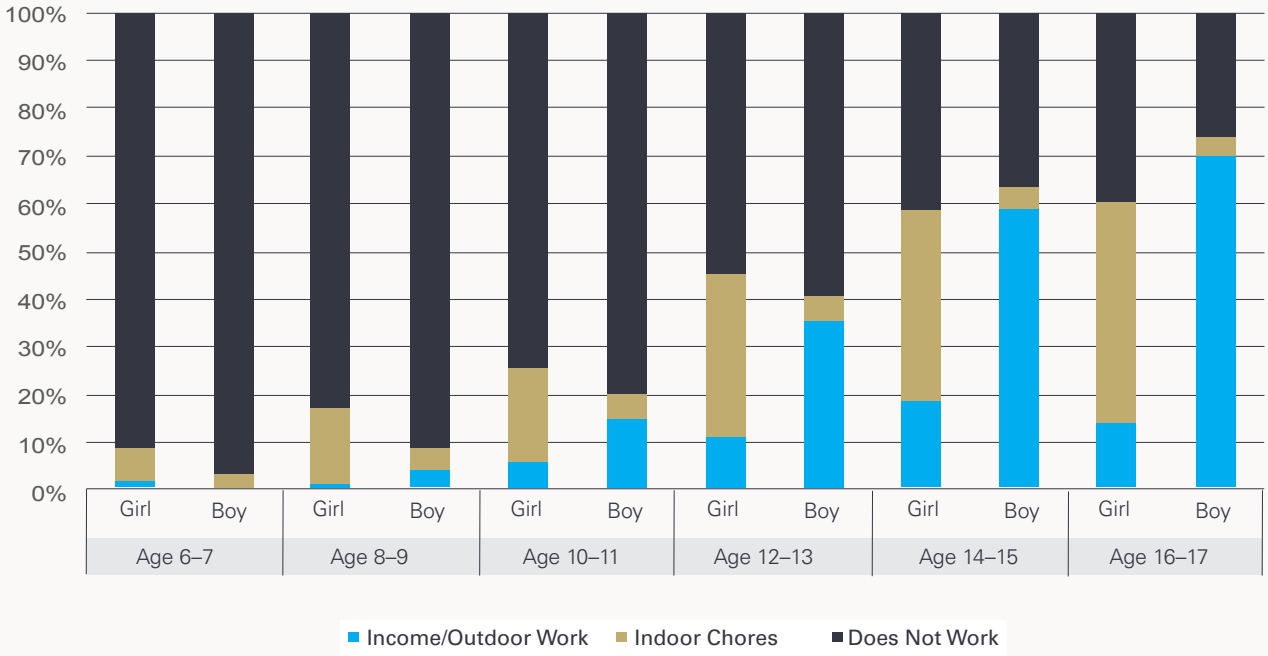
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2017–2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

The qualitative data supports these observations about characteristics of child labour. Some of the key informants underlined the observation that child labour increased by age, by stating that irregular school attendance of Syrian children UTP started to increase at the lower-secondary level (especially from Grades 6 and 7 onwards). The upper-secondary level many Syrian children UTP completely left school, mostly due to the economic problems, poverty and the need to work to support their families. The quantitative data analysis in Section 4 shows that student absences are increasing through lower-secondary which helps explain the high rate of drop-out before reaching upper-secondary.

The key informants and teachers/SVEP frequently reported variation by gender in the qualitative study sample that at the upper-secondary level Syrian girls UTP attended school more regularly and for longer years, as they were perceived to work significantly less mostly due to the cultural norms and indoor chores; and parents preferred girls' education to their outside work. These respondents also voiced that the situation was different for boys: they tended to work more to support the family budget; they could work in a variety of jobs (such as industrial zones) compared to girls; or they could even travel more freely to distant places (such as to the agricultural fields) to work.

The findings of UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017) provides complementary data for gender variation in terms of child labour. Although Syrian girls UTP are more likely to be in school, they are still engaged in household chores, which is likely to be an unpaid but still provides a serious contribution to the family, while boys are much more engaged in work as an income generating outdoor activity (UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017) (Figure 42).

Figure 42:
Child Work Activities by Age and Gender



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

The qualitative data also helps present an overview of the nature of child labour practices. The first observed characteristic is that children's work practices were more casual than permanent, as they might work, for example, in daily jobs. A second characteristic is that where children worked usually depended on the dominant sectors in the cities that they lived in. In that sense, the qualitative data shows that children may work as errand boys in the manufacturing sector in the industrial zones, textile and shoes workshops or furniture production sites; they may work in the services sector as interpreters in the cafes, car repairers, drivers, tailors or service boys in small local shops; or they may work in the agricultural sector. In the qualitative study sample, there were also children who collected paper/plastic/scrap or sold plastic bags, water or desserts in the bazaar.

> **"If I had studied, I could have a diploma. Maybe I could have a better job. (Education is) important but if I leave the job, we cannot live on. We have the Kızılaykart, but it covers only the rent."** (Boy, Dimension 6, Bursa)
>
> **"My mother and my father really wanted me to study. But I needed to work. Since my father could not work, I left the school and started working. They want to send my siblings to school."** (Boy, Dimension 3, İstanbul)

The qualitative data also gives an idea about the reasons for child labour. The mostly cited reason was the *economic difficulties and urge to contribute to the family budget*. As the living costs are high, the households were crowded and main earners' (mostly fathers') income levels were quite low and irregular. There were many parents and the children in the qualitative study sample who indicated that the household could not survive with the sole income of the main earner if the children did not contribute to the family budget. Since the costs were mentioned to escalate during the winter season, children's probability to continue their education was observed to decrease due to the necessity of them having to work. Similarly, there were parents who indicated that they could not afford the education expenditures for more than two children, and as a result the older children worked to cover the expenses of their siblings. Thus, it is possible to observe among the qualitative study sample that even if the working children were previously registered in school, they had to leave school to work in order to contribute to the family income.

A striking finding from the qualitative data is that many Syrian OOSC UTP assumed the role of contributing to the household budget themselves and indicated that it was their decision to start working to help their parents. This situation also relates to the second prominent reason for child labour, which is namely *the status and unavailability of the parents as the main earner*. As already observed, most of the income generating activities of the main earners were casual and irregular, and they often face difficulties in finding jobs due to reasons such as a lack of language skills or age. Moreover, there are many examples in the qualitative data about health-related issues such as old age, physical disabilities, having a hernia, orthopaedic disorders, cardiac diseases, being operated on, etc., which made it difficult, if not impossible, for the heads of households (parents) to work. In these cases, even some of the girls in the study sample mentioned that they could not let their parents work due to health problems, and instead they went out to collect paper or to pick fruits in the fields. Another factor for child labour in this category was observed as living in a single-parent household. In some of the households, fathers were missing due to being in prison, dying (especially due to war) or divorce/separation.

An important consequence of all those factors, was that the older boys of the householdhad to assume the role of the main earner, as a factor eventually keeping them out of school. Some of these factors were namely parents' irregular employment, unemployment or inability to work due to health-related reasons and mothers' non-participation in outdoor income generating activities mostly due to cultural norms or domestic care responsibilities.

A third reason for child labour that some respondents reported was the *demand of employers*. Some key informants and teachers/SVEP indicated that employers or intermediaries in many sectors depended on child labour as a factor to lower their production costs, because child labour was perceived to be flexible with regards to wages (being cheap), o additional costs (being unregistered, thus no additional social security premium costs incurred) and in terms of working hours (possibility of being utilised during the day or night or holidays). Such a demand seems to create its own supply, especially considering all the factors discussed above in relation to economic difficulties of the Syrian UTP households. The availability of paid labour can pull children out of school due to work opportunities that are essentially not possible to pass up for the overall benefit of the household.

> **"Child labour is cheap and yes this is a serious problem for schooling. That is because the employer also prefers it. As the employer prefers it, families also let their children work. ... Field owners want to hire agricultural workers in their fields through someone. This intermediary prefers children as labour is cheaper and less costly."**
> (Female, Key Informant, Adana)

Problems encountered during registration to school or at school appears as a fourth reason for child labour from the qualitative data. There were OOSC and their parents in the qualitative study sample who indicated that registration of the children to schools due to some reasons such as a lack of an ID number or overage resulted in children's work (also see Section 5.3.1. School Enrolment). In addition, some other instances in which the Syrian at-risk children UTP had problems in the school environment were also mentioned, such as poor academic performance at school, problems with other students, or adaptation problems due to language barriers (see also Section 5.1.2. Human

Capital). Consequently, even in the cases where children left the school for reasons other than economic problems, they were quite likely to end up in the labour market as the qualitative data shows.

Last but not the least, some children in the qualitative study sample mentioned the *willingness to progress in a profession* as a reason for working. In those cases, it is possible to see that work could be preferred over education, ending up in school drop-out. A striking consequence was that once the children started working and had a break to their education, it became quite difficult to return back to school for reasons including the conditions of the work they perform, such as the working hours or attitude of the employers.

> **"I have decided to work to get a profession. Once I learned it, I continued working. Indeed, my father told me to ask my employer about his opinion about education [while working]. But I told him that there is no need for that. I work five days a week in this workplace. When can I go to school?"** (Boy, Dimension 6, Bursa)

A third important characteristic of child labour, in addition to its age-related and gendered characteristics, becomes apparent from the qualitative data. Although child labour is often discussed in relation to Syrian OOSC UTP, it also has *equally significant effects on the education of the Syrian at-risk children UTP* both at the lower- and upper-secondary school levels. Qualitative data reveal some differences between the work patterns of the at-risk and OOSC: many at-risk children work occasionally (when there was work) during the school year or during the holidays. They may work part-time rather than full-time, or may work with their parents (at home or outside home including seasonal agricultural work), or in other workplaces. Also, they were usually not the only earner in the household, but an additional source of income.

From the qualitative data, the most significant impact of working on the education of the Syrian at-risk children UTP appeared to be increasing instances of school non-attendance, which brought together some other problems for the children (also see Section 5.3.2. Non-attendance Regulations). Many key informants and teachers/SVEP gave examples of the cases where working children were late to school; were usually physically tired, and even fell asleep during the classes; or only attended some classes but missed some others; and, they missed exams as well. These types of factors are indicated to create a negative impact not only on the school performances of the at-risk children, but also may result in loosening of the emotional bonds of the children with the school and other students. The respondents stated that eventually it became quite difficult to sustain education and work together for the at-risk children, and as a result, most of them decided to leave school rather than leaving the work.

> **"I know some students who sleep during the class. As such, I understand that the child works. A student was immediately starting to sleep when he got into the class. Afterwards I learned that he was working in the bakery for the whole night."** (SVEP, Hatay)

Finally, the qualitative data reveal that the COVID-19 pandemic has increased the possibility of working and school drop-outs for the at-risk children. Some key informants stated that during the pandemic, when the schools were closed and online/remote education started, at-risk children started to work more regularly. Some teachers/SVEP were also seriously concerned that these children were much less likely to go back to school after the pandemic and persuading the parents and children to send their children back to school would require extra efforts. Thus, the struggle against child labour should take into consideration different characteristics and impact of child labour on Syrian at-risk and OOSC UTP.

Economic Barriers: Lack of Resources and Poverty

The qualitative data highlights the lack of resources and poverty as a category of economic barriers that are the most prevalent and serious obstacles among all of the barriers, with negative effects on school attendance and enrolment of Syrian children UTP. As the income of the households mostly depend on the fathers' work and the number of household members are usually high, high costs of living tend to mostly pull the sons out of school due to the need to contribute to the family budget through work.

High costs of living become even a more serious barrier in cases where fathers could not work, then it becomes almost impossible for some of the children not to work. Thus, child labour can be observed as a barrier for older boys (ages 10–13 and 14–17) who are out of school, and also affects the at-risk boys at both age groups. School-related expenses are another economic barrier that affects girls and boys, regardless of them being OOS or at-risk children. School-related costs go even higher when the transportation costs are added, particularly for the children at lower- and upper-secondary levels. Combined with other economic problems of the households, most of the time older boys leave school to work and to ensure that their younger siblings could attend school.

Table 17:
Economic Barriers: Lack of Resources and Poverty

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
High cost of living	***	*	**	***	**
School-related expenses	***	**	***	***	***
Child labour	***	*	**	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

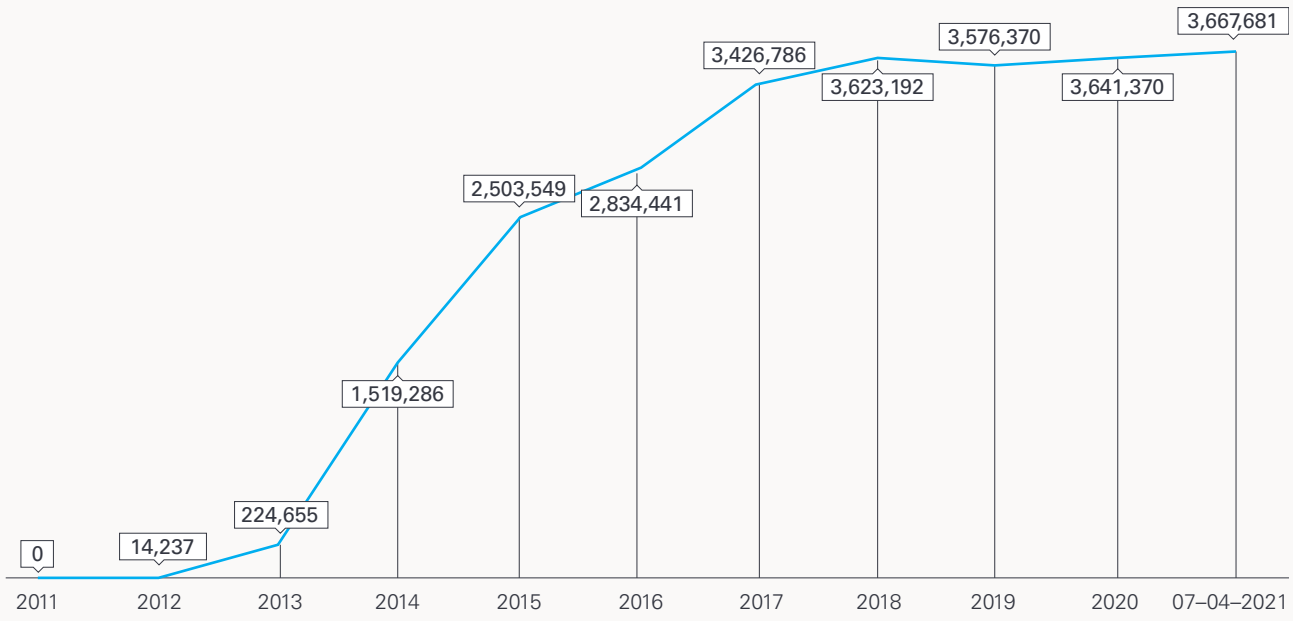
5.2.2 Migration and Family Mobility

Migration and family mobility are two interrelated factors that can have a negative impact on the children's education prospects. Mobility carries the risk of disrupting the relationship between the children and their school environments, not only giving way to learning losses and low academic performance, but also to eventual drop-outs by seriously reducing children's chances to get an education in a regular manner. In this section, the migration history of the Syrian UTP households in the qualitative study sample and their family mobility practices within Türkiye are analysed. More specifically, mostly based on the qualitative data, the patterns of family mobility (the cities that they have previously lived in, the reasons for changing city, their future plans about and reasons for changing city/country, and seasonal mobility) are explored to identify the impact of family mobility as a barrier for the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

Figure 43 shows the official statistics from DGMM on the population of Syrian UTP in Türkiye by year[74]. The figure indicates that from 2013 to 2017 more than 3.4 million Syrians arrived in Türkiye. This means that a majority of the overall Syrian UTP population lived in Türkiye for 4 to 8 years by 2021, which makes it possible to assume that they are more settled economically and they are more informed about the official procedures in the country, including those for accessing the education system in Türkiye.

74 https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27.

Figure 43:
Distribution of Syrians UTP in Türkiye by Year



Source: Directorate General of Migration Management, (7 April 2021).

When the years of arrival to Türkiye of the Syrian UTP households in the qualitative study sample of this report are concerned (Figure 44 and Figure 45), it is possible to see that the more years households spend in Türkiye, the more children are likely to be in school. Figure 44 shows that almost half of the families of the Syrian OOSC UTP aged 10–13 (Dimension 3) have arrived in Türkiye during the last 3 years from 2019 onwards. This implies that in the initial years following migration, children are more likely to stay out of school. Figure 45 also supports this finding by showing that the number of at-risk children decreases by the year of arrival.

Figure 44:
Year of Arrival in Türkiye (Syrian UTP Households with OOSC)

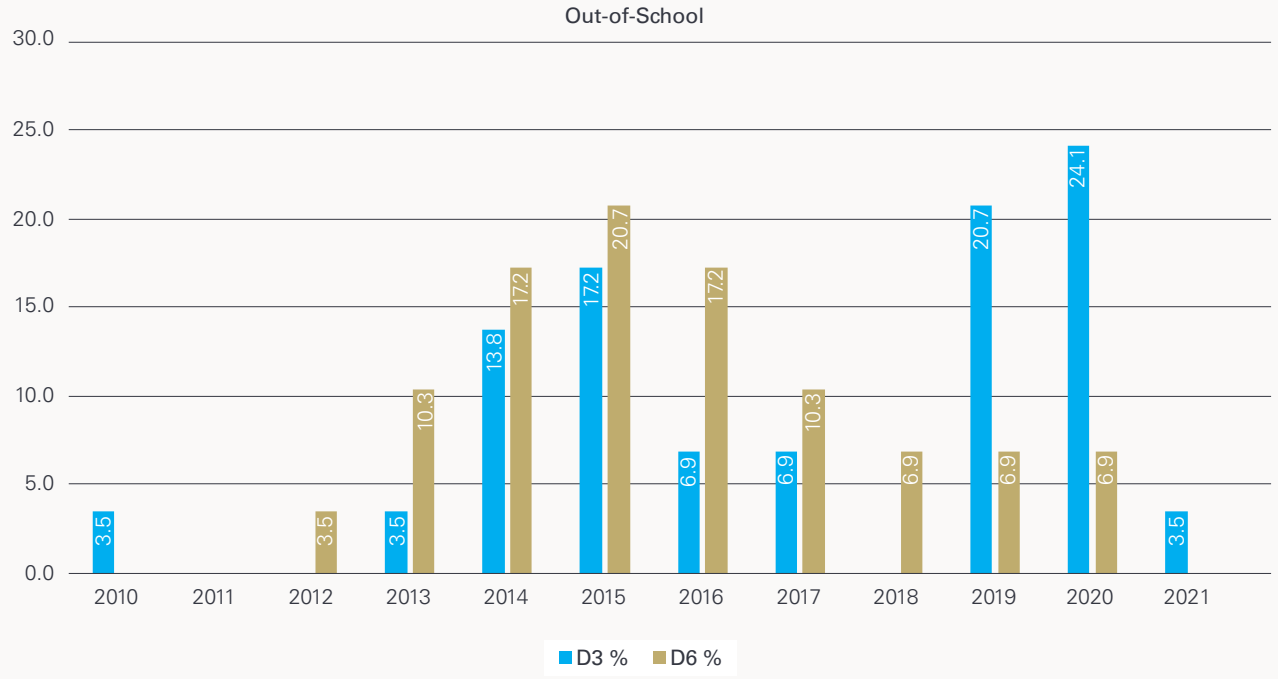
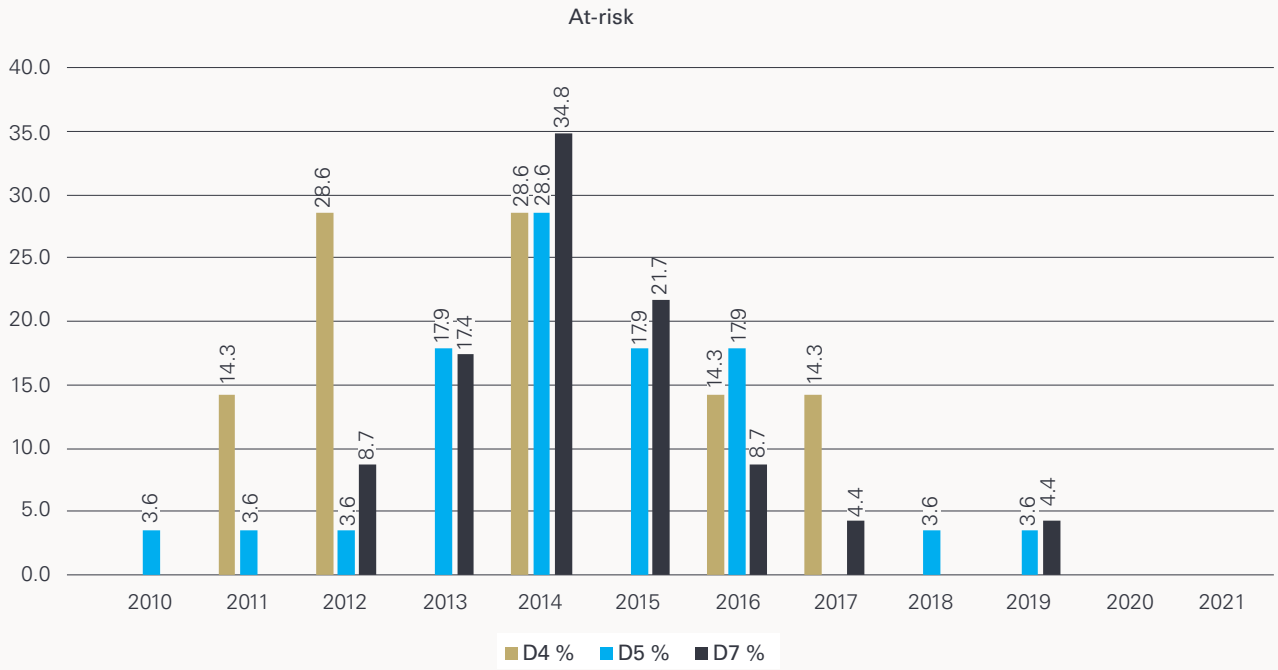


Figure 45:
Year of Arrival in Türkiye (Syrian UTP Households with At-risk Children)



When the primary migration patterns to Türkiye is concerned, the qualitative data shows that there were two types of households: those who came to Türkiye directly or came via a second or third country of destination. The qualitative data also shows that among the latter category, children may also have an education history in other countries than Syria or Türkiye. Almost half of all the Syrian children UTP and their parents in the study sample indicated that they have been living only in their arrival city in Türkiye. The other half of the Syrian children UTP and their parents indicated that they had also lived in other cities (such as Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır, Nevşehir, Kilis, Hatay,

Ankara, Mersin, and İstanbul) before moving into the city they live in at the time of the interview. This helps clarify a visible pattern from the qualitative data: a *high degree of family mobility within Türkiye*. The number of previously inhabited cities varies from two to four. The average time spent in the previous locations was around 2 years for the households in the study sample.

The Syrian children UTP and their parents in the study sample who lived in more than one city in Türkiye reported several interrelated reasons for moving within the country. The most prominently cited reason was that *they had family members, relatives or friends in the destination city*. One observation is that not all the family members have arrived in Türkiye at the same time nor were they always moving within the country together. Thus, the location of the previously arrived family members in the city of destination such as the elder son, elder sister, father or brother-in-law seem to act as a reasonfor families to move. In addition, relatives like uncles, aunts or elderly members of the households like grandfathers or grandmothers living in different cities may constitute a pull factor, as they were perceived to know the city and its environment/conditions better to give a feeling of having a community in the destination city and to provide a perceived safety net for the incoming household. There were also some cases where the family moved to another city to live in the accommodation of another family member who left Türkiye to another country.

The second reason was reported as the *perceived job opportunities in the destination city*. In such cases, it was usually the difficulty of finding a job or lack of job opportunities in the city where the households were located pushed the families to search for job opportunities in other cities. In some cases, the households indicated to move on the basis of their own perceptions on the availability of jobs in other cities. In other cases, a member of the family found a job in another city and the family moves together with him/her. And there were also networks of the family members, such as friends or relatives, that could inform the households about the availability of some job opportunities in another city. As a result of all those job opportunity-related factors, the families moved to another city.

The third reason emerging from the qualitative data as a reason to change location is *lower living costs*. There were many Syrian parents and children UTP in the study sample indicating that the cities where they lived in previously were expensive in terms of living costs, particularly rents or heating costs. As a result, some families moved from cities such as Istanbul, Ankara or İzmir to cities such as Adana, Bursa, Hatay where the living conditions were perceived to be more affordable and practical.

Apart from those three major reasons, the respondents also mentioned some other reasons to move from the city they lived in, such as the closure of the "tent city", the State's preference and health problems. It should also be noted that none of the respondents reported any reasons for moving related to the education of children or problems with social tension.

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Where the future plans and reasons for changing the city of the Syrian UTP households in the qualitative sample are concerned, three patterns emerge. It seems that a majority of Syrian UTP households no longer considered moving to another city, even in cases when there were some invitations from their family members or acquaintances in other cities. Many respondents mentioned that they liked the city, felt comfortable in that city, received health treatment there, had a community of relatives and friends, and did not want to change their lives anymore. Relatively few respondents in the study sample, voiced their plans to move to another city due to perceived job opportunities in other cities or health-related reasons (such as to get an operation or treatment). The second pattern is related to the households or parents who indicate their expectations to return back to Syria. Although the number of those cases were not many in the qualitative data, still there were also some key informants who witnessed families returning back to Syria.

The third and a strong pattern emerging from the qualitative data is the expectation to move to or to be resettled in another country such as Germany, the Netherlands, Canada or Lebanon. Some of these respondents indicated that they had already applied to UNHCR. Others state that they had close relatives or family members in other countries. Such an expectation is observed to be more prevalent among the Dimension 3 (10–13-year olds) and Dimension 6 (14–17-year olds) Syrian children UTP and their parents. The qualitative data shows that those children cannot benefit from the education system in Türkiye, mostly due to the economic difficulties that they face in Türkiye (see above Section 5.2.1 Lack of Resources and Poverty) and concomitant child labour cases. As a result, not only those children themselves, but also their parents were observed to develop a desire to move abroad, mainly to be able to ensure the well-being of children. Some of these parents voiced that their children would not only have better economic and living standards in Europe or North America, but also have better education opportunities. Children also had similar expectations about living abroad such as learning a language or getting a better education for a better future. However, as one of the key informants indicated, only a small number of Syrian families/individuals UTP could benefit from relocation to another country, and it was a procedure which might take a considerable amount of time. In this context, it was reported that the expectations of the Syrian families and children UTP should not lead to any breaks from the children's schooling.

> **"My elder son would like to go abroad, because it is difficult to live in Türkiye, and he gets tired a lot."**
> (Mother, Dimension 3, İstanbul)
>
> **"My family values education, but as we will go to another country, everything will be different there. We will study there. Education is important for the future."**
> (Boy, Dimension 6, Bursa)

An additional important aspect of family mobility is *seasonal mobility*, particularly due to agricultural labour demand. Some key informants stated that seasonal family mobility seriously affected the education of children despite the measures taken by the State for these children. Some of those effects were reported as social and school-related adaptation problems for the children, interruption of education, or decreasing academic performances.

Considered altogether, a number of consequences of family mobility on children's education prospects can be identified from the qualitative data. The *first consequence* relates to the difficulties by the school administrators and teachers of following up the children who do not regularly attend school. Many key informants and teachers indicated that high levels of family mobility constrained their ability to reach the children and their parents, as in many cases they cannot be found at their addresses due to moving to another city. Although the children's enrolment to schools can be followed from the e-School system of the MoNE, the *second consequence* of family mobility makes it difficult to benefit from this system. When the Syrian families UTP change their city of residence, they also need to transfer their residence permits to those cities and accordingly transfer their children to a school in the city of destination. Difficulties faced in the process of transferring their residences to another city was a factor that considerably delayed the registration of children in schools in their new residence cities. The *third and last consequence* of family mobility appears to be the non-registration of the children with the Turkish authorities. This means that there were some Syrian children UTP within the study sample, who reported that they did not yet have any identity cards (mostly those who arrived in Türkiye in the last 2 years). These last two consequences of family mobility are further analysed in relation to school enrolment of children in the following section 5.3 (School Administrative Regulations).

Economic Barriers: Migration and Family Mobility

Another economic barrier is related to migration and family mobility of the Syrian UTP households. One observation is that the more years households spend in Türkiye, the more likely children are to be in schools. However, high levels of family mobility of the households bring together a number of barriers for the children's education, particularly affecting those households that have recently arrived in Türkiye. Households mostly move due to economic reasons such as to be able to find a job, to lower their living costs, or to benefit from the social networks of their friends or relatives in different cities. This mobility affects the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP when the families have difficulties with transferring their certificate of residences to the city of destination.

In addition, it becomes difficult for the schools to follow up with the children registered in the e-School system, especially when the family did not inform the authorities about their mobility. Family mobility seems to equally impact all children: OOSC seem to continue to remain out of school, and at-risk children may face additional challenges as a consequence of family mobility, thus risking the continuity of their education in the city of destination.

Table 18:
Economic Barriers: Migration and Family Mobility

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
High levels of household mobility	**	***	***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.3 School Administrative Regulations

In the literature, one of the supply-side factors to affect the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP is school administrative regulations. Under this heading, the first aspect is *school enrolment* that includes the level of awareness of the Syrian UTP households, school enrolment procedures/documents, instances of schools' non-registration of children, overage enrolment (age-grade distortion), and maximum age of school enrolment. In addition, *non-attendance regulations* and *grade transition regulations* are two other aspects of school administrative regulations. In this section, mostly on the basis of the qualitative data collected for this study but also with available quantitative data from the UNICEF Monitoring Data, different practices and consequences related to these three aspects of school administrative regulations in Türkiye are analysed to identify their impact on the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP.

5.3.1 School Enrolment

All Syrian children UTP in Türkiye are granted the right to enrol in Turkish Public Schools (TPSs), and their transition from the TECs to TPSs has been completed by September 2020. As a part of the school enrolment procedures, similar to the registration procedures of all other children, the Syrian parents UTP are required to submit three different documents, namely the proof of registration with the Turkish authorities (e.g., residence permit, temporary protection identity (ID) cards or foreigners' identification card), documents related to the child's prior educational records, and certificate of residence. In the context of school enrolment requirements, two issues emerge from the qualitative data: the level of awareness of the Syrian UTP families about the school enrolment procedures, and the availability of the documents required for enrolment.

The qualitative data shows that around one fourth of the Syrian parents and children UTP were not well aware about the school enrolment procedures. Some respondents indicated that they were aware about the necessity to register with the Turkish authorities as a first step to enrol their children in school, but they had limited knowledge about the specifics of school enrolment procedures. In the same group, there are also respondents reporting that they did not have time to further enquire about the procedures due to long working hours. For this category of respondents, mothers were observed to be less aware, compared to the fathers, and there did not seem to be any variation across age categories for the level of awareness.

As a positive finding, a majority of the Syrian parents and children UTP in the qualitative study sample indicated that they were aware about the school enrolment procedures. The most visible *sources of information* were reported to be the families' immediate environment and the schools. For the former, information gathered from relatives, neighbours, and teachers in their vicinity was the norm. In addition, some of the parents also stated that once they learnt the procedures, they also informed other parents, or helped them during school enrolment. For the latter (schools), the respondents stated that one of the parents or the elder children visited schools to learn about the procedures, and school administrations informed them about the required documents. Here, neighbourhood headmen were also referred to play an important role to direct the parents to schools. In addition, although few in numbers, there were also some Syrian parents and children UTP who indicated the internet as their source of information about school enrolment procedures. Finally, some key informants pointed to the efforts of the international support mechanisms and their personnel and NGOs as a factor which helped increase the level of awareness of the Syrian families UTP about the school enrolment procedures.

However, being aware of the school enrolment procedures does not guarantee actual school enrolment of Syrian children UTP. One major observation is the lack of official documents required for enrolment, which was observed as a serious barrier to the education of Syrian children UTP. Taking this into account, three particular problems can be observed from the qualitative data: *Lack of proof of registration* with the Turkish authorities (namely the ID cards), *difficulties faced in terms of certificate of residence* (*ikamet kağıdı*) due to family mobility, and problems emerging in relation to the *lack of children's prior education records*.

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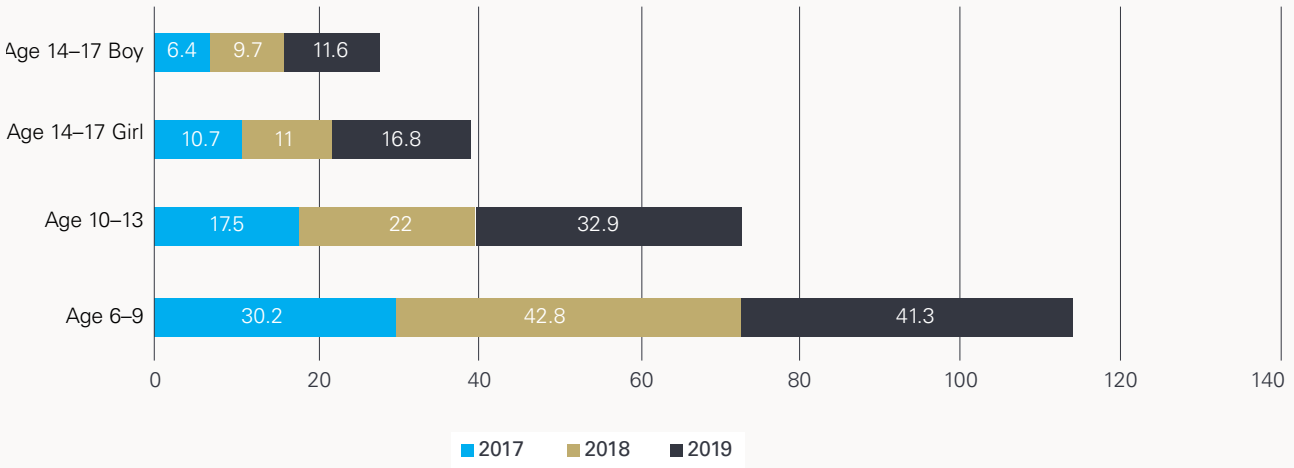
Registration with the Turkish authorities is an important obligation under the temporary protection procedures, and it is the legal basis for gaining access to a variety of public services including education. According to the DHS 2018 data, 96 per cent of Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 have their registration cards. However, when considered as year of arrival to Türkiye, this seems mainly as a transition issue, i.e., all children get their cards, but the process takes time. The DHS 2018 data shows that 100 per cent of those who arrived in 2011 or before have registration cards, compared with, 99.2 per cent of those who arrived in 2012 or 2013, 97.2 per cent of those who arrived in 2014 or 2015, 93.6 per cent of those who arrived in 2016 or 2017, and only 60.2 per cent of those who arrived in 2018 (recent arrivals). Although it has been 10 years since the first wave of Syrian population influx to Türkiye in 2011 and the official system of registration has been well-established, UNICEF Monitoring Data also shows that problems with registration still constitute the most frequently cited barrier for the education of Syrian children UTP. This appears as a particular problem among the 6–9 and 10–13 age cohorts, and the quantitative data does not reflect any decrease in the significance of such a problem over time, measured as a percentage of reasons cited for being out of school (Figure 46).

Figure 46:
Reason Cited as "Registration-ID Cards" for Being Out of School According to Age, by School Year and Gender



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017–2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778).

The qualitative data supports the finding that *lack of registration and an ID card of the children* is a barrier for the Syrian OOSC UTP, particularly those in the 10–13 age group (Dimension 3), as numerous instances were indicated by the interviewed children and parents in this category. It also appears to be a prevalent problem for the older age cohort (14–17), especially for those in the households which arrived in Türkiye rather recently (in the last 1–2 years). Although non-registration with the Turkish authorities may also depend on some reasons stemming from parents' hesitance or lack of information, the qualitative data points to some procedural/structural reasons for not having an ID card yet, as the key informants and teachers/SVEP voiced. It was indicated that in some provinces, new registration procedures for getting the ID cards were closed for some time and the families were directed to other cities to register with the Turkish authorities. In addition, for some cases, the registration procedures were reported to last a long time. It was indicated that while waiting for the procedures, children got older in due course and eventually they had either remained out of school due to reasons such as maximum age of schooling, or they were placed in lower grades compared to their age cohorts when they eventually received their ID cards.

> **"We arrived at İskenderun 1.5 years ago. ... My mother wanted to enrol us in school, but they asked for ID cards. Since I don't have an ID, I don't go out not to be fined."**
> (Boy, Dimension 3, Hatay)

The education system has provided an option for facilitating the school enrolment of the Syrian children UTP who do not have an ID card yet. Children who have not yet received the documents were able to attend classes until they submit the document. Although there were not many Syrian children UTP in the qualitative sample who were in this condition, the implementation of such a measure was mentioned to provide a valuable option to increase school enrolment of the Syrian children UTP who did not have an ID card yet. Still, in some limited number of cases, some key informants and teachers/SVEP in the qualitative sample pointed out that accepting students without the necessary document could lead to the risk of non-continuation of their education.

> **"Indeed, we didn't know it when we arrived in Bursa. We didn't have an ID card starting with the number 99. The director of the school realised that [my son] was very clever, and enrolled the children. They didn't have official registration, but the most important thing was [my son] being in school. Once we got the ID cards, the children were officially enrolled."**
> (Mother, Dimension 7, Bursa)

From the qualitative data, a second barrier related to children's school enrolment emerges as the *difficulties in transferring a residence certificate* due to family mobility (also see Section 5.3.2. Family Mobility). Residence is an important part of the functioning of the education system in Türkiye particularly for the primary and lower-secondary schools for all the children at the basic education level in the country. Address-based school enrolment of the children at the basic education level enables the enrolment of the children in schools in the vicinity to their addresses. In addition, MoNE's centralised e-School (*e-Okul*) information system is also used to identify the children at the age of schooling from their address-based registration. When the Syrian families UTP move to another city in Türkiye, they are also required to transfer their residence certificate to those cities. Only then the children can be followed from the e-School system and be placed in a school in the city of destination. The placement of students to upper-secondary schools are done through the centralised exam system, and the students who did not take the exam are placed in upper-secondary schools by provincial/district student placement and transfer committee.

Although it is the same requirement for all citizens in Türkiye, the statements of some of the Syrian parents UTP in the study sample shows that such a transfer of residence certificate was difficult in some cases, and it could take a long time. This is a factor that could delay the registration of children to schools in their destination city, which may even end up with school drop-outs. As examples of difficulties faced, some Syrian UTP parents mentioned that they were not well aware about the transfer procedures (both for the residence permit and school enrolment, for example, about which authority to apply to) or they were required to travel to the previous city of residence for the residence transfer procedures. For the upper-secondary schools, the timely support of the provincial/district student placement and transfer committee facilitated the enrolment of children. The difficulties related to transfer of residence certificate could create a barrier for school enrolment for the Syrian children UTP, but particularly for those who were already in school before moving to a new city (Dimensions 4, 5 and 7).

The third barrier in relation to school enrolment is the *lack of children's prior education records*. Submission of these records showing the previously completed school/grade is one of the requirements of the schools to enrol children in the most appropriate grade. The qualitative data shows that in some cases the inability of the Syrian parents UTP in submitting those records may end up in non-enrolment of their children to schools. Some of the key informants and teachers also indicated that with the lack of official documentation, the information about the children in the temporary protection system (on the ID cards) could sometimes be incorrect in terms of the name or actual age of the children (as it depended on the declaration of the parents), or could be invalid (e.g., outdated ID number), as a factor hindering children's enrolment to school. To be able to minimise the risk of non-enrolment to school, the MoNE has recently (in 2019) initiated a new practice of "grade placement" (*seviye belirleme, denklik*). In cases where the parents cannot submit any documents on the children's prior educational experience, the District Education Commissions under Provincial Directorates of MoNE identify the grade to place the children in, by consulting the parents and holding oral and written tests with the children. Many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample, some of whom also took part in these above-mentioned commissions, considered such a mechanism of placement as a factor facilitating the school

enrolment of the Syrian children UTP. Still, any setbacks in the implementation of such a mechanism were also reported to be a factor that could delay school enrolment of children in a way to keep them out of school.

In spite of the existence of the legal framework for ensuring the school enrolment of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, the qualitative data provides instances of some *implementation practices*, that could sometimes differ. In that sense, key informants and teachers indicated that an address-based school enrolment system facilitated children's inclusion in public schools. Still, limited cases appeared in the qualitative data where the Syrian parents UTP tried to transfer their children to schools closer to their accommodation but could not manage it, or the schools did not enrol their children due to their age. Such challenges in enrolment were attributed to a number of reasons, such as the limited capacity of the schools or insufficient school resources.

Some interviewees stated that a high number of students in the schools and crowded classrooms could limit the enrolment of Syrian children UTP in some schools. With this in mind, some interviewees suggested to consider the de facto limitations of the schools, rather than relating the issue to prejudices against the Syrian UTP population. Especially in the provinces hosting high numbers of Syrian UTP population and in particular districts where there were a smaller number of schools, a more balanced distribution of Syrian children UTP between different schools was proposed to be prioritised. In addition, a lack of Turkish language skills of the Syrian children UTP, lack of efficient communication between the parents and the school administrations due to language barriers (also see Section 5.1.2. Human Capital), and disability of the children (also see Section 5.1.3. Health-Related Reasons) were also mentioned as some concerns at the school enrolment stage.

To avoid any implementation gaps or different practices, the qualitative data positively shows that provincial or district directorates of MoNE were mentioned to play an important role in the proper implementation of the procedures, to address any problems in the enrolment of Syrian children UTP in schools.

Once all the required documents are provided and the Syrian children UTP are registered to school, there is still an important issue that can be considered within the context of school enrolment: *age-grade distortion*. Based on DHS 2018, Figure 14 in Chapter 4 shows that 50 per cent of the Syrian children UTP aged 10–13 are enrolled in primary school instead of lower-secondary, 12 per cent of children aged 14–17 are in the lower-secondary schools, with an additional 3 per cent in the primary schools, instead of upper-secondary schools. Similarly, Figure 24 in Chapter 4 show that across Grades 4–9 there are sizeable proportions (about 30 per cent) of students who are 3 or more years older than their intended grade. The qualitative data supports these findings of the quantitative data, as some instances of children being overage by grade were reported, particularly by the Syrian children UTP at the age of 10–13 and their parents (Dimension 5).

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Qualitative data helps identify some of the reasons, as well as consequences of, over-age enrolment, in addition to the family-related non-enrolment of children to school (e.g., lack of information, economic difficulties or child labour). One risk factor for age-grade distortion is the already-mentioned issue of long procedures or delays in registration and getting ID cards or transfer of certificate of residence. These problems may result in time gaps for the education of Syrian children UTP, who are aging while waiting for the procedures to be completed.

Another reason the parents, children, key informants and teachers voiced more frequently in the qualitative study sample was the problems related to language. The common view amongst those interviewees was that children who were not competent in Turkish language were sometimes placed at the primary schools, although they were at the age cohort of lower-secondary schools (e.g., placing a 10-year-old child with the 6-year-olds).

Qualitative data shows that overage enrolment increases the risks for the children to drop-out of school. Some key informants and teachers/SVEP in the qualitative study sample reported some concerns stemming from the overage enrolment of the children. It was indicated that Syrian children UTP, both girls and boys, studying with children younger than themselves were observed to experience psychological effects such as a lack of motivation, feeling worthless, feeling ashamed or being exposed to bullying due to the age differences and physical appearance, adaptation problems due to not being able to develop friendship or communicate with children from younger age groups, and low academic performance due to breaks in educational activities. As a result, those children were stated to face the risk of being disinclined to the school environment resulting in irregular attendance or non-attendance, and eventual drop-out from school. It was also stated that such problems may occur in the adaptation classes (*uyum sınıfları*), which were usually mixed classes for different age groups.

> **"My daughter aged 12 doesn't indeed attend school regularly. She did it for a while but not anymore. After arriving in Gaziantep, I enrolled her to 5th grade. The school administration wanted to send her back to 2nd grade because of her poor Turkish. That's why she doesn't want to go to school anymore."**
> (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

Another risk for the children placed in lower grades than those of their age group is the risk of falling out of the parameters of the *maximum schooling age*. As already mentioned in Section 2.4.3. (Enrolment Regulations), in Türkiye for all children, the maximum age of 14 is required to register in lower-secondary schools, and it is 18 years old for the upper-secondary schools (in addition to the requirement of having completed primary school education). Accordingly, there are also some regulations for the children who cannot finish primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary schools until the maximum age of schooling[75]. In that sense, the qualitative data provides some concerns about children who may fall out of the maximum age of schooling while waiting for the formal procedures to be completed (registration/ID card, transfer of residence certificate, or placement tests), and overage enrolment. It was indicated that as those Syrian children UTP placed in lower grades than those of their age cohorts may not be able to finish the basic education until the age of 15, they could face higher risks of remaining out of school if they are not informed about or do not benefit from the VECs or open education (also see Section 5.4.1. School Supply section).

From another perspective, some key informants and teachers refer to an issue in the qualitative study sample, children, being out of school for some time (e.g., the child left school at Grade 7, remained out of school for 3 years and restarted school from Grade 10 instead of Grade 7) were enrolled with their own age group. It was stated that in some cases this could create some difficulties for the Syrian children UTP to follow the curriculum, however some measures were adopted to avoid any low academic performance or dropouts due to these difficulties.

At the policy level, any risks that could be created due to the age-grade distortion are targeted by different measures and initiatives. The MoNE prioritises that all children in the country should receive education with their peers in their age cohort. Against this background, there have been a number of policy measures to ensure the adaptation of the Syrian children UTP to the school system such as catch-up education, back-up education or accelerated education programmes implemented by different agencies such as MoNE and UNICEF, or under the PIKTES project (also see Section 6 Policy Analysis).

75 At the primary school level, they are directed to non-formal education, at the lower-secondary school level they are given two extra school years, and at the end of this period they are directed to open lower-secondary schools, and at the upper-secondary level, they are directed to open upper-secondary schools at the age of 22.

School Enrolment-related Barriers

As an aspect of school administrative regulations, school enrolment issues seem to point out to particular types of barriers for the Syrian children UTP. A positive observation from the qualitative analysis is that a majority of Syrian parents UTP are informed about the enrolment procedures, and schools and the local environment seem to be helpful for dissemination of information. However, there is still a group of parents, particularly those who recently arrived in Türkiye who have a lack of information (or incorrect information) about the enrolment procedures.

A major barrier to school administrative regulations emerged as the lack of official documents required for enrolment, namely lack of ID cards, certificates of residence and foreigner identification documents[76] or children's prior education records. Concerning ID cards, a positive observation was that almost all children who have arrived in Türkiye before 2018 have their ID cards. However, children who do not have an ID card can be observed to remain out of school throughout the procedures of receiving an ID card. This appears as a particular problem among the 6–9 and 10–13 age cohorts as a reason to stay out of school.

Difficulties in the transfer of a residence certificate creates a very similar barrier for school enrolment for the Syrian children UTP, but particularly for those who were already in school before moving to a new city, which may result in drop-outs or placement drop-outs or placement in lower grades than their age cohorts.

To overcome the problems with the lack of children's prior education records, introduction of the grade placement mechanism is a positive development.

Although in some cases Syrian children UTP face challenges in registering into TPSs, the qualitative analysis shows that registration has generally worked well, particularly for the primary and lower-secondary levels. Once the school enrolment of Syrian children UTP is ensured, a potential prominent reason for school drop-outs was observed to appear as age/grade distortion, which is particularly affecting the 10–13 age group for both sexes, as those children could be placed in primary school instead of lower-secondary schools. The maximum age of enrolment also seems a factor that could negatively affect the formal education prospects of children over 14 at the lower-secondary level and children over 18 at the upper-secondary level.

Table 19:
School Enrolment-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Lack of information by the families	***	**	*	***	*
Lack of registration and ID cards	***			***	
Lack of certificate of residence	**	**	**	**	***
Inability to register in school	**	*	*	**	*
Overage enrolment	**	*	***	**	
Maximum age of enrolment	***		***	***	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

76 Another document containing a foreigner's identification number starting with 98 is the Foreigner Identification Card.

5.3.2 Non-attendance

Non-attendances or absences may contribute to school dropout. Based on MoNE data, Figure 18 in Chapter 4 shows that sizeable proportions of Syrian children UTP missed 30 or more days during the (pre-pandemic) 2019–2020 school year. This is mostly the case for the lower-secondary grades (plus Grade 9 of upper-secondary), where just over 30 per cent of students had 30+ days of absences. Figure 24 in Section 4 further shows that absences are less prevalent in primary grades, then increase substantially in lower-secondary through Grade 9 of upper-secondary before dropping off again.

Thus, non-attendance data indicates the fragility of school participation for many Syrian children UTP, especially for at-risk of dropping out Dimensions 5 (lower-secondary level) and 7 (upper-secondary level). When the gender characteristic of non-attendance levels is concerned, the quantitative data indicates that absence rates are similar between boys and girls (in 2018–2019) for primary school, but then in lower-secondary boys are more likely to have 30+ absences. In upper-secondary Grade 9 the gap is quite large, but then in Grades 10–12 the gap seems to be minimal.

The qualitative data provides some evidence to support the quantitative findings that absences are less prevalent at the primary school level and increase at the lower-secondary level, and non-attendance is more prevalent among boys compared to girls. The qualitative data also shed some light on the reasons and consequences of non-attendance or irregular attendance to put the quantitative findings in perspective. From the qualitative data, the most cited reason of non-attendance emerges as the economic problems of the household and concomitant child labour.

Many key informants and teachers reported that Syrian children UTP who worked were more subject to the time schedules of the workplace than that of the school. This means that there were children who missed some days a week or some hours a day at school due to the conditions of the workplace. In addition, the seasonal component of the work activity was also indicated to determine some particular periods of absences of children, for example, in April or May when the agricultural activities started. Absences due to seasonal work of the children were also reported to be determined in line with regional/sectoral characteristics of the province, or with family mobility due to economic activity. A second reason for absences appears as the low academic performance of the children at school. Some Syrian children UTP in the qualitative study sample stated that they had learning difficulties at school, and they could not receive support, which resulted in their unwillingness to attend school.

A third reason was reported as the problems related to social cohesion. Some key informants indicated that to the extent that children faced problems at school in their friend circles and they could not communicate with the school, teachers or their parents, they felt disconnected from school. A final reason was mentioned as the lack of information about the non-attendance regulations and their consequences among the Syrian families UTP.

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Among other functions, the e-School education information system is a mechanism to follow up the attendance of all students. According to a key informant, such a mechanism functioned well at the individual school level to enable the schools to follow up the attendance records of the students and to take measures in case of non-attendance.

Accordingly, it was reported that the schools could regularly monitor the children by sending warning letters to their addresses, informing the parents about the school attendance requirements, and working in coordination with the District Directorates of MoNE for reporting the non-attendance cases and activating the required mechanisms. However, the qualitative data shows that the measures taken during the pandemic have created some setbacks for following up of students' attendance during the pandemic (also see Section 5.5. COVID-19 Pandemic).

The key informants and teachers also pointed to serious *consequences of absences* and irregular attendance, which was related to the grade transition regulations as applied to the Syrian children UTP in the same way with all other students. As stated in Section 2.4.4, a procedural consequence of high levels of unexcused non-attendance is class repetition. Overall, according to DHS 2018, 8.6 per cent of the Syrian UTP children enrolled in 2018–2019 were repeating the grade (e.g., they were enrolled in the same grade in 2017–2018). The qualitative data also shows that there were many cases where some Syrian students UTP at the lower-secondary school (Dimension 5) and upper-secondary school (Dimension 7) levels had to repeat the class when they had high levels of absences at the end of the school year. In addition, high levels of absences were also reported to result in a decrease in the students' academic success.

The UNICEF Monitoring Data shows that 30+ absences per year represent at least 15 per cent of lost learning time (for a 200-day school year). The interviewees voiced as a potential learning loss in the qualitative study sample that the Syrian children UTP with irregular attendance could feel less inclined to school and education. They did not only miss the classes but also the exams, and as a result, they could not fulfil the academic success criteria to pass the grade. Thus, another consequence of non-attendance was mentioned as decreasing levels of academic success of children, which brought class repetition, and eventual drop-outs, back into the picture.

Non-attendance-related Barriers

A second component of MoNE primary and secondary education regulations is the non-attendance, which are applied in an equal way to all the children registered in primary and secondary education. Both the quantitative and qualitative data shows that non-attendance regulations particularly affect the Syrian children UTP at risk of dropping out at Dimension 5 (lower-secondary level) and Dimension 7 (upper-secondary level). Non-attendance is observed to be more prevalent among boys compared to girls.

Table 20:
Non-attendance Regulations-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Non-attendance regulations	**		***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.3.3 Grade Transition

As summarised in Section 2.4.4, there are different grade transition regulations for different levels of education, defined as a combination of the level of unexcused absences and academic success. The grade transition regulations apply to all the students equally, the Turkish nationals and Syrian children UTP. The qualitative data provides some evidence about the implementation of grade transition regulations at different education levels.

At the *primary school level*, it is possible to observe from the qualitative data that class repetition was not a preferred practice, as the relevant Regulation[77] also indicates, unless the parents of the student demanded otherwise. Some key informants and primary school teachers stated that class repetition could not be observed much at primary school level, even when the students attended the school only one day throughout the school year; and, if their parents did not request class repetition due to low academic performance.

Some of the primary school teachers in the qualitative sample expressed their concerns about this flexibility, and they stated that future academic adaptation of the students would be negatively affected by such an "automatic" grade transition practice that could eventually lead to result in school dropping-out at the higher education levels.

At the *lower-secondary school level*, the qualitative data show that non-attendance requirement played a more important role in the practice of grade transition, compared to the academic success requirement. Some interviewed key informants indicated that although a high level of non-absences could result in class repetition at the lower-secondary level, the re-evaluation of the academic performance of the students was at the discretion of the teachers' committee, which usually decided to let the student pass the grade. Such a practice was reported to be implemented in order to avoid discouraging children from education in case of class repetition and to ensure that they remained in school.

At the *upper-secondary level*, the non-attendance requirement is stricter compared to the other school levels (10 days without excuse) and class repetition seems to be a more common consequence of non-attendance. In terms of the academic success, the grade transition system in the relevant Regulation[78] allows the students to pass the grade with the requirement of taking the exams for the unsuccessful courses from the lower grades (up to six courses). Thus, academic success requirement was reported to create less class repetitions compared to the non-attendance requirements at the upper-secondary level.

However, the class repetition at this level is allowed only once for all the students, and any student who cannot pass the grade for a second time are directed to the open upper-secondary schools, where there is no attendance requirement, or to the VECs. The potential and limitations of the open schools and VECs for the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP are further analysed in the following Section 5.4.1. School Supply.

Grade Transition-related Barriers

Grade transition regulations are the third component of school administrative regulations which may also act as barriers for the Syrian at-risk children UTP aged 10–13 and 14–17. Grade repetitions could could result in the transfer of children to open schools or VECs.

Table 21:
Grade Transition Regulations-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Grade transition regulations	**		***	**	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

77 Published in the Official Gazette on 26.07.2014. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=19942&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5.

78 Published in the Official Gazette No. 29871 on 28.10.2016. https://ogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_11/03111224_ooky.pdf.

5.4 School Supply and Quality

Some components of the learning environment, namely school supply and school quality referring to the availability of schooling options, their resources and quality, constitute an important aspect of potential supply-side factors for the education of Syrian children UTP.

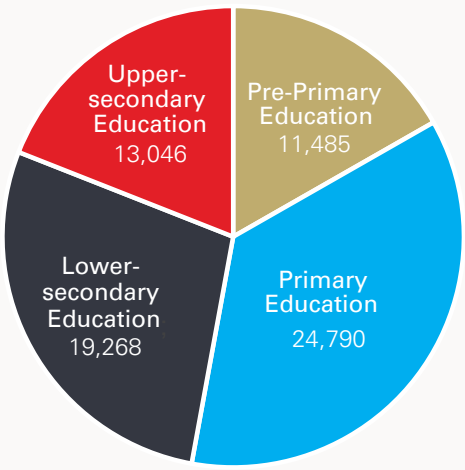
In that regard, this section discusses four components, namely *school supply* (availability and commuting time/distance of school, pre-primary, open schools, VECs, other educational activities), *school resources* (communication of school/teacher with the parents, physical conditions of the schools, class size, mixed-gender classes, transportation to school, learning materials/curriculum), *teacher quality* (teachers' communication with the children, teacher's attitude, teacher's educational experiences), and *security in school* (bullying within the school environment and bullying on the way to school).

The analysis of these components as barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP incorporates the qualitative data collected for this study, and quantitative data derived mostly from the MoNE statistics, DHS 2018, and UNICEF Monitoring Data in years discussed in this study.

5.4.1 School Supply

MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020) (Figure 47) shows that there are 68,589 public and private schools at the pre-primary, primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary levels in Türkiye, with a total of 16.6 million students (including those in the open schools), out of which almost 700,000 are Syrian children UTP. As shown in Table 22, primary enrolment for Syrian children UTP is mainly in general education, but in lower- and upper-secondary levels there is significant enrolment in Imam Hatip and vocational schools.

Figure 47:
Number of Schools in Türkiye (2019–2020)



Source: MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020).

The data shows that the Syrian UTP population favours Imam Hatip schools at upper-secondary (55.3 per cent of total enrolment) and 27 per cent at lower-secondary level. For the upper-secondary level, vocational schools (23.4 per cent) are the second option, followed by general schools (15.5 per cent). There are also 26,000 Syrian children UTP enrolled in the open schools in 2019–2020. Finally, Table 13 reveals that a very small percentage of Syrian children UTP (only 1.6 per cent) are in private schools at all education levels.

Table 22:
Distribution of the Syrian Students UTP According to School Type (Excluding Open Schools)

School Year	School level	By school type					
		General	Special	Imam Hatip	Vocational	Private (total)	Total
2016–2017	Primary	133,214	140	----	----	1,319	134,673
	Lower-secondary	30,707	19	11,488	----	1,053	43,267
	Upper-secondary	3,429	45	8,543	4,816	1,235	18,068
	Total	167,350	204	20,031	4,816	3,607	196,008
2017–2018	Primary	247,197	284	----	----	1,759	249,240
	Lower-secondary	65,926	33	28,096	----	1,398	95,453
	Upper-secondary	5,159	86	17,449	8,284	1,768	32,746
	Total	318,282	403	45,545	8,284	4,925	377,439
2018–2019	Primary	336,958	444	----	----	2,800	340,202
	Lower-secondary	114,916	61	46,496	----	2,397	168,870
	Upper-secondary	7,343	147	28,053	12,509	2,935	50,987
	Total	459,217	652	74,549	12,509	8,132	555,059
2019–2020	Primary	362,923	598	----	----	3,648	367,169
	Lower-secondary	174,502	104	65,636	----	3,443	243,685
	Upper-secondary	10,907	161	38,864	16,416	3,942	70,290
	Total	548,332	863	104,500	16,416	11,033	681,144

Source: MoNE Data (2016–2020).

Those figures indicate that school supply in Türkiye includes a variety of options for the Syrian children UTP. An additional aspect of school supply, the *location of the school and commuting time*, may act as a barrier to schooling in general, as distance between school and residence determines the need for transportation, which may bring together some concerns such as additional costs and safety of children. The qualitative data provides some evidence about the distance to school. Those Syrian children and parents UTP in the qualitative study sample who indicated that the school was close to home (3–15 minutes by walking) were mostly at the primary and lower-secondary levels. On the other hand, those respondents who indicated that the school was distant from home were mostly the OOSC aged 10–13 (Dimension 3) and at-risk children aged 10–13 and 14–17 (Dimension 5 and Dimension 7) (in some cases 40–60 minutes by walking or transportation needed). Thus, any problems related to the distance appear to be more prevalent for the lower-secondary and upper-secondary education levels.

Many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample acknowledged that distance between school and home acted as a factor that could create difficulties in children accessing school. They reported some reasons for long commuting distances to schools. One of the reasons emerging from the qualitative data is the size of the city. Although the address-based school registration system is designed to ensure that children are registered to the schools close to their registered place of residence, it was observed that in some cases the Syrian UTP households lived in districts different from their official addresses, but their children had to attend schools according to their official addresses.

Secondly, the school type preferences of Syrian children UTP and their parents seem to affect school access. As shown in Table 13, the Syrian children UTP and their parents prefer the Imam Hatip schools more at the upper-secondary level. However, out of 9,161 public upper-secondary schools all over Türkiye, only 1,650 are Imam Hatip schools (MoNE National Statistics Yearbook, 2019–2020). This shows that the preferred schools might not be available in every district or neighbourhood, due to which the Syrian children UTP may end up registering in schools far from their homes. Thus, although distance to school did not seem to be a problem at the primary level, it has the potential to act as a barrier to Syrian children's schooling starting from the lower-secondary level, but more prominently at the upper-secondary level. The consequences of long distances to school were reported as a tiring factor for children and could lead to irregular attendance particularly for girls, and eventual drop-out.

In the context of location of school, an issue which deserves attention is the availability of means of *transportation to school*. The qualitative data show that there was already some transportation support to the Syrian children UTP under projects such as PIKTES, UNICEF supported ALP or individual initiatives of Provincial Directorates of MoNE, in an effort to increase school enrolment rates of the Syrian children UTP. Many respondents in the qualitative study sample expressed their appreciation for such support as they created opportunities for safe transportation to school (or to a language course) for the children. Still, some of the key informants in the qualitative study sample indicated that they might not be available for every district, and some Syrian parents UTP stated that there could be some distance/kilometre limits to benefit from the school service buses, and some of the service buses did not go into some districts or neighbourhoods.

In relation to transportation to school, some serious concerns were reported in cases where there were not any available school bus services. Regarding the lack of transportation services, the qualitative data points to two specific concerns for the Syrian UTP families, namely safety of children and economic costs of transportation. In bigger and more crowded cities, the Syrian parents UTP expressed their concerns, particularly for the girls, about sending their children to schools distant from home with some security concerns such as bullying or lack of trust to the social environment. In some cases, the Syrian children UTP indicated that they felt scared on the way to school when they were alone, and they preferred that one of their parents accompany them to school, but this was not possible all the time due to their mothers' engagement with their younger children at home. Similar safety concerns for girls were also mentioned in relation to children's travelling alone in vehicles.

Secondly, when there were no school service buses, some Syrian children UTP and their parents noted that the children needed to take minibuses or buses to school. In the bigger cities, some of those children stated that they needed to change between two vehicles to reach the school. In addition to the extra time spent on the way to school, an important problem was mentioned to be the additional costs that transportation to school created for the families.

In the qualitative data, some Syrian parents UTP stated that to the extent that they could not afford those costs, their children had to leave the school. In cases where the transportation costs could not be afforded and the children continued to attend the school, the children had to walk (or in some cases cycle) to the school, which may act as an extra burden of schooling for the children. There were also some Syrian children UTP who indicated that due to difficulties of transportation to school, they could not regularly attend school.

> **"The school is far. To reach the school, they change two vehicles on the way to and two on the way back from the school. And this is too costly."** (Father, Dimension 7, Bursa)
>
> **"School is away from home by walking. I was walking for 40 minutes. There is no school near home. We have no money for the service bus."** (Boy, Dimension 7, Adana)

Pre-primary

Although preparations for the piloting for compulsory pre-primary programme have been on-going, pre-primary education is not yet compulsory in Türkiye. When the supply of pre-primary education is concerned, MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020) shows there is a total of 32,554 pre-primary education institutions in Türkiye, where 25,640 are public and 6,914 are private. Although CCTE support also covers the pre-primary children, pre-primary education does not seem to be widespread among the Syrian UTP population, as according to DHS 2018, only 22.8 per cent of the Syrian children UTP aged 5 are attending pre-primary schools (Figure 16 in Chapter 4). Although the qualitative data collection did not particularly focus on pre-primary, one concern was stated as the high costs of private pre-primary options, which could act as a factor hindering access of Syrian children UTP to pre-primary education, especially when the economic problems of the households were concerned (see Section 5.2.1. on Economic Barriers).

Open Schools

As already mentioned in Section 2.4.1, the education system in Türkiye provides an open education option at the lower-secondary and upper-secondary levels (starting from the age 14 onwards), and the Syrian children UTP are also eligible to benefit from this option. Enrolling in open education can depend on the preference of the parents and/or children. Similar to all other students, those Syrian children UTP who certify that they have completed Grade 4 of primary education, who have a certificate of achievement in the second stage of adult education, and those who have exceeded the compulsory primary education age can apply to open education schools.

Figure 11 in Section 4 shows that there were 18,000 Syrian UTP in open schools in the 2018–2019 school year, and this number has increased to 26,000 in 2019–2020. These numbers correspond to respectively 1.7 per cent and 2.4 per cent of total Syrian children UTP aged 5–17, or 2.7 per cent and 3.8 per cent of the total Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 enrolled in a school in the 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 school years. The quantitative data shows that the number of Syrian children UTP registered to open schools was low (although increasing), compared to their overall population and compared to the overall number of Syrian OOSC UTP.

The qualitative data provides some insights to explain this finding. One of the reasons is observed to be the *low level of awareness* about the open school option among the Syrian UTP population, as more than half of the Syrian children and parents UTP in the qualitative study sample reported that they had never heard about the open schools' system. Although the other half of the respondents, including OOSC aged 10–13 and 14–17 and their parents (Dimension 3 and 6), indicated that they had heard about the open education and open schools, they also indicated some reasons for not being able to benefit from this option. For example, not having sufficient information about the system or about where to apply.

In addition, the qualitative data also shows that some of the reasons for non-enrolment to public schools were also valid in cases regarding open schools, namely the lack of ID cards, the need to transfer the residence certificate, and the lack of prior education records. In addition, some respondents stated that they did not have sufficient physical conditions, such as the internet or equipment to be able to follow the open courses.

The source of information for those who already knew the open education system were reported as school administrators, teachers, children themselves, neighbours, and officials at the TRC. Although it was not frequently mentioned in the qualitative study sample, a promising observation is that some respondents referred to the cases where their children or siblings attended and finished open schools, got a diploma, and even continued with their university education.

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The key informants and teachers/SVEP in the qualitative study sample exemplified some cases reflecting some bottlenecks related to open education for Syrian children UTP. Some of the statements show that even in cases of referral of the Syrian children UTP to open education, they might not complete open schools, due to several reasons.

Firstly, the teachers/SVEP argued that in some cases, particularly after Grade 8, the Syrian parents UTP registered their children to open schools only because they knew that 12 years of education was compulsory with some sanctions, and with the open education their children may remain enrolled in the system. However, the respondents observed that the children did not like open education because it was not face-to-face, it did not have any regularity, and they refrained from attending school.

Secondly, some problems related to accessibility and availability of support in relation to open education were reported. Some of the teachers/SVEP indicated that some of the Syrian UTP population could live in areas far from open education contact points located in the PECs, and some of the Syrian UTP parents and children UTP could not communicate easily. It was also stated that some of the Syrian children UTP were not aware of the system or they did not know its requirements (such as the credit system or how to get the education materials).

Thirdly, the reason that could affect the academic performance of Syrian children UTP in open schools was reported as the language problems. Some key informants indicated that the lack of Turkish language skills already appeared as a barrier to academic performance in formal schools, and it was also a barrier for the success in open education. In that sense, some specific concerns were voiced as the lack of education materials in Arabic, need for learning materials prepared for foreigners and/or for a different system of teaching or performance measurement at the open education system.

> **"Because there is no [physical] school, no social environment; you study and take exams in certain periods. In a situation where the Turkish students have difficulties with it, Syrian children UTP would not be able to do it. Moreover, they don't know the language. Somebody who doesn't know the language, cannot succeed the tests or answer the multiple-choice questions. Indeed, I don't know any foreign student who graduated from the open schools. I don't know if there is any."**
> (Key Informant, İstanbul)

From the qualitative data, some other important themes emerge in the context of open education, namely the relation between open education and child labour, gender-related norms, and religious education.

Firstly, the qualitative data shows that child labour is equally a barrier for open education, as it is the case with formal education. Some of the key informants and SVEP in the qualitative study sample indicated that if the Syrian children UTP left school due to work, they could not regularly attend the open schools due to the reasons such as the requirements of the job and time schedule of working. However, there were instances in the qualitative data where the parents suggested that the children should get registered at an open school, but the children refused as they stated they preferred working to going to school. Moreover, some key informants stated that for some of the working Syrian children UTP, benefiting from the open education option also seemed to act as a justification to leave formal schools.

Secondly, some of the SVEP in the qualitative study sample referred to the role of open education in relation to girls' education. It was indicated that if the parents knew more about the open education option, some of the Syrian girls UTP could have completed their education. In that sense, open education was proposed to provide an opportunity for the girls to get education. Although, attending regular schools is the primary option, open education was proposed to provide a second chance for the Syrian girls UTP to get an education in cases where their schooling was negatively affected by demand-side factors such as gender norms at a family level.

A third theme that emerged from the qualitative data is religious education. Some key informants stated that the Syrian children UTP preferred Imam Hatip open schools, since they believed that they would get better grades in courses held in Arabic. In addition, it was mentioned that some parents who did not want to send their children to school and preferred other options (such as Quran courses) instead, could benefit from the Imam Hatip open schools.

Finally, another reason to transfer to open schools was mentioned in relation to the university entrance exams. A key informant stated that some Syrian children UTP in formal education transferred to open schools at Grade 12, to be able to spare more time studying for the university exams.

Vocational Education Centres

Another formal education option for the Syrian children UTP is the VECs, which have been included in the framework of compulsory education since December 2016[79] and affiliated to the General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education of MoNE. According to the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020), VECs have 187,257 active participants.

The qualitative data shows that VECs as a schooling option is not very well-known, as almost half of the Syrian parents and children UTP in the sample indicated that they have not heard about the VECs. The other half were informed about the VECs and there were also instances where the children or siblings had already studied in those centres, perceived as a place to acquire a profession. The respondents who were informed about the VECs also indicated some reasons for not registering to VECs. Some of the Syrian OOSC UTP and their parents (Dimension 3 and Dimension 6) stated that their work activity made it impossible to attend the VECs; they could not register due to lack of ID cards; or, they had already applied but did not yet receive a response. Some key informants also indicated that the Syrian parents UTP sometimes refrained from registering their children to VECs with the fear of losing their eligibility to receive the cash support. However, this is an example of misinformation as registration to VECs does not affect the eligibility for cash support.

Some key informants referred to issues related to the enrolment requirements for the VECs, which have been facilitated in favour of the Syrian children UTP. In general, the children are required to have a lower-secondary school diploma to register in the VECs, but the Syrian children UTP who cannot submit a lower-secondary school diploma can still register, on declaration that they graduated from lower-secondary school. In addition, the requirement of having A1 or A2 Turkish language certificates was also lifted in June 2021.

The children in VECs are also paid a fee, equal to at least 30 per cent of the minimum wage, throughout their training. This provides an employment opportunity by acquiring a profession or artisanship during and after their training. For VECs, there is not any particular registration period in order to enable the children to enrol throughout the year. Thus, some key informants considered the VECs as a viable educational option for the Syrian children UTP, particularly working ones, who left school at the lower- or upper-secondary levels.

However, those key informants also shared the view that in spite of the flexibilities designed for the Syrian children UTP, there were problems at the stage of attracting and enrolling them to the VECs in practice. Firstly, it was stated that the Syrian children UTP, especially those who were actually working, could not fulfil the language certificate criteria, with the reason that the children could not attend language courses due to the need to work and not to lose income. However, the language requirement was lifted from the 2021–2022 school year to facilitate access of the Syrian children UTP to the VECs.

Secondly, it was indicated that although the children were paid in the VECs, some of them still preferred to work in the market, for instance, as some stated that it would be difficult to study and work at the same time, or they could work during seasonal agricultural period. And finally, some key informants reported that the location of the VECs or the workplaces could create concerns for the children, especially for the girls, as their parents did not want to send them to distant places to be reached only by vehicle. Considering all those factors, some key informants directed attention to the need for the schools or other support actors working in the field to further supervise the Syrian children UTP.

Other Education Programmes and Activities

As presented in Section 2.7, Syrian children UTP, both the OOS and at-risk children, are provided with a number of other educational opportunities such as Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP), Turkish language courses (TLCs), catch-up and back-up education opportunities through cooperation between the Turkish authorities, international organizations/agencies and non-governmental organizations. These practices, some of which take place at schools and some of which are provided in OOS settings such as PECs, aim to support the children in their transition to public schools and enable them acquire abilities such as Turkish language skills which would facilitate their integration to the education system.

Among the opportunities, to support in-school children in their courses and cover the loss of learning, the Homework Support (HWS) activity was initiated in Kilis in May 2018 and in Şanlıurfa in January 2021 through UNICEF and Kilis Municipality/Association for Combating Poverty and Unemployment (ACPU) and Şanlıurfa Metropolitan Municipality partnerships. In sum, 4,051 Syrian and Turkish children benefited from the HWS initiative in both provinces.

79 https://resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/12/20161209-5.htm.

Depending on MoNE data, Figure 14 in Section 4 not only highlights the variety of those other education programmes, but also shows that the number of Syrian children UTP attending the programmes has increased throughout the years; however, because of the COVID-19 pandemic there were some decreases in attendance in 2020. For example, the total number of ALP learners in two age categories (10–12 and 13–17) summed up to 23,954 (11,425 girls and 12,529 boys) by October 2020 (UNICEF, 2020).

Many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample voiced their appreciation of such programmes and stated that they were quite beneficial in terms of supporting children's future education prospects by enabling them to obtain equivalence for primary and lower-secondary school levels and learning the Turkish language. Moreover, some of the respondents reported that such programmes were especially important for ensuring education opportunities for the working children, to motivate them to stay in education and get a diploma.

Furthermore, the same respondent provided some examples where evening courses at the PECs were initiated for the working children. Finally, some respondents indicated that programmes like ALP help children learn the Turkish language, which was rather difficult to achieve in the adaptation classes of the schools.

The qualitative field research also enquired about the level of awareness about those other education programmes and reasons for sending their children (or not sending). Around half of the Syrian parents and children UTP in the qualitative study sample indicated that they did not hear about any of these other education opportunities, pointing to a lack of awareness among the beneficiaries. Some of the key informants stated that many different education opportunities were in place but there should be more efforts to attract and direct Syrian children and parents UTP to those kinds of initiatives.

Some other SVEP shared the observation that some programmes such as ALP were neither well-known nor were they available everywhere, thus they should be promoted further across a wider scale. However, in the qualitative data there is evidence that once the Syrian children and parents UTP are informed about these opportunities, there occurs a significant demand to benefit from them.

> **"Few people know about the ALP. And unfortunately, it is not available in all districts. If there is one in Fatih, there is not any in Gaziosmanpaşa. There is no information campaign about this programme. Of course, we inform our acquaintances somehow. But how many people can we reach? There are so many people who haven't heard of this programme."** (SVEP, İstanbul)

The other half of the Syrian children and parents UTP stated that they were informed about the Turkish language courses (and to a lesser extent about the ALP), and either themselves or some members of their families attended those courses. Although not all of the respondents were aware of the exact name or providers of those opportunities, some respondents named PECs, UNICEF, TRC, or schools in relation to those courses. In the study sample, there are also some Syrian children UTP and their parents who were informed about those programmes but could not enrol in them for reasons such as lack of ID cards, unwillingness of the children, lack of economic resources, or not having received a response to their application yet.

One last concern in relation to the implementation of these other education programmes was voiced in relation to the catch-up education practices. Believing in the benefits of the catch-up education for the children particularly in terms of acquiring Turkish language skills, some key informants voiced a concern that additional classes for children could sometimes overloaded children and decreased their full attendance to all of the activities. In a specific example, the children aged 11–14 who were attending the normal classes every morning were also given a programme predominantly based on the Turkish language in the afternoon, and in addition more courses were organized during the weekends. The respondent who voiced this example stated that although it was functioning properly at the beginning, such an overloaded programme eventually resulted in non-attendance of the children especially during the weekends.

School Supply-related Barriers

Regarding school supply-related factors a very positive observation showed the existence of a variety of school options for the Syrian children UTP in their transition from the Temporary Education Centres to Turkish Public Schools. The quantitative data shows that school enrolment of the Syrian children UTP in all types of public schools: general, Imam Hatip and vocational has steadily increased. In that context, the primary preference of Syrian children UTP and/or of their parents can be observed as the Imam Hatip schools, mostly due to the advantages of Arabic language classes.

One prominent barrier in the context of school supply has emerged as the distance from school which appears as a problem starting from the lower-secondary level. This is more prominent at the upper-secondary level and more for girls. In cases where there are no transportation services to schools at particular distances, it was observed to couple with economic problems and security concerns for the children, to act as reasons for irregular attendance, non-attendance and school drop-out.

The analysis shows that one of the barriers of education to the Syrian children UTP is a lack of awareness or information about different schooling options such as open schools or VECs. Even though students are automatically referred to open schools under particular conditions, open schools at lower- and upper-secondary levels as another schooling option for the Syrian children UTP does not seem to attract Syrian children UTP much. From the qualitative data, low levels of open school enrolment seem to stem from a low level of awareness about their availability, language barriers, and the nature of open education as a system different from the formal face-to-face education. VECs are a viable education option especially for the OOS and at-risk Syrian children UTP who work. However, the awareness about their existence is also observed to be low among the Syrian children UTP and their parents.

The qualitative analysis also shows the positive impact of other education programmes on the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP, particularly that of Turkish language courses or catch-up education initiatives. Lack of awareness about or limited availability of such educational activities may be considered as concerns which could limit the education prospects of particularly the Syrian OOSC UTP.

Table 23:
School Supply-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Commuting time/distance to school	**	*	**	**	**
Lack of transportation to school		*	**		***
Lack of awareness / information about different schooling options (open schools, VET, VECs)	***		*	***	*
Lack of awareness about other educational activities	***	*	*	***	*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.4.2 School Resources

To examine whether or not school resources act as a barrier to the education of the Syrian children UTP, this section analyses the factors related school resources on the basis of communication of schools/teachers with the parents, physical conditions of the schools, class size, mixed-gender classes, and learning materials/curriculum.

Healthy *communication of the school administrations and teachers with the parents* can act as an influential factor in eliminating irregular attendance, non-attendance and school drop-outs of Syrian children UTP, particularly for the at-risk children. In that context, there were two categories of Syrian parents UTP in the qualitative study sample. One of those are the Syrian parents and children UTP who indicated that the school administrations were quite helpful with the requests of the parents. They were supporting the children and trying to solve their problems. In the other category, some Syrian parents UTP indicated that they faced barriers in relation to communication with the school administrative and teachers. Some parents in this category stated that they could not fully communicate their thoughts, demands or the needs of their children to the schools.

> **"We had no problems. He likes school. He gets along well with his teachers and friends. Both the school administration and the teachers were asking about our expectations for our child. They were always appealing to our opinion."** (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

In general, two directions of communication can be identified from the qualitative data. In some cases, it was the schools which identified the Syrian students UTP at risk of drop-out or out of school and they proactively acted to avoid drop-outs or to ensure school enrolments. For some other cases, it was indicated that the Syrian parents or children UTP contacted the school administration, to communicate their demands and needs related to schools and school environments.

The qualitative data shows that the schools with their administrators, teachers and school counsellors put tremendous efforts to ensure communication with the Syrian parents UTP. From the qualitative data, the school administrations mentioned some methods were used to mobilise their school resources in this regard. One of those methods was indicated as following up the attendance and situation of the students at school and accordingly reaching out to the parents when needed. In that sense, the qualitative data shows that different actors, namely the school administrators, school counsellors and teachers assumed an important role for communicating with the parents. In the case of non-attendance of children, it was stated that they visited the households, informed the parents about the procedures (including the requirements of the conditional cash payments), invited the children to school, and provided them with guidance to help children's adaptation to school.

The qualitative data also shows that in terms of the problems that the students may face at school, internal mechanisms activated by schools, such as school counselling systems or school counsellors to investigate the reasons for these problems, and tried to solve them. Some key informants and teachers stated that school counsellors also acted as the resource persons for organizing household visits or contacting the parents, listening to their problems, searching for solutions to those problems and informing and directing students and parents to other education/schooling options, if necessary. In addition to the school counsellors, the class teachers were also mentioned to play an important role for communicating with the parents, as they were believed to be better informed about the situation of their students compared to the school counsellors.

There are some examples in the qualitative data where the teachers visited the households, brought educational materials to children, and informed the parents about the academic progress of their children. Last but not least, the school principals were also mentioned to be the actors to whom the parents developed trust with concerning the personal initiatives taken for the safety of children at school.

In the qualitative data, parent-teacher meetings were stated as another common method of communication of the school administrations with the parents. Organizing parent-teacher meetings at school was reported to be an efficient way to include Syrian parents UTP into their children's educational processes, not only academic success but also for raising awareness among the parents and finding solutions to children's problems in a collaborative way. Regarding the previously mentioned context, some key informants and teachers indicated that parent-teacher meetings organized in separate groups were quite instrumental in communicating the observed problems of students to their parents, informing them about the steps to be taken, providing the parents a space for expressing not only their problems, but also their needs and demands, and eventually developing

projects to overcome those problems altogether. It was also reported that considering Syrian parents UTP as actors to cooperate with and listening to their experiences also empowered the parents and ensured their positive attitudes towards schools and school administrations to facilitate their better integration into the education system as a mechanism to decrease school drop-outs.

A final method of communication was reported to be the establishment of venues for information sharing such as the "WhatsApp groups". Those groups are observed to include all the Syrian children UTP at school or their parents on the basis of classes, also with the involvement of SVEP, to be able to inform the children and/or their parents about the meetings or news related to school. Such groups were also reported to serve as an instrument to disseminate information to a wider group of parents who were not members of the groups, benefiting from the network of Syrian UTP population.

In terms of communication of the schools with the Syrian parents UTP, some concerns can also be identified from the statements of some of the key informants and teachers. One of the problems was indicated as the inability in reaching the Syrian parents UTP or engaging them in the educational process of their children at sufficient levels. In that sense, there were some key informants and teachers who voiced the difficulty of reaching the parents despite all their efforts (such as sending them letters or making general announcements).

Some key informants in the qualitative study sample reported an important consequence of the lack of communication with the parents as not being able to determine the reasons for children's non-attendance or drop-out. In addition, language problems were also indicated to be a point of concern for communication with the parents. The qualitative data also provide practices of overcoming the language barriers between the parents and the school administrations. For the verbal contacts with the schools, the parents were indicated to benefit from the help of others such as their relatives or SVEP who could assist them for translation purposes.

The schools in the qualitative data developed effective practices, such as recruiting a Syrian parent UTP or an Arabic-speaking teacher in the Parent Teacher Association, preparing the announcements and notifications also in Arabic, and reaching out to the networks of Syrian UTP population informally.

> **"An important pillar of education is the parents. If the parent wishes, the student can be included in education. But we cannot reach the parents, we cannot speak to them. That's why we cannot get to the root causes of the absenteeism problem. We cannot see if there is abuse at home."**
> (Teacher, Dimension 7, Bursa)

The qualitative data shows that healthy and inclusive communication between the school administrators and parents could achieve a series of improvements, to enhance the opportunities of Syrian children UTP at risk of dropping out to remain in school. From the qualitative data, one of the positive consequences of communication emerged as increasing the motivation of children. From this perspective, some Syrian parents UTP indicated that teachers' appreciation of the children's educational progress and sharing their appreciation with the parents positively influenced children and increased their motivation about education.

Secondly, it was reported that to the extent that the level of information of the parents about the school procedures increased as a result of communication, the parents could better follow their children's progress to keep them in school. A teacher indicated that this was particularly the case at the upper-secondary level, where the students could manipulate their families about the school procedures or their situation at schools, when the parents were not sufficiently informed about them due to a lack of communication and information. Finally, communication between the school and the parents, and any possible cooperation as a result of it, was indicated to facilitate the process of finding solutions to the problems that the Syrian children UTP might face at or in relation to attending school.

> **"My parents talked to school. My teacher told them how successful I am in the classes. That's why they love me. They really want me to get education and study. Of course, my father says 'if you study, you study for yourself. You will benefit from it.' He would like me to have a profession."**
> (Boy, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)

Communication of the school administrations and teachers with the parents became even more important during the COVID-19 pandemic. In the qualitative data, there were parents and children who reported that their frequency of communication with the schools decreased during the pandemic. The relationship between the communication and pandemic is further elaborated in Section 5.5. Pandemic as a Barrier.

From the qualitative data, the *physical conditions of the schools* did not seem to be a major problem for the Syrian children and parents UTP, as it was not voiced in the interviews. It is an issue that some of the key informants and teachers voiced. Some key informants and teachers seemed to be positive about the physical conditions of their schools in terms of the availability of technological equipment and infrastructure, classrooms, physical environment for the students including the requirements of the students with disabilities (such as wheelchair ramps), or financial resources.

However, there were also some key informants and teachers, who pointed out to some physical limitations of the schools such as the out-of-service elevators or limited technological equipment (such as the smart boards or computers). A peculiar example was provided for Bursa, where the students of two different schools had to share one school building as some school buildings had to be demolished due to the risk of earthquake.

An important component of the physical conditions of the schools is the *class size*, measured as the number of students per classroom at different education levels. Table 4 in Section 2.4.2. shows that according to the MoNE National Statistics Yearbook (2019–2020), the average class size is 21.5 students in primary education, 24.5 in lower-secondary education and 29.3 in upper-secondary education. However, some key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample stated that the number of students per classroom could go higher in particular provinces or districts, in particular types of schools (e.g., Anatolian upper-secondary schools) or in particular grades (e.g., Grades 9, 11, and 12) in some schools, which could in some cases diminish the school enrolment chances of the Syrian children UTP.

In the qualitative data, the Syrian children UTP or their parents voiced no particular concerns about the class size. There are also some key informants who stated that although enrolment of the Syrian children UTP to schools may increase the class sizes (e.g., up to 40 students in some provinces/schools), the schools still had the capacity to absorb those children numbers. Still, some key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample were slightly concerned about the class size for some reasons.

For example, some key informants indicated that since the number of schools was not sufficient, and accordingly, the student populations of their schools were high, they could not allocate any quotas for the Syrian children UTP or simply they could not accept those children to their schools. This is particularly an issue indicated to be relevant for the Syrian children UTP who do not have an ID card, and who had to be "guest students".

> **"I am talking about students who have not been able to obtain residence or registration. This is the problem with them. Well, there are no places, no schools would like to admit them. Personally, they come to me, for example, as a guest student, I cannot take them. Because my 9th grade classes have 55 students now. I'm just talking about [the number of] Turkish students."**
> (Key Informant, Male, General Upper-secondary School, İstanbul)

Some key informants and teachers believed that increasing the school supply and providing a balanced distribution of Syrian children UTP to different schools would be helpful in ensuring their school enrolment. In terms of the consequences of big class sizes for the Syrian students UTP, some key informants pointed out to the practice of proportional distribution of Syrian children UTP to classes in order to avoid concentration at particular classes and to ensure their integration in terms of language and culture. Finally, it was also reported that placement of the Syrian children UTP in crowded classes could create the risk for teachers not being able to respond to their particular needs due to limitations of time and physical space.

The qualitative data shows that *mixed-gender classes* may be a reason for remaining out of school, especially for the Syrian girls UTP, at the lower- and upper-secondary levels, due to the conservative gender norms prevalent in the family and previous education experiences with non-mixed-gender classes. Although none of the parents and children in the qualitative data sampling mentioned such a concern explicitly, there were some teachers and SVEP in particular that noted that some Syrian parents UTP did not prefer sending their girls to school because of the mixed-gender classes, where the girls could sit next to a boy, talk to them or play with them.

The consequences of such a preference were reported to limit the education options of the Syrian children UTP, as girls were either: sent to Imam Hatip schools, they were asked to leave the school if registered to general schools, or were not sent to school at all. In addition, most of the Imam Hatip schools are mixed-gender schools, but girls only Imam Hatip schools have also been operational.

Regarding *learning materials*, as another aspect of school resources, the qualitative data points out to two major issues: the curriculum and the language problem. Some of the SVEP in the qualitative study sample indicated that compared to those in Syria, the curricula of some courses such as chemistry, physics, or science at Turkish public schools were different and generally harder for the Syrian children UTP, particularly at the lower- and upper-secondary levels. In addition, some teachers also considered some of the courses such as Turkish literature as difficult for those children.

The issue of curricula is related to two interrelated language problems. One of them is that in some cases the Syrian children UTP were stated not to be competent at all in Turkish language, to limit their chances to follow the course content from the learning materials.

The second one is that even in cases where the Syrian children UTP were more competent in Turkish language, they were still reported to have problems that could emerge as an outcome of having education in another language than their mother tongue, which could limit their reading comprehension capacities. Such problems were mentioned to occur more in course topics like literature, social sciences, or chemistry, where some children had difficulties as the Turkish language skills used in the daily life were different from the concepts or grammar taught at those courses. Particularly valid for those cases, an important aspect of the language problem was indicated that since the number of household members who were competent in Turkish was limited, the children could not easily receive any assistance or guidance at home for the course topics that they could not grasp well from the learning materials or from the teacher, whilst in school.

In addition, extra learning materials or resources, apart from those provided by the MoNE, namely the textbooks and supplementary resource support package booklets, to support the education of the Syrian children UTP were noted to bring additional costs for the households that they could not easily afford. The key informants and teachers pointed out similar problems about open education, which may require better Turkish language comprehension skills due to the nature of this kind of an education setting.

Such problems were indicated to result in learning losses for some Syrian children UTP, as they also limited their in-class participation and communication with the teachers on the course topics. Some teachers suggested that specific learning materials prepared for foreigners and more interactive course content depending on applied teaching practices would considerably help Syrian children UTP to grasp the learning materials and content better.

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School Resources-related Barriers

Concerning school resources, as the second component of the school supply and quality factor, the most prominent barrier for the education of Syrian children UTP at all age groups is the limited communication between the school administrations and teachers with the Syrian parents UTP. Although large class sizes may negatively affect the learning prospects of the Syrian children UTP who sometimes require more attention from the teachers, physical conditions of the schools and class sizes do not seem to act as a barrier for these children's education.

Mixed-gender classes, on the other hand, seem to be influential on parents' preferences of school types for their children, especially for girls at the lower- and upper-secondary-levels. Learning materials are observed as a barrier when the issue is considered together with the language barriers and to a lesser extent with the content of the curricula. This barrier seems to affect a group of Syrian children UTP with low language skills at both lower- and upper-secondary levels, especially when the course topics start to get more advanced.

Table 24:
School Resources-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Limited communication between the school/teacher and the parents	**	***	***	**	***
Insufficient physical conditions of the schools					
Big class size	*	*	*	*	*
Existence of mixed-gender classes	**		*	**	**
Learning materials/curriculum	**	*	**	**	**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.4.3 Teacher Characteristics

The teachers are often the primary actors to ensure the well-being of children in school. The qualitative data shows that many key informants and teachers acknowledged the important role of the teachers (class teachers, school counsellors, branch teachers and the school administrators) as key actors to achieve the integration of the Syrian children UTP to education, by ensuring the establishment of strong bonds between the Syrian children UTP and the education system and schools they attend. The importance of the teachers was also emphasised to overcome the exclusion and alienation of the Syrian children UTP from the school. The teachers were perceived as agents to discover the potential of children and support them further, to appreciate and encourage them in education, to let children express themselves, and to provide care and interest in children to ensure that they developed bonds with the school.

Embracing children regardless of their language, culture or economic situation, and being considerate about their problems and situation at home, at school and in society, were mentioned as important components of integration of Syrian children UTP into the education system.

In addition, teacher characteristics such as being supportive and encouraging, sympathising/empathising with the children and their sensitivities (especially with the adolescents), understanding and responding to their needs. Also, avoiding conflicts and tensions with the children and among the children were noted to be instrumental in positively motivating children for education and school, as well as avoiding the risks of non-attendance and school drop-outs.

To a great extent, positive perceptions of Syrian children and parents UTP about the teachers emerge from the qualitative data. Some of the Syrian children UTP stated that they did not have any problems with the teachers, they liked their teachers, they felt the care of their teachers, they thought that their teachers were helpful and putting efforts for their learning, their teachers were kind and respectful to them, their teachers appreciated them, and they did not face any discrimination from their teachers.

Similarly, some Syrian parents UTP indicated that the teachers were helpful, and even bringing books for their children to home. They were also supportive to parents in dealing with the problems of the children faced both at home and at school, and the teachers were treating their children well. In addition, some key informants and teachers also underlined that positive approaches to Syrian children UTP were well received and the Syrian children and parents UTP responded positively.

To a lesser extent, there were also some Syrian parents and children UTP in the qualitative study sample who indicated that the children had problems in communication with their teachers.

From the qualitative data, the limited communication between the teachers and the Syrian children UTP seems to stem from language inabilities from both sides. Some key informants and teachers stated that in some cases the teachers needed to overcome the language barriers to be able to communicate with the children, which was not always easy due to the number of Syrian children UTP in their classroom or high student populations in the classroom in general. In addition, some teachers attracted attention to the need for further trainings for the self-development of the teachers to be able to deal with intercultural student environments.

Limited communication with the teacher was reported to create some problems for the children. For instance, limited communication due to the language problems was stated to perpetuate some prejudices towards the Syrian children UTP. A key informant mentioned that when the children could not grasp well the course topics or teachers' explanations in the classroom due to lack of Turkish language skills, such an inability could be attributed to the cultural or ethnical characteristics of the children rather than their language problems.

Existence of SVEP in some schools and the cooperation between those teachers and the other teachers at school were reported to be quite beneficial and supportive in terms of establishing healthy communication with the children. In some instances, the teachers also reported cases of overcoming the language barriers in which they benefited from the language-related advantages in certain provinces such as Hatay, where use of Arabic language among the population is wide-spread.

Another aspect of perceptions about the teachers was the perceived attitudes of the teachers towards the Syrian children UTP in their schools. Some Syrian parents UTP in the qualitative study sample stated that they sometimes felt their children received limited attention from their teachers, which could create some negative feelings for the children about the school experience. However, parents highlighted the importance of teachers' leadership in conflict resolution and mediation in order to support healthy school environments and the well-being of the children.

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Considered from the perspective of the teachers, it is also possible to observe that some key informants and teachers did not perceive their own educational experiences as being sufficient enough to fully support the Syrian children UTP, especially at the upper-secondary level. In that context, some teachers underlined their intentions of self-development and voiced their need for further support activities, such as seminars for the teachers, not in quantitative but in qualitative terms, that would equip them well in dealing with the high number of Syrian children UTP in their classrooms or enhance their learning capacities through educational activities. The table below presents some of the projects of the General Directorate of Teacher Training and Development to increase teachers' educational competences.

Some of the Projects of General Directorate of Teacher Training and Education to increase teachers' educational competences:

- Project for Training of Ministry of National Education Teachers with Foreign Students in Class (*Sınıfında Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrenci Bulunan Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Öğretmenlerinin Eğitimi Projesi*)
- Project for Teachers' Training Module on Inclusive Education (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Öğretmen Eğitimi Modülü Projesi*)
- Project for Teachers' Trainings of Teachers' Training Module on Inclusive Education (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Öğretmen Eğitimi Modülü Öğretmen Eğitimleri Projesi)*
- Project for Teachers' Training Module on Inclusive Education – Trainings for Administrators (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Öğretmen Eğitimi Modülü Projesi Yönetici Eğitimleri*)
- Project for the Development of Guidance Skills of Pre-primary and Classroom Teachers in the Context of Inclusive Education (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Bağlamında Okul Öncesi ve Sınıf Öğretmenlerinin Rehberlik Becerilerinin Geliştirilmesi Projesi*)
- Professional Development Project of School Administrators in the Context of Inclusive Education (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Bağlamında Okul Yöneticilerinin Mesleki Gelişim Projesi*)
- Strengthening Teacher Capacity for Teaching Turkish as a Second Language in the Context of Inclusive Education (*Kapsayıcı Eğitim Bağlamında Türkçenin İkinci Dil Olarak Öğretilmesine Yönelik Öğretmen Kapasitesinin Güçlendirilmesi Projesi*)

Teacher Characteristics-related Barriers

Teacher characteristics are observed to act as a barrier mainly in the form of limited communication of the teacher with the Syrian children UTP, which may also stem from students' lack of Turkish skills.

The qualitative analysis shows that healthy communication between the teacher and the children and positive attitudes of teachers, such as appreciation or care, considerably increases the motivation of children towards education. On the other hand, difficulties in communication with students may also act as a barrier more for the older age groups as the children become more sensitive during adolescence. The challenges teachers face especially in managing classrooms including refugee students did not appear as an influential factor for non-attendance or school drop-outs from the perspective of the children and parents. However, many teachers in the qualitative study sample themselves refer to the need for their own self-development in terms of dealing better with the Syrian children UTP and with language barriers.

Table 25:
Teacher Characteristics-related Barriers

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Limited communication between teacher and the children	**	*	**	***	**
Teachers' attitude	***	*	**	***	**
Teachers' lack of educational experience	*	*	*	*	*

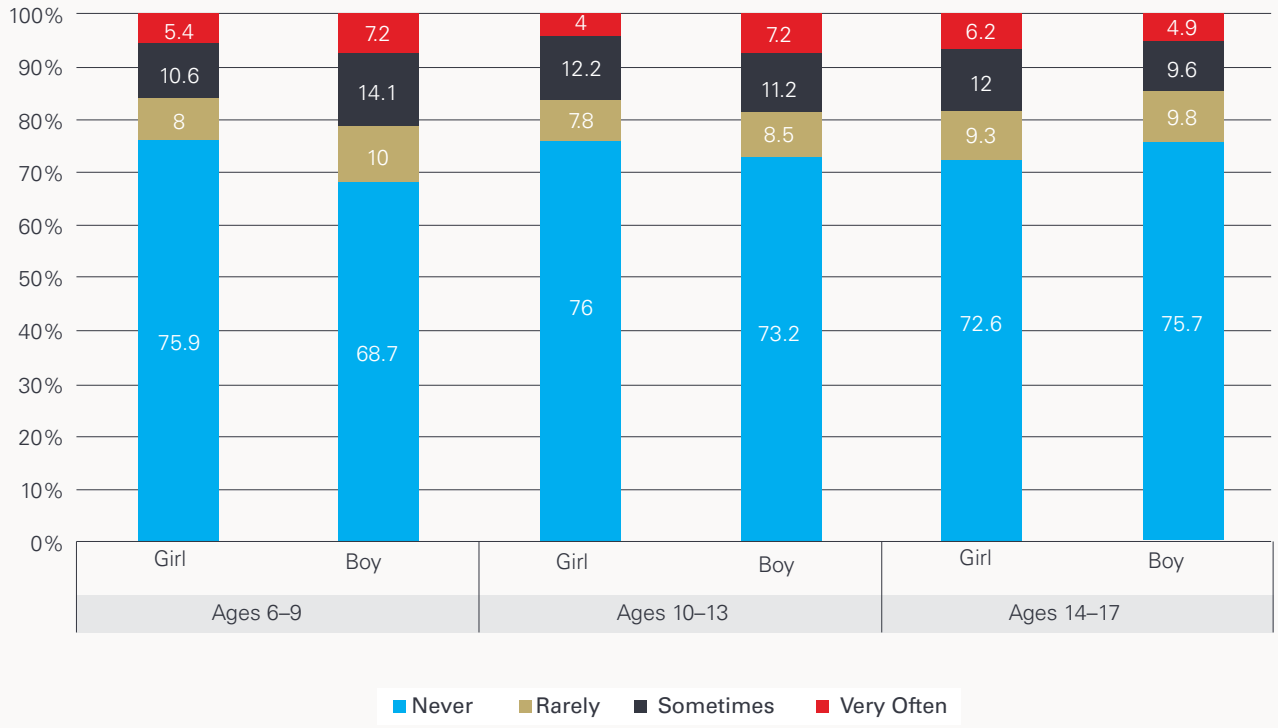
Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.4.4 Security in School

Both the quantitative and qualitative data shows that security in the school is a major concern for the Syrian children UTP, who are already enrolled to a school. A major threat to security of children appears as *bullying in school and school climate*, which is observed to take various forms with severe consequences, including non-attendance and school drop-outs for the Syrian children UTP. In this section, in light of the quantitative and qualitative data, security issues are analysed in relation to the safety of the Syrian children UTP in the school environment in a way to show the extent, reasons, types, consequences and coping mechanisms with the security threats.

The quantitative data from UNICEF Monitoring Data for three waves show that among the CCTE beneficiary Syrian children UTP, security threats, in the form of bullying, intimidation and violence are prevalent. A significant proportion (roughly 7–8 per cent) of Syrian OOSC UTP aged 10–17 cited bullying and insecurity as the reason for not being in school. As shown in Figure 48, although nearly 85 per cent of all respondents reported "never" or "rarely" being bullied at school, another 11–12 per cent reported that it happens "sometimes", and 4–6 per cent indicated that it happens "very often".

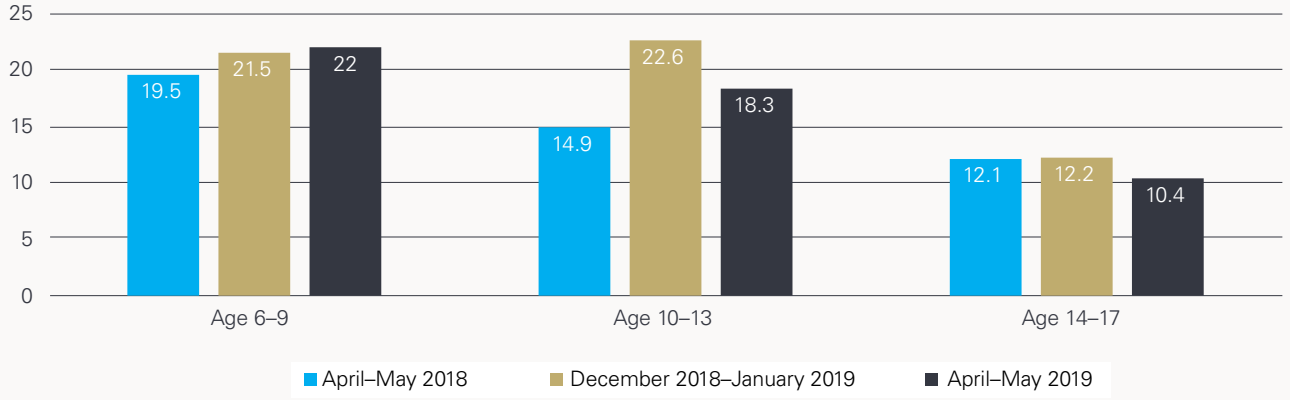
Figure 48:
Student-reported Frequency of Bullying at School by Age and Gender



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2018–2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2018–2019 (42,778).

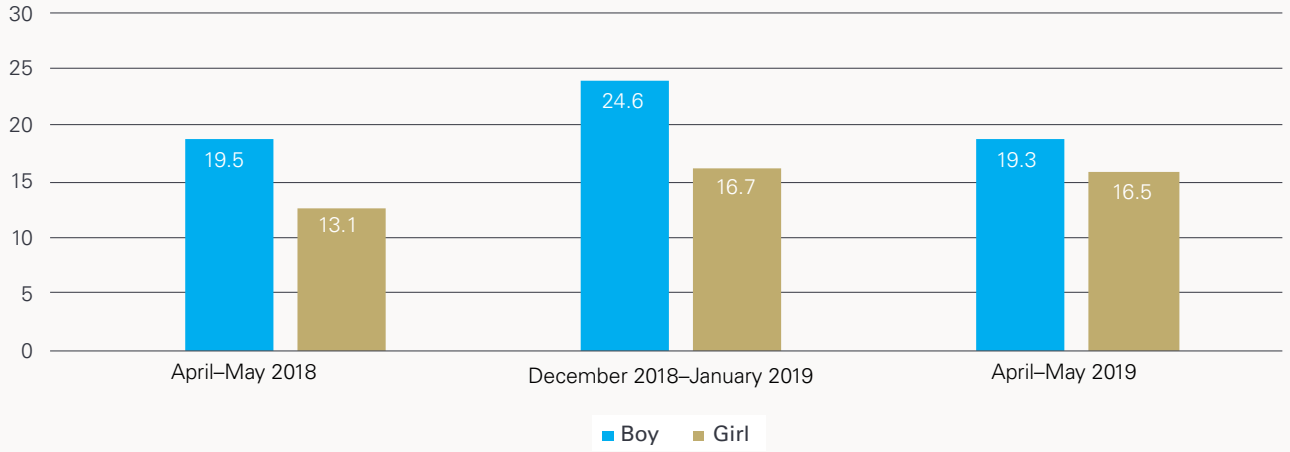
A closer look at the security threats according to the age groups, Figure 49 shows that insecurity is more of a concern for the 6–9 and 10–13 age groups, than the 14–17 age groups, and there is a slight decrease of bullying instances for the 10–13 and 14–17 age groups in years. When the gender dimension of bullying, intimidation and violence is concerned, the numbers in Figure 50 indicates that girls in all age groups are less likely to report being subject to bullying compared to boys, although both groups show a similar tendency of being bullied (UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2020).

Figure 49:
Bullying, Intimidation and Violence in School by Age Groups Reported by Syrian Children UTP (%)



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (315,802); 2018–2019 (390,335).

Figure 50:
Bullying, Intimidation and Violence in School by Gender Reported by Syrian Children UTP (%)



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (315,802); 2018–2019 (390,335).

The qualitative data provides evidence in terms of the *extent of security threats*, particularly bullying. Some key informants and teachers reported that bullying was more prevalent against younger Syrian children UTP. It usually started from Grades 3 and 4 and increased in the lower-secondary levels, and affected boys more than compared to girls. It is also a striking observation that many Syrian OOSC UTP aged 14–17 (Dimension 6) reported various instances of bullying in relation to their previous school experiences.

Regarding the extent of bullying at school, some key informants and teachers stated that bullying was not a systematic phenomenon. It could appear more in some localities, and it was not a threat specifically towards the Syrian children UTP but has been equally affecting all children in the school environment. A last observation on the extent of bullying is that it was not mentioned to always occur from the Turkish students towards the Syrian children UTP. It was also possible to find some instances of bullying in form of conflicts or fights between different groups of Syrian children UTP such as Arabic-speaking, Kurdish-speaking or Turkmen Syrian children UTP as a phenomenon observed in relation to the composition of the adaptation classes.

Some *reasons for bullying* at school emerged from the qualitative data. As both Syrian children and parents UTP, and some key informants and teachers in the qualitative data sample expressed, the reasons for bullying are multiple.

One of the reasons was reported as the communication problems related to language barriers. Many key informants and teachers stated that when the children could not express themselves well due to the language barriers, or their inability of speaking in Turkish properly or incorrect pronunciation of words could result in the negative reactions from the other students at school. As a related topic, poor academic performance in the classes due to lack of language skills (e.g., during the oral exams in front of the class) was also reported to cause negative attitudes and acts from other students.

In addition, it was reported that age differences among the students in the same classroom due to overage enrolment may emerge as a reason for bullying in some cases.

Physical appearance, poor clothing (due to economic reasons), and disabilities of the children were mentioned as some other reasons of being exposed to bullying. The final reported reason refers to a wider and structural phenomenon.

The qualitative data shows that socially reproduced sentiments among the members of the host community could also have a reflection on the attitudes and behaviours of the children at school. Many key informants and teachers reported that social prejudices and false news spread through the media and reproduced at the households could result in exclusion of Syrian children UTP in the school environment by their peers.

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The qualitative data helps identify some types of bullying which the respondents reported in the qualitative study sample at the school environment. These include *verbal bullying* (e.g., verbal assaults, nicknaming, teasing/mocking) and social bullying (e.g., being left out of the peer group). Some instances of *physical bullying* were also mentioned in the form of hitting, kicking or fights between groups of children.

Interestingly, no *cyberbullying* cases emerged from the qualitative data, probably due to the low economic levels of the Syrian UTP households and limited availability of technological devices owned by the Syrian children UTP.

All different instances of bullying were reported to create severe *consequences* for the Syrian children UTP. Firstly, the qualitative data shows that the children were psychologically affected by those instances as they felt fear, hardship, sadness, loneliness, self-protective and/or desperation, which might even sometimes necessitate psychological support. They started to develop negative feelings towards those children who made trouble or towards the school; or, they started to develop arguments such as they did not need to go to school but start working instead.

A practical mechanism of coping with bullying at school was reported and appeared either as self-isolation or forming their own groups of friends composed of other Syrian children UTP at school and only socialising within their own groups. Some key informants and teachers indicated that such moves resulted in obstacles for the integration of those children into the school environment.

The qualitative data shows that when the children felt that they cannot cope well with the bullying practices at school, then two severe consequences could occur: increasing non-attendance and school drop-outs. There were Syrian parents UTP in the qualitative study sample who indicated that when their children were exposed to bullying either within or outside of the school, the knowledge of their parents knowing about the bullying, made them not want to attend school.

Secondly, the qualitative data provided some examples of the instances where no solutions could be developed to eliminate bullying, the children themselves or their parents decided about them leaving the schooll. It is also important to state that bullying as a reason for non-attendance or school drop-out can also be observed in combination with other factors such as low academic performance due to language barriers or the need to work instead of attending school.

> "I got such a reaction from the family in a visit I made today. The family was concerned about the problem [by stating] that 'Yes, we could get over these a little in primary school. The children were not physically very strong. In this respect, I could send my daughter to school. Now she is at the lower-secondary level. Her peers grew up and developed. Physically, she now suffers more when she is bullied. When she starts with the upper-secondary school one day tomorrow, how shall we send this girl to school?'"
> (Key Informant, Female, Adana)

> "Peer bullying is situation we encounter a lot. Unfortunately, children are quite cruel in this regard. 'You are a Syrian, why did you flee your country?' They are saying things that are too big to hear from a child, because the children convey the things they hear from their parents spoken at home. Peer bullying is a huge factor in the children's being out of school. Children absolutely do not want to go to school. They drop-out and it gets really hard to return them back to school." (Key Informant, Female, İzmir)

The qualitative data also provides information about *the mechanisms* that the Syrian parents UTP utilised in cases of their children being bullied at school. Some of the Syrian parents UTP stated that they informed the school administrations about the bullying instances and asked them to help overcome such problems. As a result, in some cases the school administrations were observed to take some measures against bullying at school to assure the parents about the safety of their children at school.

> "10 children crossed his path and beat my son. It was repeated several times. ... Then I did not send him to school for some 15 days. I heard that the school principal asked why he did not come to school. I went to see the principal. I explained him the situation. Thanks to the principal, he said, 'You bring the child to school, I am taking the responsibility. His responsibility belongs to me. ...Don't be afraid, I will accompany your son home if necessary.' Then, my son started attending school regularly." (Father, Dimension 7, Adana)

A last observation in relation to bullying is that the impact of bullying on the Syrian children UTP are not always evident. The qualitative data shows that talking about bullying with the children and overcoming its negative effects on them may require specialised efforts from parents and teachers, as some schools were mentioned to have initiated these facilities through their guidance services. In that sense, support and supervision to parents were proposed not only to better understand the reasons for children's unwillingness towards school and concomitant non-attendance or drop-outs, but also to better avoid bullying instances in the future.

> "The perception of Syrians in the society, the perspective of some families and some children may be different. In order to prevent this, we have initiated activities with our guidance service. We have almost never encountered such problems in our school, except for minor incidents. But we hear them, we see them unfortunately. Here is the point of view of the people in the society, a slightly different view of Syrian children or Syrian families, you know. These can somewhat alienate Syrian children from school."
> (Key informant, Hatay)

Barriers Related to Security in School

Security in school, as the fourth component of school supply and quality, mostly expresses itself in the form of bullying and is clearly a barrier for all age groups and both sexes. The extent of exposure to bullying at school is observed to result in irregular attendance, non-attendance and when combined with other factors such as low academic performance or the need to work, it may (eventually) result in school drop-out.

Table 26:
Barriers Related to Security in School and on the Way to School

Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Bullying/school environment	***	***	***	***	***

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.5 COVID-19 Pandemic and the Education of Syrian Children UTP

The unexpected outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic at the beginning of 2020 has brought together a number of negative effects on all aspects of life at a global scale, and education has not been an exception. Children and their parents across the globe have had to face and cope with the challenges created by the pandemic on the regular functioning of the education systems. Similar to many countries in the world, one of the first measures in the field of education was to close down the schools in Türkiye on 16 March 2020 and since then, schools have been partially opened or closed at different periods in the course of the pandemic in the country. From March 2020 till September 2021, education at all levels was delivered through distance education and as summarised in Section 2.4, a number of measures have been taken for developing the infrastructure for and provision of distance education.

In this section, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, particularly during the distance education period, are analysed in light of the qualitative data collected for this study. The field research of the study was designed before the outbreak of the pandemic and did not include any specific questions about the effects of the pandemic. However, as the field research was conducted during the first year of the pandemic, the qualitative data inevitably reflected different aspects of the experiences of the Syrian children UTP and their parents, key informants and teachers/SVEP with the conditions created by the pandemic on education. Thus, the qualitative data were detailed enough to make a brief analysis of the first year of the pandemic concerning the education of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, particularly of those who were already in school (Dimension 4, Dimension 5 and Dimension 7) when the pandemic has started.

The first observation from the qualitative data is that all the Syrian at-risk children UTP at all levels of education and their parents in the qualitative study sample were informed/aware about the transition to distance education from face-to-face education. However, in the qualitative data, some of the Syrian children UTP were reported to not fully benefit from the distance education practice, both compared to some other Syrian at-risk children UTP, and to the Turkish students in their schools. For example, one of the primary school teachers from Gaziantep in the qualitative sample indicated that whilst the pandemic affected the education of all the children it affected the Syrian children UTP more, as she observed that none of the 14 Syrian students UTP out of 25 students in her classroom had attended any of the online classes, due to a variety of reasons such as lack of equipment or internet, which are discussed in this section in detail.

Although there were Syrian at-risk children UTP who stated that they could attend online classes regularly, there were also some other children and their parents who reported that children could not properly and regularly attend/follow the courses. Below, the experiences of the children with distance education during the pandemic are analysed for both groups of at-risk children (those who could attend and those who could not attend), considering the reasons and consequences of their differential experiences with distance education, categorised on the basis of demand-side and supply-side factors.

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5.5.1 COVID-19 Pandemic and Demand-side Factors

All different groups of respondents in the qualitative study sample voiced economic factors as the most prevalent reason for not being able to attend or regularly follow distance education by all different groups of respondents in the qualitative study sample. Economic factors were observed to have an effect regarding the lack of technical equipment and decreasing income levels for the households, bringing child labour back into the picture.

As the technical equipment such as computers, tablets, smartphones, televisions and internet connection have been the major prerequisites for distance education, a lack of equipment can be considered as a direct reason for not being able to benefit from distance education. A majority of the Syrian at-risk children UTP and their parents in the qualitative study sample indicated that they did not own the required technological equipment in their households, to reflect the economic problem levels of those households as elaborated in Section 5.2.1 Lack of Resources and Poverty.

It was observed that in many cases there was only one (or at most two) mobile phones in a household, mostly owned by the fathers and in many cases, no internet connections were available. There was only one child in the qualitative study sample who indicated that he had a computer, but he also stated that he could not attend the courses after the computer had broken down. Lack of equipment was also observed to become a more serious barrier when there was more than one student in the household in line with the high number of children in the Syrian UTP families as mentioned in Section 5.2.1. Some key informants indicated that through school administrations, MoNE provided equipment and internet support to students in need. However, in the qualitative data, none of the Syrian parents UTP stated that they had benefited from the distribution of tablets or internet by MoNE.

> "I could not follow my online classes because I do not have a tablet. I am waiting for the schools to be reopened I so can continue my education. I love the school very much."
> (Girl, Dimension 5, Izmir)
>
> "I cannot go to school right now due to the coronavirus, nor can I follow courses at home because there is only one phone at home and my father takes the phone with him while going to work. My school has stopped due to coronavirus. I used to go everyday."
> (Boy, Dimension 5, Hatay)

Consequences of a lack of equipment for Syrian children UTP were either that they could not attend courses at all or could not follow the courses regularly. In the latter cases, attendance was irregular because children stated to use the equipment (mostly a smartphone) on a rotation basis with other siblings who also had to follow courses; or their attendance on their course was interrupted when the parent, who owned the only mobile devices, had to leave the house. Another way of being able to follow the courses was indicated to share neighbours' internet access for children's distance education. In addition, it was stated that some children were sent to live with close relatives to benefit from their internet access and technological devices for education purposes.

An important observation here is that some of those Syrian at-risk children UTP, who could not follow distance education, mentioned that they were regularly attending school before the pandemic. Such instances make it clear that a lack of equipment had impacted and interrupted the education prospects of those regular school attendees.

> "He startedworking at the hairdresser. There is not enough equipment for distance education. When the schools were closed, he started to work in the hairdresser. We could not buy a laptop or tablet. We said, 'he also learns profession'." (Father, Dimension 5, Gaiantep)
>
> "I was following online classes. But my computer broke down. I could not get it repaired. That's why I started to work again. The new computer is very expensive."
> (Boy, Dimension 5, Gaziantep)
>
> "Yes, I sometimes work in a furnishing store where there is a job. My boss is Turkish, he calls me when there is a job. My boss wants me to study, he is not against me going to school. I work regularly in corona days because there is no school. I used to go to work after school before corona. I love both studying and working."
> (Boy, Dimension 5, Izmir)

From the qualitative data, income loss was observed to be another economic factor which negatively affected the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP during the pandemic. There were numerous children and parents who indicated that the main earner (father or the working children in the household) lost their jobs during the pandemic. The consequence of income loss was observed to be two-fold among the households in the qualitative study sample. It was observed to constrain opportunities for purchasing equipment needed for engaging in distance education; and there was additional pressure to guarantee some level of income during the pandemic. The latter factor was observed to have resulted in more child labour cases, particularly among Syrian at-risk boys UTP aged 10–13 (Dimension 5). On this point, there were some teachers/SVEP in the study sample who expressed their concerns about those children by stating that it would require more effort to get those children back into school after the pandemic.

Another demand-side factor, which negatively affected the distance education prospects of the Syrian at-risk children UTP, particularly those of the girls, was observed as the increasing domestic responsibilities at home. Those children who used to go to school before the pandemic were indicated to be exposed to more domestic responsibilities during the pandemic, to decrease their participation levels to the distance education activities. Here, the high number of household members staying at home during the pandemic, especially during the lock-down periods were observed to affect the Syrian at-risk girls UTP more, limiting their chances to attend distance education. As a phenomenon to be fought against, UNICEF has already highlighted the increasing risk for early marriages due to the negative effects of the pandemic, by warning that "school closures, economic stress, service disruptions, pregnancy, and parental deaths due to the pandemic are putting the most vulnerable girls at increased risk of early and forced marriage"[80].

The qualitative data shows that the COVID-19 pandemic also created some socio-emotional stress for the Syria children UTP, to adversely affect the well-being of children and their integration to school and society. It is possible to observe from the qualitative data that the pandemic limited the opportunities of children to socialise apart from the school environment, which were already reported to be limited before the pandemic as shown in Section 5.1.4 Social Cohesion. Those Syrian children UTP who had the chance to go outside, playing or studying homework with friends before the pandemic were observed to lose contact with their human and physical environments, especially during the curfews specifically not allowing children to go out for the first months of the pandemic.

When the effects of the pandemic on the education of Syrian at-risk children UTP are considered in relation to human capital as a demand-side factor, the qualitative data pointed out the lack of Turkish language skills and lack of support from the parents appear as two important barriers, which were observed to limit the chances for benefiting from distance education.

There were some key informants and teachers who indicated that even in cases where the technical requirements (the equipment and the registration to the EBA system) were in place, some of the Syrian children UTP with low Turkish language skills could not follow the lectures and course content properly and they eventually stopped attending online classes. This emerged as a problem particularly for younger age groups, namely primary and lower-secondary school students (Dimension 4 and Dimension 5). There were also some Syrian parents UTP who stated that during the pandemic their children could not learn Turkish in the distance education system.

Another problem in relation to human capital was observed to be a lack of support from parents. Some Syrian children UTP in the qualitative study sample stated that they could benefit from the support of their friends at school when they had any questions on course content, which became impossible during the pandemic. In addition, some of the parents also indicated that it became extremely difficult for them to follow up their children's progress or level of participation in online courses, and they could not support them in that process. Thus, children seemed to be rather lonely in their distance education experience, which is likely to be a factor decreasing the academic performance of the children.

80 https://www.unicef.org/Türkiye/en/press-releases/10-million-additional-girls-risk-child-marriage-due-covid-19.

COVID-19 Pandemic and Demand-side Barriers

Since March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic has been an influential factor on the conditions of education provision in Türkiye, affecting millions of students, their parents and education staff. Throughout the pandemic, some barriers to children's access and attendance to distance education could be identified from the qualitative data. In general, the negative effects of the pandemic were more evident for the on-going education Syrian at-risk children UTP (Dimension 4, 5 and 7), as not all children in this category could efficiently adapt to distance education. As a result, many Syrian children UTP were reported not to follow or could only have limited and irregular access to distance education.

From the qualitative data, a lack of equipment was observed to be the major barrier for all age groups of Syrian at-risk children UTP. In addition, a loss of income for the main earners of the households during the pandemic seemed to create more dependence on child labour to ensure some levels of income for the households.

It is possible to see that due to the pandemic, at-risk boys aged 10–13 became more likely to enter the labour market. This is a factor which is likely to affect their education prospect negatively after the pandemic. For the at-risk girls, it was the increasing domestic responsibilities which were observed to create obstacles for attending distance education regularly.

All children in the qualitative study sample were observed to have experienced some socio-emotional stress to further restrict their chances of well-being and social cohesion. Lack of Turkish language skills emerged as a reason diminishing the effectiveness of the online courses for the children and decreasing their attendance levels.

Table 27:
COVID-19 Pandemic and Demand-side Barriers

Domain	Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
		D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Economic barriers	Lack of equipment and internet		***	***		***
	Loss of income	**	**	***	**	***
	Child labour	**		***	**	***
Socio-cultural barriers	Increasing domestic responsibilities	**	**	***	**	***
Social cohesion	Socio-emotional stress	**	***	***	**	***
Human capital	Lack of support from parents		**	**		**

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.5.2 COVID-19 Pandemic and Supply-side Factors

The qualitative data also points out to some supply-side factors that have influenced the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the education prospects of the Syrian at-risk children UTP. During the first year of the pandemic, education was provided through distance education. The infrastructure of the distance education was provided by EBA, the digital educational portal of MoNE, functioned as a website and mobile application. In addition, EBA TV channels also broadcasted courses, prepared for both the basic and secondary education. In addition, some teachers indicated that they used platforms such as Zoom, and also set up WhatsApp groups to send materials to students or receive their assignments.

There were some Syrian children UTP and their parents in the qualitative study sample who reported some difficulties in accessing the EBA system. For example, it was mentioned that the EBA system did not work on their mobile phones, or they did not have EBA TV channels on their televisions. In addition, some SVEP also stated that the course schedule, which was sometimes overlapping for different grades, did not allow some Syrian children UTP to follow the courses in the household where there were numerous students at different grades with the limited number of technical equipment available.

Another reason for having difficulty in accessing the EBA system was stated as the lack of technical knowledge for the requirements of the online education system. Although there were some parents who indicated that the teachers of the children informed them about how to use the system, there were also other cases who had some difficulties such as password problems. Some Syrian at-risk children UTP stated that although the school provided the login details, they did not know how to use the system on their phones.

Some teachers indicated a reason for such difficulties was that the children or their parents were not competent with the software like Zoom used for distance education and they could not decode the instructions easily, also due to the lack of language skills. Thus, as some SVEP indicated, the Syrian children UTP and their parents needed more technical support regarding the modalities of distance education during the pandemic.

The qualitative data also shows that the Syrian at-risk children UTP and parents were not aware of the EBA support services, such as the EBA Support Centres at schools and EBA Mobile Support Centres established by MoNE and the TRC. As one of the key informants indicated that mostly due to the language barriers, most of the parents could not follow the MoNE's support services during the distance education period.

Concerning the learning materials, some Syrian parents UTP indicated that they received them from the teachers. However, in a few cases, it is indicated that the materials were not received by the parents.

As also the qualitative data shows, not only the face-to-face education in schools, but also all other educational activities for the Syrian children UTP such as the catch-up courses, language courses, adaptation classes, sports courses, etc., were negatively affected by the pandemic. One of the affected education institutions was the VECs, where the students were given some theoretical courses, but they were also placed as apprentices in some workplaces. For the theoretical courses, the distance education method was indicated to be adopted, but the participation of the children in online courses were mentioned to be lower than expected.

In addition, a key informant indicated that the student information system of TVET schools (*e-Mesem*) was not integrated to the EBA system, which created some problems for the provision of distance education. For the apprenticeship practice, some key informants and SVEP voiced some concerns due to the pandemic. As some of the workplaces had to close down during the pandemic, they were stated as not being able to accept new apprentices or that they had to terminate the work contracts of some of the students. Thus, provision of a viable education option for the Syrian children UTP, which also provided financial support to the children and their families, have remained somewhat limited due to the pandemic.

COVID-19 Pandemic and Supply-side Barriers

In terms of the supply-side factors in times of the pandemic, difficulties in accessing the EBA system appeared as a prominent problem. In that context, parents and children needed technical support with the modalities of the distance education such as using the software or getting login details.

A lack of information about the EBA Support Centres was also observed as a factor decreasing the level of participation in distance education. In education institutions such as the VECs, the interruption of face-to-face activities such as apprenticeship practices also diminished the education opportunities for Syrian children UTP.

A possible consequence of the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic on the education of Syrian children UTP was learning losses and a perceived risk of decreases in academic performances for the Syrian at-risk children UTP due to not being able to participate regularly in the distance education, perpetuation of already existing vulnerabilities of the Syrian OOSC UTP, and increasing risks for school drop-outs in the post-pandemic period and needs for further efforts to overcome such risks.

Table 28:
COVID-19 Pandemic and Supply-side Barriers

Domain	Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
		D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
School supply	Difficulties in accessing the EBA system		**	**		**
	Lack of technical support for distance education		**	**		**
	Lack of information about the EBA Support Centres		***	***		***
	Interruption of apprenticeship opportunities in VECs			***		**
School resources	Learning materials		*	*		*

Number of * refers to severity/weight of the impact of the barriers.

5.5.3 Overall Consequences of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Education of Syrian Children UTP

The qualitative data shows that mostly due to the difficulties discussed in the previous two sections, the COVID-19 pandemic created some immediate and long-term consequences on the education of Syrian children UTP.

One of the possible consequences was the learning losses and decrease in academic performance for the Syrian at-risk children UTP. Many Syrian children UTP and their parents already indicated that they could not follow distance education. Those children who could follow the online courses, were also reported to have serious difficulties in understanding the course topics due to reasons such as using a small or broken mobile phone which made it difficult for them to catch the class dynamics, not liking online education but willing to have face-to-face education in class, not being able to prepare and submit the assignments online, or not taking online education seriously since there were no attendance rules and they passed the grade without putting much efforts in the last semester during the pandemic.

Some of the parents and many teachers in the qualitative research sample indicated that the impact of such learning losses would be very difficult to compensate in the coming years, as the adaptation of the children to school would be hard and would need time a time for adjustments to be made, when they can go back to the classrooms.

Another consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic was that the conditions and measures taken in the first year, which had an impact on the education for all children in Türkiye. Some key informants reported that registration was interrupted, face-to-face education was suspended and Syrian children UTP could not participate in distance education, for the reasons mentioned earlier in this section.

The most severe consequence of the pandemic on the education prospects of Syrian children UTP was reported as anticipated school drop-out after the pandemic. Many key informants and teachers stated their concerns about the loss of motivation for schooling by the children who could not regularly access distance education during the pandemic. The lack of data about distance education experiences of the 14–17 age group in the qualitative data strengthens concerns about the education prospects of this age group after the pandemic has come to an end.

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CHAPTER 6

Policy Analysis

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Following the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the factors and identification of barriers that affect school enrolment and non-attendance of Syrian children UTP, this section focuses on the existing policy measures developed and implemented to eliminate those barriers in Türkiye. Section 6 is divided into four parts including socio-economic support (financial and in-kind support), educational support (both for the Syrian children UTP at school and out of school, as well as for the teachers, school administrators and SVEP), support for social cohesion, and education governance in terms of education policy priorities, education policy-making and implementation. The policy analysis is based on the available data on the existing policy measures, as well as the qualitative data collected for the aims of this study.

6.1 Socio-Economic Support

As discussed in Section 5.2.1, one of the biggest barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP emerges as the lack of resources and poverty. In tandem with the high number of household members and children in the households, economic problems of Syrian UTP households seems to result in children's irregular or non-attendance and school drop-out, particularly due to older children's (mostly boys') engagement in income generating activities, i.e., child labour. In addition, school expenses are also identified as another barrier. Responding to those challenges, there are a number of financial and in-kind support mechanisms targeting Syrian children UTP and their households in Türkiye.

6.1.1 Financial Support

In Türkiye there are some unconditional and conditional financial support programmes implemented for the Syrian UTP and other refugee population to help those households and to cover their basic expenses and ensure their children's education. Two important examples are the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) and Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE).

The *Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN)*, a cash assistance programme under the Kızılaykart platform, was initiated in 2016 to provide unconditional monthly cash stipends to refugees who meet the eligibility criteria to assist them covering their basic needs (IFRC and TRC, 2021). The programme is funded by the European Union and implemented jointly by the TRC, Ministry of Family and Social Services and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). By April 2021, the ESSN Programme reached 1,827,385 refugees in 323,464 households providing them with a total of €1.6 million social assistance (Turkish Red Cressent, 2021a).

The *Conditional Cash Transfer for Education* (CCTE) programme of the Ministry of Family and Social Services, was extended to the Syrian UTP and other refugee households in 2017 with the support of the European Union. As a social assistance programme, the CCTE aims at encouraging school enrolment and attendance of children by providing them conditional monthly cash transfers. In addition, the child protection component of the CCTE programme for refugees targets the most vulnerable refugee children in terms of their identification, assessment and referral to complementary child protection services to ensure their regular school attendance. The third phase of the programme is planned to last until May 2022, with an additional grant of €81.5 million from the EU. The programme is financially supported by the EU, US Department of Foreign Affairs and the Government of Norway, and implemented through a partnership between the Ministry of Family and Social Services, the Ministry of National Education, the TRC Society, and UNICEF[81]. By March 2021, the total number of children reached by the CCTE was 685,977, of which 46.8 per cent were enrolled in primary schools, 38.3 per cent in lower-secondary schools, 11.2 per cent in upper-secondary schools, and 3 per cent in kindergarten. A total of 4,386 children attending ALP have also received cash assistance[82].

81 https://www.unicef.org/Türkiye/en/press-releases/unicef-and-eu-announce-third-phase-conditional-cash-transfer-education-ccte.

82 Kızılaykart Programmes, Monthly CCTE Programme Infographics, March 2021.

In addition, upon proving their eligibility, Syrian UTP households can also benefit from other support schemes such as the Social and Economic Support (SED) of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations, subsidies for daily expenses such as rent or food by the TRC or cash assistance from different non-governmental organizations such as the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (SGDD-ASAM) or municipalities. The qualitative data shows that in a few cases, there were also some Teacher Parent Associations or individual efforts of the teachers or community members to search for and provide financial support or job opportunities for the members of the Syrian UTP households.

The qualitative data collected for this study provides information about the perceptions of the Syrian parents UTP and of the key informants and teachers/SVEP about the financial support options and mechanisms. The first observation is that financial support of any type, but particularly Kızılaykart and CCTE payments, are considered to be beneficial not only for increasing school enrolment but also encouraging regular attendance to schools of the Syrian children UTP. There are many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample who indicated that they had cases where the parents sent their children to school to be able to receive the cash payments. Also, they could observe it from the number of children who asked for their transcripts from the schools to be submitted to the cash assistance programmes. In addition, in case of irregular attendance or non-attendance, the children were also mentioned to be monitored through phone calls or household visits. A second benefit of these payments was pointed out in terms of their impact on the prevention of child labour, and of early marriages to a smaller extent. There were also some key informants and teachers who indicated that coverage of these cash assistance programmes to other refugee children were also a very positive development.

> **"The Kizilaykart is our biggest assistant for the education of children. If this support ceases, it is not possible for me to send the children to school. Then we will all have to work. Even a 10-year-old child will have to work so that he can contribute to the livelihood of the house. Currently, the Kizilaykart covers the income that two children who go to school would get from work. So, we can send the children to school in this way."**
> (Father, Dimension 6, Adana)

> **"I had many female students, one of them was very hardworking and clever. She told me one day: 'I have to leave school because I need to help my father financially, I need to work, my father cannot earn enough to afford everything.' Then financial support was provided to the girl, and accordingly she managed finish her school".** (SVEP, Izmir)

The second observation is that the level of awareness of the Syrian UTP households about the options for financial support seems to be high, and such an awareness was indicated to have increased in the following years. It was stated that the households were informed by different agencies such as TRC, UNICEF or District Governates and through different mechanisms such as distributing brochures, organizing seminars, meetings and/or making household visits. Still, there were some parents who stated that they did not have information about these support mechanisms, as their information was only limited to the procedures of registering with the Turkish authorities. There were some key informants who stated that the households sometimes had incorrect information about the requirements of those support mechanisms (e.g., they thought that they would be ineligible for the support if they enrolled their children in VECs), which negatively affected the children's education prospects.

The third observation occurring from the qualitative data is about the cash assistance amounts paid to the families. Supporting one of the findings of the CCTE Programme Evaluation Report (AIR, 2020), the qualitative data shows that various respondents considered the amount not to be sufficient. It was reported that the amount should be high enough to prevent parents and children opting for child labour instead of CCTE payments.

> **"The Turkish state should financially support the child who is studying so that the family does not send him to work. Currently, there is a support of 60TL per month. How would that amount be sufficient for the child for anything? Working children work 12 hours. Therefore measures should be taken to prevent children from working. The working child is not learning anything. He cannot receive education".** (Father, Dimension 5, Gaziatep)

The fourth observation is about the need to consider the OOS phenomenon as a multidimensional problem. There were some key informants and teachers who indicated that the cash assistance had clearly been effective for increasing school enrolment and decreasing non-attendance, however, economic reasons were not the only reason for the school drop-outs of the Syrian children UTP. Regarding this, policies towards ensuring children's schooling were also suggested to consider the interaction between a variety of different factors such as human capital or sociocultural factors, which necessitated finding the root causes of the problem, for Syrian OOSC.

A final observation is that although economic support was considered to be critical for the Syrian UTP households and their children's education, those measures were also perceived as temporary solutions due to some limitations in their coverage and financial capacities to structural economic and social integration problems. Some of the key informants and teachers indicated that those measures could only partially support the households to cover their basic needs. However, the problem could have been better targeted at a macro level through creation of employment and decent job opportunities for the Syrian UTP population in general and support for women's economically productive activities, including home-based production in particular. In that sense, targeting employment of Syrian women UTP was proposed as a policy option. In addition, engaging the Syrian UTP population into the labour market in secure and registered jobs was also proposed as policy options which would also ensure their social integration better into the host community.

6.1.2 In-kind Support

In Türkiye, in addition to direct unconditional or conditional cash transfers, there have also been a number of in-kind support initiatives for the Syrian children UTP to decrease their schooling costs. These in-kind supports are usually implemented by the MoNE with the support of a variety of actors. For example, school transportation, the Facility for Refugees in Türkiye (FRIT) Monitoring Report indicates that the number of Syrian children and youth UTP registered for transportation services was 51,423 in March 2020 (European Commission, 2020d). In addition, in 2020, 260 students in the context of catch-up trainings and 820 students in the context of back-up trainings benefited from the transportation service provided by the Project on Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES) (Tuğrul, 2019). In addition, many items in relation to schooling of children such as stationary, school food, school clothes, casual clothes and shoes, medical supplies (e.g., eye glasses or hearing devices), tablets and internet, supplementary learning materials (e.g., text books for school entrance exams), psycho-social support kits, household items, hygiene kits or cleaning materials are supplied not only by the MoNE and PIKTES, but also by a variety of non-governmental organizations, municipalities, private sector, international organizations, or by the philanthropic individuals from the society or from schools or teachers. For example, 636,400 Syrians UTP living in the cities and in the camps were distributed in-kind relief by the TRC within the framework of Urban Refugees Support Project (Turkish Red Crescent, 2021b). In many cases, it is also possible to observe cooperation and collaboration among different actors providing in-kind support. In-kind support is not only provided to the children at schools, but also to those who are in language courses or other educational activities.

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Many key informants, teachers and SVEP pointed to the positive benefits of in-kind support to the education of Syrian children UTP. Based upon this, some types of in-kind support such as school transportation, stationary or clothes were mentioned to increase the motivation of the children to attend school and mitigate the reasons of non-attendance or non-enrolment due to lack of resources. In that way, some of the teachers indicated that as a result of in-kind support, children could feel more self-confident, the grounds for inequality/discrimination at school on the basis of lack of resources could be eliminated, and the children could not develop any justifications for not going to school on the basis of a lack of resources. Some of the other types of in-kind support were suggested to indirectly contribute to children's schooling by supporting the well-being of children to eliminate the negative living conditions of the children's environment. In addition, in-kind support was also indicated to be helpful in covering some of the school expenses to prevent child labour. Especially relevant to the education of children with disabilities, provision of medical supplies or transportation to school was reported to considerably help children attend school. In addition, an important benefit of in-kind support was indicated that it helped the schools to attract the Syrian parents UTP to schools, providing an opportunity for the school administrations to contact and communicate with them in relation to their children's education.

"We have provided boots, coats, stationery and bags for these children to ensure their attendance at school, and delivered them to each student. Even this increases the enthusiasm of those children to come to school. It increases the desire to attend school. Some of them do not want to come to school in winter because they do not have coats or because they do not have boots. Or he does not want to come to school because he is embarrassed thet he does not have a notebook and pencil bag like his friends." (Key informant, Bursa)

"I went to their household with a bag in my hand (full of items to distributed) and the next week the children started coming to school." (Teatcher, Lower Secendoray School, Izmir)

"No, I was very happy at school. They were giving me books, notebooks and clothes at school." (Girl, Dimension 3, Bursa)

The qualitative data points out three concerns in relation to the provision of in-kind support. The first concern is about the sustainability of the positive outcomes of the in-kind support. Some key informants indicated that whenever the schools distributed in-kind support, it attracted considerable attention of the children and their parents. However, when the support ended, the children could not be reached any longer in some cases.

The second concern is about the perception of non-existence of in-kind support particularly in terms of school transportation and technological equipment in the times of the COVID-19 pandemic. Some Syrian parents UTP indicated that the school expenses increased day by day and lack of school transportation became a cost item that they could not support. Some others stated that they had numerous children at school and their expectations about being provided with some tablets or internet during the pandemic did not always materialise.

The last concern about in-kind support is the perception that Syrian children UTP received more support compared to other children with the same socio-economic disadvantages. Some key informants and teachers indicated that at school some conflicts or complaints occurred as a result of such a perception from the children of the hosting community and their parents or those of other refugees. Or it was also indicated that even in cases where the teachers requested to distribute some of the support materials to other children than Syrian children UTP, they were not allowed to do it. In addition, it was also possible to observe a perception among the parents from the host community that Syrian UTP households which did not need such a support also benefited from it. In that sense, there were some key informants and teachers who suggested that the mechanism for the distribution of in-kind support especially at schools had to be organized to not create any conflict and negative perceptions about the Syrian children UTP and their parents. Also, such support should not be provided at schools, but should be delivered to the households to avoid any conflicts. Thus, although some of the in-kind support schemes such as PIKTES has foreseen provision of support for both the socio-economically disadvantaged Syrian and Turkish students, the qualitative data shows that in practice the distribution process could create some misperceptions about the reach of such support.

> "Two years ago, the stationery kit arrived from UNICEF or other places. Of course, it only arrived for the Syrian students. We called Syrian students and distributed them. When we went to the classroom, one of the Syrian students said to the other Turkish students: 'They don't give you anything. Does not the State love you? (Such a requirement) was not welcomed among friends, but of course, what we could we do? As they arrived for the Syrian students, we are obliged to distribute it to them. But some of our Turkish students are much in need as Syrian students."
> (Key informant, Izmir)

6.2 Educational Support

It has already been elaborated in Section 5.1.2 Human Capital that two important barriers to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP are lack of language skills and poor academic performance. Both of those barriers are observed to have negative effects both for the Syrian children UTP who are already registered to schools, or those who are out of school. In Türkiye, a variety of educational support opportunities has been designed and implemented for the Syrian children UTP (and for other refugee children), particularly in the way to facilitate their transition from the Temporary Education Centres (TECs) to the Turkish Public Schools and their integration into the Turkish education system. The MoNE implemented most of those support activities, in cooperation with and support from a variety of actors.

The most prominent educational support framework is the *Project on Promoting Integration of Syrian Kids into the Turkish Education System* (PIKTES), which is an EU-funded project, implemented by the MoNE in 26 provinces of Türkiye aiming to increase access rates of Syrian students UTP to education, to improve the operational capacity of educational institutions and staff, to improve social cohesion, and to improve the quality of education services provided (European Commission, 2020d), by supporting the MoNE in its efforts to increase integration of Syrian children UTP to education. In this respect, some of the main activities implemented as part of PIKTES are as follows:

- Turkish Language Education
- Arabic Language Education
- Back-up Training
- Early Childhood Education
- Social Cohesion Activities
- Psychological Counselling and Guidance Services
- Stationery Support (approximately 1 million Syrian students UTP and Turkish students each year)
- Material and equipment support to schools
- Smart Board Support to Schools (27,200 smart boards)
- School Transport Service (114,201 students)
- Material Support (distribution of 2,873,016 books)
- Vocational and Technical Education Scholarship
- Nutrition Service (15,920 kindergarten students)
- Recruitment of Cleaning and Security Personnel in Schools (3,020 cleaning staff and 1,580 security staff)
- Cleaning Material Support to Schools (8,529 schools)
- EBA Support Centre Setup
- Computer Laboratory Installation (709 schools)
- Library Construction (1,754 schools)
- Prefabricated Kindergarten Construction (300 kindergartens, 50 special education kindergartens, 20 container kindergartens)

In addition, UNICEF has also cooperated with the MoNE for the Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP) and with the MoYS for providing Turkish language courses, particularly for the inclusion of the Syrian OOSC UTP into education. There are also other initiatives from the non-governmental organizations, municipalities, other actors or sometimes by the school administrations/teachers to provide Turkish language courses, basic literacy and numeracy courses or preparatory courses for the university exam for foreigners (YÖS). All those educational support activities with their different components and curricula particularly target two categories of Syrian children UTP: those who are already registered to public schools (adaptation classes and back-up education), and those who are out of school (catch-up education, ALP, non-formal education).

Adaptation classes aim to increase Turkish language skills and proficiency of the Syrian children UTP who are enrolled in public schools to facilitate their academic performance and communication. Within the context of the PIKTES project, the MoNE established adaptation classes at the public schools and 115,000 children benefited from the adaptation classes in the 2019–2020 academic year (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). Until October 2020, according to the MoNE Regulation No. 2019/15, adaptation classes could be opened for Grades 3 to 12 at the primary, lower-secondary and upper-secondary levels for at least 10 students. Mixed-grade adaptation classes for each education level in the same school could also be opened if there was not a sufficient number of Syrian students UTP at a particular grade, or they could be opened in another school in the same district where the children from different schools can attend. Adaptation classes were for one academic year, and at the end of the year the students were placed back in their own grades. Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, adaptation classes were also held in the context of distance education as an emergency response. Firstly, the "Turkish for Adaptation" (*Uyum için Türkçe*) videos started to be broadcasted on TRT-EBA TV and PIKTES YouTube channels from March 2020 onwards and "online live classes" were initiated in June 2020 by PIKTES Turkish teachers through the MoNE's EBA Platform (European Commission, 2020d). In October 2020, the MoNE published a new Regulation No. 2020/7 suspending the adaptation classes at all levels due to COVID-19 pandemic, but only allowing them to be opened for Grade 3 at the primary schools in 26 provinces.

Some of the key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample indicated their positive views about the adaptation classes. They stated that Syrian children UTP who attended the adaptation classes showed progress in terms of the language skills, particularly the children who could speak a level of Turkish but did not know how to read and write before attending the adaptation classes. However, some of the key informants, teachers and SVEP also pointed out to some concerns about these classes.

The first concern is related to the need for gradual transition into the TPSs. Some SVEPs stated that when the children who studied 3 or 4 years in TECs were transferred to the TPSs at once, there occurred a serious adaptation problem for children, particularly in terms of the lack of language skills. In this way, adaptation was considered necessary as a gradual process before transition into the TPSs.

The second concern in relation to the adaptation classes is mentioned in relation to the mixed-grade classes. In those cases, some key informants suggested that Syrian children UTP had to attend adaptation classes with children who were older or younger than themselves which sometimes demotivated children and caused some problems among the children.

The third concern was stated in relation to the suspension of the adaptation classes after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Some of the schools kept the classes open during the pandemic which resulted in some of the children being moved from one class to another to create uncertainty about the implementation.

A final concern is about the division of oversight among different general directorates of the MoNE regarding the adaptation classes. Some of the key informants indicated that there were already some problems with the implementation of the adaptation classes, particularly in relation to the mixed-grade classes, and as a result of overlapping of oversight responsibilities between different general directorates of MoNE, which ended up with a new regulation being published in October 2020. It was also stated that there were some discussions at the policy-making level in terms of evaluating the feasibility of transferring adaptation classes to the PECs for the coming years.

Aiming to support the integration of the Syrian children UTP into the public schools, the MoNE provided *back-up training* for the already enrolled children, either for OOS hours or during the weekends. A total of 40,000 Syrian children UTP benefited from back-up education in the public schools (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). Between October 2019 and March 2020, 18,836 students attended the back-up training, for which 2,301 teachers and 894 administrative staff were assigned before the closure of schools due to the COVID-19 pandemic (Tuğrul, 2019). As of October 2020, 4,964 students at Grades 8 and 12 continued the back-up training (Tuğrul, 2019), but the remaining back-up training were suspended due to the pandemic (European Commission, 2020d). In addition, the *Remedial Education Programme* (REP) was designed to compensate the lack of necessary basic literacy skills of the Syrian students UTP at Grade 3 of primary school (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). According to the UNICEF Annual Report 2018, 7,684 refugees, benefited from the first-year implementation of the REP.

Support for the School Enrolment Programme (SSE) aims to support OOSC refugee children in accessing services which address barriers restricting their participation in education. The Programme's target groups consist of Syrian children UTP aged 5–17. The SSE Programme provides individual counselling and referral services so as to identify the children's specific educational needs and refer them to the most appropriate educational pathways which are available in their area. In addition to this, the SSE Programme provides psychological support to the children and their families through ASAM, relevant public institutions and NGOs to ensure child protection.

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The ALP, implemented since 2018, address the challenges that the OOSC face in accessing any form of education and aims to enable the Syrian children and adolescent UTP who have already lost years of schooling to resume their education (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). The first phase of *catch-up training*, implemented for children transitioning from the TECs to the TPSs, reached about 10,000 Syrian children UTP, and the second phase reached over 6,000 Syrian OOSC UTP.

Targeting Syrian OOSC UTP aged 10–17, the ALP has started to be implemented in 2018 after a series of preparatory activities such as outreach, trainings and the supply of ALP learning materials. It is implemented in 76 PECs of the MoNE at 12 provinces in cooperation with UNICEF. By October 2019, a total of 16,176 Syrian children UTP (7,607 girls and 8,596 boys) benefited from it (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019), and the total number of ALP learners in two age categories (10–12 and 13–17) reached 23,954 (11,425 girls and 12,529 boys) by October 2020 (UNICEF, 2020). ALP is provided for two levels, the Primary School Equivalency and Lower-Secondary School Equivalency, each for 8 months. After an evaluation, the successful participants of the ALP are provided equivalency certificates accredited from the MoNE, which allows them to continue with education after the ALP integrates them into the formal education system. In addition, families of students in ALP are also entitled to apply to the CCTE programme and receive monthly cash support to the amount of 75 TL, subject to a learner's regular attendance and an additional payment of 250 TL per child at the beginning of each term through the CCTE programme. (UNICEF, 2021a).

The qualitative data shows that many key informants and SVEP highly appreciated the ALP in its benefits for the OOSC to be integrated back into the formal education system, particularly through the opportunity to receive an accredited certification. Moreover, some of the respondents reported that ALP was particularly important for ensuring education opportunities for the working children, to motivate them to stay in education and get a diploma. Expanding further on this, the same respondent provided some examples where evening courses at the PECs were initiated for the working children. Some SVEP voiced one concern about the ALP which was about the low levels of awareness of the programme. It was indicated that it was not well-known nor were they available everywhere, thus they should be promoted further across a wider scale.

> **"I would like to mention the Accelerated Learning Programme. There were some of our students who could not even draw Turkish letters. But they learned to read and write in about 4 months after starting this programme. They learned both Turkish and Arabic. This programme is extremely important. I think Syrian children should be required to be included in this programme before they can be enrolled in state schools. Children who had absenteeism and who have been out of school for long time can benefit a lot from this programme."**
> (SVEP, İstanbul)

There are also a number of *non-formal education opportunities* provided for the Syrian children UTP. For example, UNICEF's *Non-Formal Education Programme* includes Turkish language courses provided at the Youth Centres in collaboration with the MoYS. Also, the MoNE accredited Basic Literacy and Numeracy course both in Turkish and Arabic and Turkish Language courses implemented by the TRC. In addition, *PECs* of the MoNE are centres that provide non-formal education including Turkish language courses in PECs or using classrooms in public schools, both to adults and to children from 6 years old to adolescents (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). The total number of Syrian children and adults UTP who attended the Turkish language courses between 2015–October 2019 was 348,665. Between January–October 2019, only 15,955 Syrian children UTP aged 6–12 and 311,259 Syrian children UTP aged 13–17 benefited from the Turkish language courses at the PECs (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). The qualitative data shows that those non-formal education activities are well-received by the key informants, teachers and SVEP, particularly in the way that they provided Turkish language skills not only to the children, but also to the Syrian parents UTP. It was indicated that when parents had Turkish language skills, the communication between the parents and the school administration was likely to increase and they could better follow the children's educational progress.

A final educational support category is the *vocational education opportunities*. The 11th Development Plan of the Republic of Türkiye states that "transition of students under international protection and temporary protection to lower- and upper-secondary schools will be increased, and these students will be directed to vocational and technical education according to their interests and abilities" (Article 662.3). Actually, it is possible to observe that technical and vocational education has been considered as an important opportunity for the Syrian children UTP by many stakeholders, particularly to combat child labour. There are some initiatives to support the vocational education option for the Syrian children UTP. For example, PIKTES provides two types of scholarships (namely "back to school" and "school attendance") to the students of Vocational and Technical Anatolian High Schools and VECs, and 11,425 children (6,855 Syrian students UTP and 4,570 Turkish students) were awarded those scholarships in 2020 (Tuğrul, 2019). In addition, the Schooling Adolescents Through Vocational Education (SAVE) was launched in 2020, in cooperation with UNICEF and the MoNE, for all children aged 14–17 (both Turkish and Syrians UTP) who have been out of school for different reasons after completing their basic education. The programme aims to identify OOSC through household and workplace visits and to ensure that they continue their education and get a "mastership" certificate by learning a profession as a result of their inclusion in the VECs, and to help those who wish to register for the diploma programme and receive a high school diploma and receive higher education, if they are successful. In addition, the OOSC under the age of 14 who have not completed their basic education are also identified and listed and reported to the Provincial Directorates of National Education every month. During household visits by SAVE field teams, families are provided with information and documents about the education system and registration requirements. During workplace visits, child labourers are identified and directed to VECs, and information is given to business owners and masters about the education system and government incentives.

The qualitative data also provides evidence of the importance attributed to the Vocational Training Centres in the recent years for the education of Syrian children UTP, particularly highlighting the potential of the VECs to combat child labour. The children in VECs receive a fee, which is not less than 30 per cent of the minimum wage, throughout their training, to provide them an employment opportunity during and after their training by acquiring a profession or artisanship. One of the key informants stated that the VECs aimed to enable children to acquire a profession, and the enterprises involved in the trainings were also expected to provide a rather permanent employment opportunity for those children after the training as the children would be trained in accordance with the needs of that particular enterprise.

As a policy option, an important step was the inclusion of VECs into the framework of compulsory education, which would enable children to receive an upper-secondary school diploma upon completion of an additional course load at the upper-secondary level. In addition, the qualitative data shows that procedures for enrolling in the VECs were facilitated for the Syrian children UTP in time, and there are still efforts to facilitate those procedures further. First of all, for VECs, there is not any particular registration period in order to enable the children to enrol throughout the year. Secondly, although the main target group of the

VECs is the children who left school after Grade 8, the age limitation for registering in VECs were removed to expand the opportunity to young people over 18 years old. Thirdly, children are required to have a lower-secondary school diploma to register in the VECs. However, the Syrian children UTP can register in the case that they submit a lower-secondary diploma from where they initially came from. Fourthly, with the decision of the Board of Education and Discipline No. 16 dated 30.06.2021, the requirement for A1 Turkish language certificate has been removed.

A final issue in terms of the potential of the VECs for the Syrian children UTP is regarding the establishment of the relationship between the student and the workplace. Some of the key informants indicated that upon the registration of the children to VECs, they were required to be followed up and directed to work fields in which they had some skills and interests. Thus, establishing the relationship between the student and the enterprise to accept the students seems to be an important concern for VECs, as such a relationship should be established within a month after the registration of the children. Some key informants indicated that the children themselves were required to find the workplace that they would work in throughout the apprenticeship training, and this could create some difficulties between the school and the employer to provide the apprenticeship training.

In addition to the educational support provided to the students, it is possible to observe numerous *educational support activities for the teachers and school administrators*, particularly those working with the Syrian children UTP at their schools. For example, the PIKTES project has paid attention to "training of trainers and teachers" and "awareness raising trainings for MoNE administrative staff" through trainings focusing mostly on developing skills to cope with the challenges of teaching, supporting and administering refugee students (Tuğrul, 2019). According to EC (2020), the number of educational personnel trained is 177,019. More specific trainings in the form of in-service and orientation training were also organized, for example, to the Turkish language trainers to provide knowledge and experience on teaching Turkish to foreigners (Tuğrul, 2019). After the COVID-19 pandemic, teacher trainings started to focus on remote teaching and online psycho-social support. In June 2020, 3,886 PIKTES teachers received online in-service trainings on distance education on various topics about how to support children's well-being and how to conduct EBA live classes (European Commission, 2020d). In addition to all those trainings, handbooks for teachers were also prepared and distributed to the teachers who attended adaptation classes or had foreign students in their classes (Tuğrul, 2019). With the support of UNICEF, 90,000 teachers (15,000 ECE and 75,000 primary school) are planned to be provided with a set of training about teaching foundational skills (i.e., basic literacy, numeracy and digital skills) in online and hybrid settings. The trainings will focus on building teachers' skills to monitor students, providing feedback in blended learning environments, and preparing them to better deliver the pre-primary and primary school basic literacy and numeracy curricula in a blended format. The programme also includes parental engagement and school-family partnerships via online platforms during the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, the existing pre-service and initial in-service teacher training programmes are also to be strengthened with digital tools for teachers to deliver these foundational skills better.

The qualitative data shows that the teachers and the school administrators appreciated such efforts, particularly in terms of preparing the education staff to work with Syrian children UTP in general, equipping them with a problem-solving capacity and new perspectives in education, and training them about the techniques and models for teaching foreigner students. In addition, not only the provision of in-service training to the teachers, but also ensuring the participation of the teachers and school administrations in the process were perceived quite positively by many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample.

A specific educational support initiative is the introduction of the *Syrian Volunteer Education Personnel (SVEP)* into the education processes of the Syrian children UTP since the 2016–2017 academic year, with the support of UNICEF. At the beginning, around 13,000 SVEP provided education directly to Syrian children UTP in TECs and supported them in the TPSs. In 2018, together with the "Syrian Volunteer Education Personnel Strategy" implemented by the MoNE, the roles of SVEP to support Syrian children UTP

in any education institution (or in other specified fields in educational institutions affiliated to the MoNE) was clearly defined. As of October 2019, around 4,500 SVEP have been assigned to Turkish schools as support personnel to facilitate communication among students, parents and teachers, and to conduct outreach and counselling activities (MoNE and UNICEF, 2019). In addition, in 2021 the General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education assigned at least one SVEP to the VECs located in the central districts of 15 provinces, enabling them to undertake the duties of translators and facilitators. Especially for conducting the household visits, SVEP have also been appointed to the field teams of the SAVE Programme, which has been implemented in cooperation with the MoNE and UNICEF since 2020, and SVEP have contributed positively to the outreach activities for increasing enrolment of Syrian UTP children in VECs.

Many key informants and teachers in the qualitative study sample appreciated the existence and role of SVEP in relation to the education of Syrian children UTP. An important role of the SVEP at school was mentioned as facilitating communication. Because of this, the SVEP were considered to be very helpful not only in communication with the Syrian children UTP at school, but also with their parents.

For instance, engagement of the SVEP seems to be a useful policy measure to eliminate the barriers of a lack of communication between the school and the parents, and the lack of communication between the teachers and the children particularly on the basis of a lack of language skills, as identified in Section 5.4.2 (School Resources) and Section 5.4.3. (Teacher Characteristics), respectively. Some teachers indicated that children might feel more comfortable communicating with SVEP compared to the other teachers at school, and in that sense, SVEP played an important role for the provision of counselling to the Syrian students UTP. Many key informants and teachers voiced that a final role of SVEP is their role in the outreach activities. SVEP were indicated to play a crucial role in the outreach activities, such as household visits for the Syrian children UTP who had irregular attendance or high levels of non-attendance. Also, there were many instances where their interventions proved to be quite influential for keeping children at school. In those outreach activities, the SVEP were considered to be "bridges" between the school and the Syrian UTP population due to some advantages such as Arabic language proficiency, cultural affiliation or integration into Syrian UTP population's networks, which indeed increased the positive outcomes of the outreach activities. Accordingly, many key informants and teachers voiced their recommendations that the number of SVEP could be increased especially in schools where there were no or a small number of SVEP, and their role should be strengthened to involve them more at the school environment.

The qualitative data points out to one particular concern, coming from the SVEP themselves. Some SVEP stated that although they were educated as teachers and there were some branch teachers among the SVEP, after the transition from the TECs to the TPSs their activities were limited as they could not work as branch teachers at schools. It was proposed that such expertise could have been beneficial for the Syrian children UTP who had difficulties in following some specific course topics such as physics or chemistry.

> "The activities of Syrian (volunteer) teachers were limited. We have many teachers among us. There are teachers in the fields of physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography. However we cannot enter classes in many branches. Our channels to intervene with Syrian children have been limited. These kids have exams. And there is no chance of succeeding in the exames of the branches that they do not understand. There are teachers among us who are very proficient in Turkish. Why can't we use these teachers in the education of newly arrived children?". (SVEP, Hatay)

6.3 Support for Social Cohesion

The analysis in Section 5.1.4 (Social Cohesion) shows that the Syrian children UTP and their parents may face difficulties in terms of integration into the local community due to concerns like insecurity or negative attitudes of the local population, which may eventually result in children's irregular attendance or drop-out. To overcome such problems, it is possible to identify some initiatives to contribute to the social cohesion of the Syrian children UTP and their parents in Türkiye.

One of those initiatives is the Social Cohesion Activities implemented by the TRC as one of the four programmes carried out to support Syrians UTP. The initiative aims at strengthening social cohesion among communities via bringing them together through social, cultural, sporting, and volunteering activities organised at the TRC Community Centres to contribute to peaceful co-existence, harmonisation, a better understanding and developing empathy between the host and the migrant communities. By March 2021, 489,944 people were reported to benefit from those social cohesion activities (Turkish Red Crescent, 2021b).

The MoYS implemented the "Social Cohesion and Youth Participation" programme since 2017 in cooperation with UNICEF. Youth Centres in 25 provinces provide social, cultural, sportive, educational and artistic activities that support social cohesion by bringing Syrian children UTP and host communities together.

Another initiative was held by the MoNE General Directorate of Life-Long Learning and Ministry of Interior General Directorate of Migration Management through a protocol signed in 2018. Accordingly, the PECs provided the "Social Adaptation and Living Training" (SUYE project), as an 8-hour programme for foreigner students over 17 years old with legal residence documents. According to one of the key informants, the programme reached 33,000 foreigner students in 5 months.

The qualitative data shows that specific orientation programmes for the Syrian children UTP who register in the public schools is missing in Türkiye, but some key informants indicated that the student clubs at schools could be an instrument to encourage social cohesion within the schools. The qualitative data provides one particular example of a social cohesion project, prepared and implemented within the Erasmus+ Programme of the EU. Some teachers who were engaged in that project stated that through the project the partners from four European countries worked together for finding and sharing ways of integrating refugee children into the school environment. It was indicated that the most important outcome of the project was the identification of the importance of some particular classes such as the physical training or music classes, where the students could express themselves better and more freely through interaction and physical activities and where they could enjoy being together in the classroom.

In addition, since September 2020, UNICEF partnered with the Maya Foundation to work on a pilot project "Social Cohesion Through Education" which has been implemented in Istanbul and Şanlıurfa provinces. The pilot supports social cohesion through education with a focus on peer bullying. The main approach of the project is by putting the child in the centre and collaborating with all actors surrounding the child within the school community; namely school administrators, teachers, school counsellors and other educational personal including parents and caregivers. The pilot intervention will target the whole school community with raising awareness for parents, students and teachers, training of school counsellors, teachers and school management staff, and in-classroom activities with children on issues of social cohesion and anti-bullying.

UNICEF is also supporting the MoNE in the development of a national skills framework, including social and emotional skills, and the development of guidelines and tools to tackle issues related to social tension (such as bullying), including school personnel capacity building, in classroom activity guides for children, and awareness-raising materials for parents.

Apart from such specific activities at the school environment, the qualitative data shows that the activities for social integration of the Syrian children UTP or to ensure social cohesion among all the members of the society are mostly conducted by non-governmental organizations or other agencies. The key informants from such non-governmental organizations indicated that the social cohesion activities not only with the Syrian children UTP, but in mixed groups with the children from the hosting community were quite effective in terms of breaking down prejudices, creating empathy between children, and engaging them into long-term activities through which they continued volunteering for future activities with other children.

6.4 Education Governance

The third aspect of policy analysis refers to a more macro overview of the education policies for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. In that context, different components of education governance, namely policy priorities, policy-making and implementation are analysed in light of the qualitative data.

Summary of Key Policy Actions of the MoNE

Key Policy Developments in Türkiye: Integration of Syrian Refugee Learners into the National Education System

2014

Temporary Education Centers (TECs) established. Process to recognise previous education credentials of Syrian children Under Temporary Protection (UTP) established.

Education Management Information System for Non-Turkish students (YÖBIS) launched.

2015

Start of enrollment of Syrian children in Turkish public schools.

2016

Education in Emergencies (EiE) and Migration Department under Lifelong Learning Directorate General in the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) established. Department tasked with planning and management of EiE and migration situations.

EU-funded/MoNE-managed project called Promoting the Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System (PIKTES) launched. All children UTP commenced pre-primary and first year of primary school required to enroll in Turkish public schools.

2017

Turkish language teachers and school counsellors recruited to support Syrian children UTP. Capacity development provided for Turkish teachers on PSS programmes for children UTP.

National conditional cash transfer programme expanded to cover Syrian and other refugee children.

2018

The Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP), Turkish Language Courses (TLC) and the Basic Literacy & Numeracy (BNL) programmes launched.

2019

Adaptation classes to enhance Turkish language proficiency was launched by PIKTES.
Construction of container classrooms.

2020

All TECs were closed, and Syrian children mainstreamed into Turkish Public schools.

Source: (UNICEF, 2021b).

As indicated in Section 2.7 Education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, *the policy priorities* regarding those children have evolved throughout the years, from providing them education at the TECs towards their integration into the Turkish Public Schools. The qualitative data shows that the key informants and teachers/SVEP considered the former period as a result of the perception that the Syrian UTP population would not remain in Türkiye for a long time. It was suggested that when the Syrian UTP influx to Türkiye started, Türkiye was not sufficiently prepared to absorb all the children into education. However, many key informants and teachers/SVEP stated that in time the Syrian children UTP became a policy priority with a long-term perspective and in line with this foresight and future planning, their integration into the TPSs was initiated in 2016. The qualitative data also shows that many key informants and teacher/SVEP positively perceived such an integration. In this context, three concerns were voiced, firstly, in relation to the slow evolution of policies, and secondly, in relation to some setbacks in terms of implementation of the policies in the field, as discussed below particularly in relation to policy implementation. The third concern was voiced that within the strategic plan of the MoNE there was no specific titles reserved for the education of the Syrian children UTP. This means that the policies on OOS phenomenon was considered to be generic to include all the children in Türkiye, with no specific focus on the Syrian children UTP. T his was mentioned as an outcome of the perception that all the policies in relation to the Syrian children UTP (such as their integration to the TPSs) had been carried out by the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning of the MoNE and under the heading of the PIKTES project.

In terms of *policy-making* in the field of education for the Syrian children UTP, the key informants and teacher/SVEP generally believed that the existing legislative framework (as summarised in Section 2.7.2. Policy Measures) was well prepared and it had the potential to ensure opportunities for the Syrian children UTP to be involved in the education system. The need for cooperation among different public institutions was also underlined, particularly starting from the registration of the Syrian children UTP with the Turkish authorities to their enrolment in schools.

When the *inclusiveness of the policy-making mechanism* was enquired, it is possible to observe that there were some key informants and teachers who stated that the policy-making system was participatory. Those respondents indicated that the policy-makers asked data and experiences from different actors working directly with the Syrian children UTP in the field, implemented questionnaires to collect the experiences within the field and identify the reasons for the OOS phenomenon, and organized meetings with those working in the field to receive their feedback on particular issues. There were also some key informants who indicated that they themselves collected and shared information with the centre; and some regulations were adopted as a result of the changing needs identified in the field.

There were also some other key informants and teachers/SVEP in the qualitative study sample who stated that their experiences and feedback will contribute to the policy-making process for the education of Syrian children UTP. Thus, the qualitative data suggests that inclusion of the key beneficiaries and stakeholders such as the teachers/SVEP and school administrators would enrich the policy-making process.

In addition, there were also some key informants reporting their concerns that in some cases the regulations could not consider the differences and variations of the schools even in different districts of the same province or between different school types. For that reason, it was stated that the same standard regulations applied to all the schools but the capacity to produce similar performances were constrained, as different levels of input was expected to produce the same outputs. Thus, it was suggested that without participation of the officials working in the field, it would not be possible to foresee whether or not the policies would be feasible or applicable in the field.

In terms of the *implementation of the education policy* for Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, the qualitative data point out to a number of aspects. These are namely, tracking/monitoring Syrian children UTP, the practices of cooperation for implementation, project-based service provision and follow-up and monitoring of policy outcomes, and implementation problems on the basis of the use of discretion.

The first aspect of policy implementation emerges in relation to the issue of *tracking/monitoring Syrian children UTP*. There were many key informants in the qualitative study sample who indicated that the data for the Syrian children UTP were sometimes rather difficult to track as there were some separate information systems functioning simultaneously, but often not in an integrated way. The entry of the Syrian children UTP into the system takes place after their registration with the Turkish authorities and being assigned an ID number by the General Directorate of Migration Management. Some key informants stated that upon the registration with the Turkish authorities, it was the Syrian parents UTP who had to apply to the District Directorate of Education to enrol their children to school. Once they apply, the registration of the children is processed through the e-School system of the MoNE. As of March 2021, 768,839 Syrian children UTP were registered in the e-School system (MoNE, 2021). The number of Syrian children UTP enrolled in school in the 2014–2015 academic year has increased from 230,000 to 768,839 with an almost triple increase in the 2020–2021 academic year.

Box 5:
YOBIS System and e-School

The Foreign Student Education Management Information System (YOBIS) was developed in 2014 and launched in 2015 by the MoNE as an education management information system (EMIS) to enhance the quality of the management of demographic and educational data on refugee students who are enrolled in Temporary Education Centres (TECs) and of Syrian Volunteer Education Personnel (SVEP). The need for YOBIS was based on the limitations of the existing EMIS system of the MoNE. These included not having the function within the system to add foreign children with ID numbers starting with 98 and the inability to link children with TECs, as it was not possible for these schools to be added to the system. In addition, the e-Okul/e-school system is linked to the Integrated Social Assistance Information System (ISAIS), which needs various pieces of information on families, such as their permanent address and the ID numbers of individuals starting with 98. ISAIS also monitors the attendance conditionality for the CCTE based on data from the MoNE Education e-Okul/e-School (for Turkish public schools) and YOBIS. YOBIS enabled not only school registration and attendance but also tracking and certifying the learning of Syrian and other refugee children. Use of YOBIS is not limited to capturing, tracking and reporting on the student data, it also provides the necessary data for the SVEP to receive their monthly incentives (3RP, 2020a).

The e-School system indeed provides information only about the Syrian children UTP who have been registered in school in Türkiye. In that way, the system was reported to be functional for identifying the Syrian children UTP who were enrolled in school but dropped out later on. However, one of the key informants indicated that data about the foreign students in the e-School were not kept according to the international data protection status in Türkiye (see Box 2 in Section 2.6), but only according to nationality, which made it difficult to take action when necessary, as different categories of foreigner students might need different types of support for their education.

Overall, the qualitative data shows that there could be some difficulties in identifying the actual number of Syrian OOSC UTP in this registration system. An aspect of the difficulty was mentioned that the e-School system does not include data for the Syrian children UTP at all age groups who have never enrolled in school in Türkiye. As already identified as a problem in Section 5.3.1 (Enrolment Regulations), the Syrian children UTP who do not have an ID card are mostly out of school, if they cannot enrol in a school as a "guest" student at the basic education level. The qualitive data also shows that in some cases the General Directorate of Migration Management may identify some children at the school age and ask the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning to inquire about the status of the children particularly through the outreach activities.

The e-School system is observed to be functional about identifying the Syrian at-risk children UTP. Attendance data for all the students including the Syrian children UTP are collected through the e-School system. It is the school administrations who are responsible for following up with the children who exceed the attendance limits by sending warning letters to their addresses, calling them by phone, or conducting household visits. There are also some sanctions foreseen for the parents who did not ensure their children's school attendance, however, to what extent those sanctions are implemented in practice cannot be traced.

Two more concerns can be identified from the qualitative data. Some key informants stated that the data about the Syrian children UTP who were reached by the projects implemented by different actors were scattered and sometimes difficult to access. A final concern about the data collection in terms of policy implementation was voiced that not all types of data could be collected, for example, as it was the case for instances of bullying at school. This was indicated to be a factor which constrained evidence-based policy-making on some issues, to produce policies on the basis of supposition rather than evidence.

The concerns about the tracking of the Syrian children UTP through already existing information systems points to the importance of the outreach activities both for identifying the OOSC and their reasons for being out of school, and for the at-risk children with irregular attendance or non-attendance and their reasons. In this context, the qualitative data shows that it is mostly the schools for the latter category that contact the Syrian UTP households and support them in terms of ensuring school attendance of the children. For the former category, the qualitative data also shows that many different actors could be engaged in outreach activities, including the public institutions and non-governmental organizations. There were some key informants and teachers who stated that outreach activities were quite effective in identifying the underlying reasons for the children's constraints about schooling and helped to overcome those problems with the intervention of relevant institutions and actors in a cooperative way. However, the qualitative data further shows the cases where there were not sufficient outreach efforts for tracking the children and incentivising them for schooling.

The second aspect of policy implementation emerges as *the*

Box 6:
Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP)

Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) is a strategic, coordination, planning, advocacy, fundraising, and programming platform since 2015 for humanitarian and development partners to respond to the Syrian crisis. It comprises of one regional plan, with five country chapters covering Türkiye, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt. The 3RP has two interconnected components. While the refugee component addresses the protection and humanitarian assistance needs of refugees, the resilience component addresses the resilience, stabilisation and development needs of impacted individuals, communities and institutions, with the aim of strengthening the capacities of national actors. The 3RP partners have continued working with Governments and partners towards supporting increased access of Syrians to national systems where possible, including health, education, employment and social services. With the support of 3RP partners, in Türkiye, more than 768,000 refugee children were enrolled in formal education in the 2020–2021 school year, and 671,274 children benefited from Conditional Cash Transfers for Education and nearly 4,000 students per month are transported to school free of charge (3RP, 2020b; 2021).

practices of cooperation for implementation. It is clear from the analysis in Sections 3 and 4 that education of the Syrian children UTP is a multidimensional issue, which sometimes goes beyond the limits of education policy. In that sense, the need for cooperation also becomes evident. As already mentioned in Section 2.7.2, the Department of Migration and Emergency Education was established in 2016 under the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning at the MoNE as the coordination unit for the planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting activities for the education of Syrians UTP, but other departments at the MoNE also have oversight at different stages of implementation. Some central administrative units, such as the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Family and Social Services are also involved at different aspects of policy implementation. In addition, there is a high level of involvement of international organizations such as the European Union, UNICEF, UNHCR or some national and international NGOs involved in the implementation process.

The qualitative data first points to the need of cooperation throughout the implementation within the MoNE itself. Some key informants indicated that although it was the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning which had the responsibility for the education of Syrian children UTP, different departments also got engaged in the issue, as the Syrian students UTP at different education levels also fell into the oversight of various departments. However, some key informants indicated that some of the decisions taken by the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning could create some issues to be dealt with for the other general directorates, as was the case for the decisions made about the adaptation classes. In addition, it was also reported that there could be some cases where different general directorates implemented separate projects without having an information sharing system about the project with each other. In that sense, it was stated that the education of Syrian children UTP should be handled in cooperation within the MoNE itself, in a cooperative way.

Secondly, the qualitative data shows that cooperation becomes more important concerning some particular cases to be dealt with. Regarding this, it is possible to observe that the Syrian children UTP could be at the intersection of a number of different policy measures, each of which had to be taken and implemented by different agencies or state institutions. For example, when the officials of the Ministry of Family and Social Services takes an educational measure for a Syrian child UTP, this measure should be implemented by a school affiliated to the MoNE. Or the child labour cases are reported to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, and apart from reporting, the field workers could not intervene with the case until the relevant ministry acts. Or in the case of Syrian UTP children with disabilities, not only the cooperation with the hospitals of the Ministry of Health, but also that of the GRCs (RAM) are required. Thus, many key informants voiced that all the public institutions and relevant non-governmental institutions should work in cooperation to contend with the OOS phenomenon among the Syrian children UTP. Some key informants stated that any confusions about the division of labour among different public institutions, or any delays or inaction should be avoided as they could result in loss of time and efforts in finding solutions to particular problems, or could create serious risks for the well-being of Syrian children UTP.

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The third observation about the practices of cooperation regards the involvement of non-governmental organizations into policy implementation. There were many key informants who stated that the need for cooperation between the public institutions and the NGOs on the education of Syrian children UTP was an issue of mutual dependence. It was indicated that in some cases the NGOs could better reach the Syrian UTP population, but they needed the public institutions' support to take further action. And the other way around, it was also stated that the public institutions might need the help of the NGOs for the provision of specific services and for tracking the files at public institutions in different cases. In that sense, the qualitative data shows that in cases where there were various initiatives from the NGOs on the education of Syrian children UTP such as opening Turkish language courses, it became difficult for the MoNE to guarantee the quality and conformity of those initiatives with the MoNE curriculum. Thus, it was mentioned that the cooperation in the field of education was regulated through establishing protocols with relevant parties who would like to offer activities for the education of the Syrian children UTP.

A final observation in relation to the practices of cooperation for implementation is that many key informants appreciated the cooperation and coordination efforts of international organizations such as UNICEF in their capacities to create partnerships with different public institutions such as the MoNE or MoFSS for the education of Syrian children UTP.

The third aspect of policy implementation is related to the *project-based service provision* in relation to the policy measures targeting the education of Syrian children UTP. At this point, it was possible to observe that many components of the education policy for the Syrian children UTP were implemented through projects, as some of them were mentioned earlier in this section. This refers first to the establishment of cooperation between institutions and organizations on the basis of particular topics or aspects of policy, for example, for the elimination of the language barriers through Turkish language courses, for fighting against child labour though vocational training, or for increasing educational prospects of children through non-formal education programmes. In general, such efforts were appreciated as a practice of cooperation. However, some key informants also voiced concerns that such a project-based provision of educational services sometimes created overlaps through similar projects implemented by different actors with little connection to each other even under the roof of the same public institution or international organization. Here, the major concern was that all those projects tried to reach the same target group, the Syrian children UTP, and in some cases multiplication of efforts could result in inefficient use of resources, for example, providing scholarships to the same children by different agencies or implementing very similar projects in a province at a particular time period. Moreover, some key informants attracted attention to the need for follow-up and monitoring of projects and project outcomes, particularly those implemented by different of actors to ensure a more efficient use of resources. Although, some key informants stated that the data from the projects implemented by the field units of the MoNE in cooperation with different actors prepared either monthly, 3-monthly or 6-monthly reports. Also, such data were kept by the relevant general directorate at the MoNE, still such a project-based reporting system sometimes made it difficult to reach the data as it might not be accessible by all the relevant actors. In addition, it was also suggested that the aims and objectives of the projects should be checked against the needs in the field through monitoring and follow-up activities before and after the project implementation.

The final aspect of policy implementation is voiced as the *implementation problems on the basis of use of discretion*. Some key informants and teachers referred to this as "the involvement of the human factor in implementation". It was stated that in some cases, some of the regulations were observed to be implemented differently based on subjective interpretations.

Box 7:
March 23, 2020–June 18, 2021 (MoNE, 2021a)

- EBA was clicked (visited) 23.8 billion times.
- 12,182 lesson videos and 1,049 extra-curricular videos were shot.
- EBA mobile application was downloaded 34.1 million times.
- 300 million live classes were carried out.

6.5 Support During the COVID-19 Pandemic

From early February 2020, the MoNE focused on raising the awareness of students, parents and teachers on how to prevent COVID-19 from spreading. At that time, it was foreseen that schools would soon have to close so the MoNE concentrated fully on the infrastructure and provision of distance education.

One week after the closure of schools, several channels of the State television network, namely *TRT EBA TV-İlkokul* (Primary School), *TRT EBA TV-Ortaokul* (Lower-Secondary School), *TRT EBA TV-Lise* (Upper-Secondary School), started broadcasting on 23 March 2020 and they are still in service. Summer school programmes started on TRT EBA TV on 29 June 2020. Through the online platform (website and mobile application) of TRT (*TRT İzle*), students have been provided with venues to watch the lesson videos broadcast on three TV channels any time they want, allowing for self-paced learning. However, this service requires technological devices (such as computers, tablets and smartphones) and internet connectivity. The third platform to continue education was and still is *EBA* (the digital educational portal of the MoNE), which has been in use since 2011.

In addition to curriculum-based videos, there are other materials and resources available for both teachers and students, such as documentaries, activities, and tests. After the closure of schools, the content of the portal was considerably enriched. The online platform also allows for live classes and these classes started on 13 April 2020 for Grades 8 and 12 students. On 27 April 2020, this synchronous distance education system was opened for Grades 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 students. Daily course programmes of different school levels were rescheduled as live classes which took place from Monday to Saturday in line with the hours (between 8 a.m. and 10 p.m.) allocated by EBA for different grades.

The MoNE put interactive books into use on EBA for lower- and upper-secondary students on 16 October 2020. Because this platform also required technological devices and internet connectivity, students were provided with free 8 GB internet packages for online education starting from 23 March 2020. In September 2020, the MoNE started to establish EBA Support Centres in schools and institutions in 81 provinces, for students who did not have access to technological devices and internet at home. As of 2 April 2021, there were 15,248 EBA Support Centres and 190 EBA Mobile Support Centres in Türkiye (MoNE, 2021a). In addition to these Centres, the distribution of tablets to students started in October 2020 and by 2 April 2021, a total of 586,245 tablets with 25 GB internet quota/month were distributed to students. The distributions were made based on the data-based strategy of the MoNE and in line with criteria such as families' level of income, the number of siblings of school age, special education needs, and the academic success of students (MoNE, 2020b).

In addition to the measures taken above, the MoNE Communications Centre (*MEBİM – Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı İletişim Merkezi*) (444 0 632) was established for students and parents on 1 April 2020. And a mobile application for students enrolled in special education schools and inclusive education was operationalised on 24 April 2020.

CHAPTER 7

Policy Recommendations

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This report presents a comprehensive overview of the existence and interplay of the factors related to the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. For this purpose, a variety of available quantitative data from resources such as UNICEF Monitoring, the MoNE, and DHS 2018 were analysed in Section 4 to identify the extent of the OOS phenomenon. Section 5 complemented the quantitative analysis with qualitative data specifically collected for the aims of this study, by presenting and discussing the dynamics behind the OOS phenomenon together with the causes and consequences of demand-side and supply-side factors on the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. Section 6 embedded the analysis of the existing education policy measures and education governance into this overview, also benefiting from the summary of the already existing policies provided in Section 2 and the qualitative data on their actual practice in Türkiye.

Such a multidimensional and evidence-based analysis enabled the identification of a set of barriers and bottlenecks in relation to the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. These are classified as demand-side and supply-side barriers, as well as the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on education in general. The analysis has also identified factors of the enabling environment in terms of education governance and policies in Türkiye by following the Global OOSCI Operational Manual (UNICEF, 2015) and adapting it to the Syrian children UTP case in Türkiye. As a result of this exercise, it is possible to present some major observations, some main findings of the quantitative and qualitative analysis and policy recommendations to overcome the barriers to the education of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

The first major observation is that the Syrian UTP population is not a homogenous group for some reasons. Although they can be observed to share characteristics such as their migration dynamics from Syria, a high number of household members, a low level of economic resources, and the Arabic language as the native language for most of them, there are some differences in terms of their past experiences or new life experiences in Türkiye. Thus, consideration of the identified barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP should avoid being generalised by keeping in mind the possibility that the dynamics behind the barriers may vary among different groups of the Syrian UTP population. For example, arrival time to Türkiye appears as an important variable for identifying the degree of social cohesion among the Syrian households UTP, or household characteristics such as being a single parent household may increase the severity of some barriers such as child labour to children's education.

The second observation is that various barriers do not affect all children equally, as OOSC rates may vary significantly by gender and age group. In that sense, variations of the effects of the barriers on Syrian girls UTP and Syrian boys UTP Syrian OOSC UTP and Syrian at-risk children UTP, geographical location, and Syrian children UTP at different age groups, namely those aged 6–9, 10–13 and 14–17 should be taken into consideration. For example, early and forced marriages seem to be a prominent barrier for the girls' education at the age group of 14–17, child labour is a more relevant barrier for the boys mostly at the age group of 14–17, and to a lesser extent for that of 10–13-year olds. Barriers such as not having ID cards hinders school enrolment of the OOSC, limited communication between the teachers/school administrators and the parents appears as a barrier for children at risk of drop out. Although the qualitative data did not provide a significant variation, mostly because of the fact that all six provinces of the qualitative field study were metropolitan cities, some differences on the basis of geographical location is possible to be observed from the quantitative data. The size, population and economic standards of those provinces may refer to some barriers such as high costs of living, long commuting distances to school, or security concerns.

The third observation is that in almost none of the cases is a single barrier impacting the children's education prospects, but rather in many cases some combination of barriers can be observed. This is to say that many Syrian children UTP face multiple risks, which makes it difficult to disentangle various factors when determining how much importance to assign to a particular barrier and its effect on pulling (or pushing) the children out of school. Many of the barriers, both demand-side and supply-side, are interrelated in the sense that they can be observed as each other's causes or consequences. This requires a relational and multidimensional overview before producing policy measures intending to eliminate the barriers. For example, the language barrier is observed to affect many aspects of children's life such as social cohesion, bullying at school, or academic performance. When children are competent in the Turkish language, they can still have irregular attendance or drop out of the school due to reasons such as economic problems or health-related barriers.

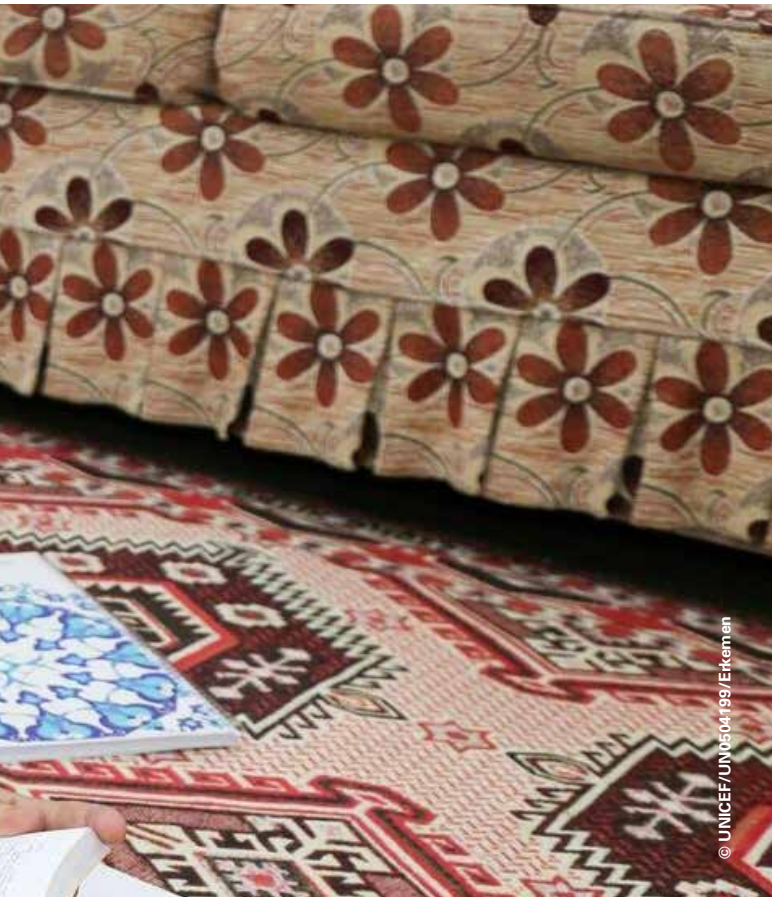
The last observation is that some of the barriers seem to be more systemic, structural or circular in the sense that they are not only related to one particular aspect of life but expand to different spheres of life. A consequence is that some factors observed in the qualitative analysis may act in a circular way, i.e., both as causes and/or consequences for the OOS phenomenon. Examples include child labour, early and forced marriage, and children in conflict with the law. A better term for these factors may be 'bottlenecks', as they tend to be the product of multiple influences which eventually have a two-way relation to the education of children. For example, children may not attend school due to the need to get engaged into income generating activities in the labour market, or the children who left school might end up in the labour market. It becomes clear that the capacity of education or school in a more specific sense to protect children from the negative impact of such bottlenecks has the potential to reduce the number of children working in the labour market.

In light of those major observations, the main findings regarding the barriers and bottlenecks to the education of Syrian children UTP can be summarised as follows:

The very first finding is that over time, the enrolment rates of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye have been increasing and OOS rates have been decreasing. This means that many of the policy initiatives, both related to the elimination of demand-side and supply-side barriers, have been influential in decreasing the OOS Syrian children UTP percentages from 69.6 per cent in 2014–2015 school year to 36.7 per cent in the 2019–2020 school year. Transition of the Syrian children UTP from TECs to TPSs have been successfully implemented to contribute to this outcome. However, the quantitative and qualitative analysis show that there is still room for improvement, as for the last three school years, the OOSC percentage for the Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 has remained steady around 36–37 per cent. Moreover, the enrolment and OOS rates of Syrian OOSC UTP are quite unbalanced among age groups. DHS 2018 data shows that school enrolment at the 6–9 cohort is rather high (76.2 per cent), but OOSC percentages quickly increase to 26 per cent starting from the 10–13 age group and very few of the Syrian children UTP at the 14–17 age group are in school at the time of the 2018 DHS with 61.4 per cent having dropped out after initially enrolling. This shows that the OOS phenomenon for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye is a more poignant problem for the 14–17 age cohort, followed by the 10–13 age group. In addition, the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have also brought together risks for the Syrian children UTP who were already at school before the pandemic to be out of school after the pandemic began.

Such an overview refers to the existence of particular setbacks which can pull and keep Syrian children UTP out of school in Türkiye. The analysis of the qualitative data shows that the most prevalent barriers are rather demand-side barriers, namely the economic barriers and barriers hindering social cohesion, which are indeed more structural problems affecting and being affected by a multiplicity of factors.

The economic barriers, namely economic problems and poverty seem to condition school enrolment and attendance of the Syrian children UTP directly and indirectly, and result in school drop-outs mostly for the 14–17 age cohort. In that sense, economic barriers go well beyond the inability to afford school-related expenses, when other factors such as the existence of the high number of household members and of single main earners (mostly fathers) in the Syrian households UTP and high costs of living are taken into consideration. Coupled with some other demand-side and supply-side barriers such as the lack of language skills, poor academic performance, or bullying at school, economic barriers are observed to pull children out of school to opt for child labour instead of education. In this way, older children (mostly boys), who are deprived of their education rights, seem not only to contribute to the family budget to be able to help affording high costs of living, but also to contribute to the schooling of their younger siblings. In this context, not only the continuation and enhancement of the cash assistance such as Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE) for refugees and in-kind support to Syrian households UTP, but also targeting economic barriers through provision of a variety of education options and opportunities and awareness-raising become important for the future.



Another prominent barrier to the education of Syrian children UTP is related to the levels of social cohesion among the Syrian households UTP. There are some households which are observed to be better integrated to and have better relationships with the local community they live in. This seems to be mostly due to the longer time spent in Türkiye and policy measures to ensure their adaptation to Türkiye. However, for another group of Syrian households UTP who have recently arrived in the country, they face problems in terms of social cohesion, and such problems seem to affect not only the well-being but also the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye. Thus, barriers such as lack of friends/social isolation, difficulties in integration to the local community, and security concerns seriously limit the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. Those barriers can be targeted through supply-side measures, in a very general sense through schooling of the children, where the schools can play a role in terms of facilitating social cohesion. Thus, in addition to social cohesion policies, the schools and teachers should be empowered as an actor to play an important role to eliminate those barriers and ensure the venues for socialisation, peer-learning, and the development of a culture of living together.

Following those demand-side barriers, the most prevalent supply-side barriers are observed as the school administrative regulations such as a lack of ID cards/residence permits and to a lesser extent the inability to register children in school. Also, some school supply-related barriers, particularly the limited communication between the school administrations/teachers and the Syrian parents UTP and that between teachers and the Syrian students UTP. Enrolment regulations (on the basis of formal registration with the Turkish authorities) and the grade placement system seem to affect the education prospects of the children, particularly for the Syrian households UTP who have recently arrived in Türkiye. When the Syrian children UTP at school are considered, apart from the bullying at school, which is also observed as a reflection of low levels of social cohesion, the most prominent barrier is the limited involvement of the Syrian parents UTP into the education process of their children, as a result of the limited communication between the school administrations/teachers and the parents. Targeting such supply-side barriers with policies to develop the capacities of the education system, schools and school administrators/teachers would considerably help Syrian children UTP benefit from their education right.

Depending on the findings of this Study, it is possible to develop a set of policy recommendations for education policy stakeholders based on evidence, to assist them in enhancing the education opportunities for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, to increase their school enrolment rates, and to contribute to the elimination of the OOS phenomenon among these children.

The policy recommendations below are first drafted on the basis of the most prominent barriers and bottlenecks to the education of Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, identified through the overall analysis in the previous sections. Then, those barrier-based recommendations are re-categorised under separate domains of policy action referring to more macro policies strengthened with some recommended policy actions, that are developed with a view to overcome the identified barriers to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye.

It should be noted that recommended policies and policy actions necessitate active cooperation and coordination among a variety of policy actors including public institutions, civil society organizations, international organizations and the private sector, to pool their respective resources, at the policy-making, implementation and monitoring stages, to ensure a better future for the Syrian children UTP.

The policy domains for recommended policy actions below are awareness raising and information, socio-economic integration, skills development, capacity development, data collection, monitoring and outreach, and advocacy and collective action.

Awareness Raising and Information

The analysis shows that although Syrian parents UTP are informed at a basic level about the education opportunities for their children in Türkiye, there is still need for raising awareness about the multiplicity of schooling options as well as the particular regulations about the school enrolment procedures. For example, in the case of special education, VECs or open education, or in terms of other educational support activities such as the Turkish language courses or ALP. In addition, it is also possible to observe that not all the information acquired by the Syrian households UTP could be accurate, to refer to the existence of some degree of misinformation/misconception about the schooling options and procedures. Thus, further efforts to increase the level of awareness and dissemination of information about the education opportunities among the Syrian households UTP would help to ensure children's access to different schooling options and potentially eliminate some of the barriers such as those that effect the education of children with disabilities as well as those related to the children's domestic responsibility, early and forced marriages and child labour.

Policy Recommendation: Increasing the level of awareness and further dissemination of information about the education opportunities and schooling options among Syrian households UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Organization of awareness-raising activities and information campaigns on the importance of education for children, particularly of girls' education and on gender equality.
- Dissemination of widespread information about the pre-school education to promote early learning opportunities for all Syrian children UTP.
- Continuation of wide-spread dissemination of information and promotion of vocational schools/VECs and open education options.
- Wide-spread dissemination of information about other educational activities for children, such as Turkish language courses, ALP, etc.
- Informing parents about the procedures for the schooling opportunities and school enrolment of the children with disabilities, including the parents' access to and procedures with RAMs.
- For the awareness-raising and information activities, benefiting from diverse methods and tools, such as using school buildings, youth centres, PECs and TRC Community Centres, communication networks of Syrian UTP population, etc., for face-to-face meetings, household visits, social media channels, websites, brochures, etc., prepared in Turkish and Arabic languages about schooling options and enrolment procedures.
- Continuation of benefiting from the assistance of SVEP, school administrations/teachers, NGO representatives, neighbourhood headmen and other relevant local actors for the awareness-raising and information activities.
- Distribution of information and preparation of the guides about the modalities of distance education and EBA Support Centres, in the case of continuation of the distance education model for the future.

Socio-Economic Integration

Increasing the socio-economic integration of the Syrian population UTP in Türkiye appears as a remedy to overcome numerous barriers to the education of children identified in relation to social cohesion and economic problems. For the former, different elements of social cohesion namely lack of friends/social isolation, difficulties in integration to local community, attitudes of the local population, and bullying are observed to negatively affect the schooling prospects of almost all the Syrian children UTP to different extents depending on the level of integration of the household into the community they live in. Such negative effects are also observed due to health-related reasons, namely disability of the children and psycho-social effects/traumas. The economic barriers appear to be related to school expenses, lack of resources, poverty, and concomitant particularly for the boys aged 14–17. Such barriers have also hindered children's access to distance education during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, the recommendations below are formulated to target the barriers related to social cohesion at different levels, and economic barriers.

Policy Recommendation: Enhancing opportunities for social cohesion and supporting engagement, participation and mutual understanding between Syrian UTP and national/local populations at different levels.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Organization of facilitated activities to bring children together with local children and ensure engagement of the Syrian children UTP to social life (e.g., football matches, theatres, concerts, city tours) at the neighbourhood/district/provincial levels, with the help of different stakeholders.
- Organization of facilitated activities (social, cultural, extracurricular, media literacy, etc.) at schools to bring children together and to help them express themselves freely and enhance mutual learning.
- Organization of facilitated activities at schools to increase awareness about the difficulties of being children with disability.
- Organization of social/cultural activities (such as cooking, handicrafts, picnics, etc.) in the neighbourhoods/districts targeting the parents to facilitate social cohesion among different members of the community.
- Focussing more on the education of values or intercultural learning in school extracurricular activities to encourage social cohesion.
- Establishing or developing platforms (online, radio, local TV, social media, posters, etc.) to enable the access of the children and parents to information about (mostly free of charge) cultural/social activities in the province, also in the Arabic language.
- Benefiting better from the potential and increasing the number of venues to bring children together, such as the student clubs at schools, community centres, youth centres, etc.
- Continuation of psycho-social support services for children, parents and teachers/SVEP to help overcome and deal with psycho-social effects and traumas.

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Policy Recommendation: Continuation of cash transfers such as CCTE and in-kind support mechanisms for the Syrian households UTP to minimise and contribute to school expenses of the children, as well as economic resilience of the households.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Continuation and enhancement of the Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE) for Syrian children UTP considering its critical role highlighted by CCTE's external evaluation.
- Reviewing and adjusting the amount of both ESSN and CCTE in line with the increases in the cost of living (inflation, COVID-19 restrictions, reduced employment opportunities, etc.).
- Ensuring registration of children to schools/VECs close to where the families live.
- Continuation of provision of school transportation services to schools in the provinces with the highest Syrians UTP population.
- Continuation of the provision of in-kind educational support to children.
- Implementing free lunch/food allowance programmes at schools.
- Consideration of opening boarding schools to the Syrian children UTP as a means of reducing the costs of living and education of the children and provision of legal changes in this regard.
- In case of distance education, identification of the Syrian students UTP who need equipment such as tablets, PCs, access to the internet, course books, books, stationary and fair distribution of equipment support on the basis of objective and transparent criteria.
- Encouraging and mobilising all relevant stakeholder including the private sector, local government and NGOs for raising funds to supply cash or in-kind social assistance.

Skills Development

The analysis shows that a lack or limited existence of particular skills such as language skills (for the children and parents) or communication and/or intercultural/inclusive education skills (for the teachers, SVEP and school administrators), as components of both demand-side and supply-side factors, act as barrier to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. In addition, the lack of skills related to the access to and implementation of distance education throughout the COVID-19 pandemic has revealed new areas where there is need for further skills development. In that sense, skills development initiatives (not only for the children and parents, but also for the teachers/SVEP and school administrators as they voiced themselves in the qualitative data) may mitigate the negative effects of some barriers, which are observed to cause multiple risks for the education of the children. For example, a lack of Turkish language skills does not only lead to poor academic performance, but also to bullying at school, lack of communication between the teachers and the children or not being able to follow the distance education academic content. Below, the policy recommendations about skills development are categorised separately for three target groups, namely the Syrian children UTP, their parents, and teachers/SVEP/school administrators.

Policy Recommendation: Continuation to support the development of Turkish language skills and academic learning skills of the Syrian children UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Continuation of the Turkish language courses for children.
- Provision of Turkish language courses at different hours of the day both at the weekends and on weekdays.
- Provision of flexible learning options for the Turkish language courses with the help of technological support and distance education methods.
- Continuation of back-up and catch-up education programmes for children based on the needs at school level and decided by the schools' administrators.
- Organization of remedial education programmes to avoid learning losses due to the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Provision of more technical support for the children for distance education practices and requirements, if needed in Arabic.

Policy Recommendation: Supporting skills development of the Syrian parents UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Promoting and increasing the number of Turkish language courses for parents/caregivers, particularly for mothers in the vicinity to their residence.
- Providing free Turkish language learning materials and stationery to the parents/caregivers.
- Providing childcare services for the parents while attending the Turkish language courses.
- Provision of more technical support for the parents for distance education practices, if needed, in Arabic.
- Preparation and distribution of manuals/guides for the parents about how to support their children's social, emotional and mental well-being during and after the pandemic.

Policy Recommendation: Supporting skills development of the teachers/SVEP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Implementation of needs analyses among the teachers/SVEP about their needs for further skills in helping and guiding Syrian children UTP and acting to fulfil those needs through training seminars, and support materials, etc.
- Provision of in-service training for teachers, school administrators and SVEP on effective communication skills, intercultural and inclusive education methodologies and fight against bullying.
- Encouraging teachers in the Class Teachers Boards to meet more frequently to discuss the psychological and social development, academic performance and attendance of every single Syrian student UTP and act accordingly.
- Organization of at least one or two household visits by the education staff to meet the parents of students and to observe their own students' living conditions, lifestyles and families.
- Informing and training of the teachers/SVEP and school administrations about how to identify the cases of domestic violence and child labour and how to intervene in such cases.
- Equipping the education staff not only about the rules and regulations regarding education of the children but also the rules and regulations related to living in Türkiye as Syrians UTP (such as registration, social aids, moving to another province, vocational trainings for individuals over the school age).
- Preparation and distribution of manuals/guides for the teachers/SVEP about how to support the student's social, emotional and mental well-being during and after the pandemic.
- Involving not only teachers in awareness-raising activities but also other staff, such as cleaning, security and school bus staff.

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Capacity Development

The analysis of the supply-side factors, namely school administrative regulations, school supply and school quality shows that there are particular barriers stemming from those factors to the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP. The elimination of those barriers relates to certain efforts for capacity development, mostly of schools to better accommodate Syrian children UTP in the Turkish public schools. In connection with this, particular barriers can be targeted by setting five capacity development efforts as a priority. Firstly, the barriers related to the school enrolment of the Syrian children UTP, namely lack of registration and ID cards or certificate of residence, inability to register children in school, overage enrolment, commuting time/distance to school and bullying on the way to school, can be targeted through capacity development initiatives regarding the facilitation of school enrolment for the Syrian children UTP. Secondly, there is a need to improve communication between the schools and the parents by developing new instruments/methods to integrate Syrian parents UTP to the education process of their children. Thirdly, barriers identified in relation to teaching and learning such as low academic performance, COVID-19-related difficulties, barriers to learning due to overage enrolment, and the learning materials and curriculum can be targeted through further development of teaching/learning capacities at schools. Fourthly, bullying at school as a prominent barrier to the education prospects and well-being of the Syrian children UTP needs to be addressed through building capacities at schools to fight against and eliminate it. Finally, the analysis indicates that empowering schools as a prevention and intervention mechanism would help eliminate particular barriers stemming from some bottlenecks such as early and forced marriages, disability of the children, or child labour.

Policy Recommendation: Facilitation of school enrolment for the Syrian children UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Ensuring proper and uniform implementation of rules and regulations for the education of Syrian children UTP.
- Ensuring that school enrolment procedures for children who do not have identity cards, residence permits, and foreigner identification documents are accelerated.
- Ensuring registration of children to schools/VECs in the closest vicinity to where the families live particularly for the children at the lower- and upper-secondary levels.
- Ensuring efficient guidance by the school administrations to parents in case of inability to register children to school due to formal reasons.
- Organization of grade placement tests more frequently and regularly, if not at the provincial or district level, at the regional level with some support for additional costs of attending the test such as transport costs.
- Empowering school administrations to make the final decision about grade placement considering the best interest of the child (placing a student in a certain grade or enrolling him/her in adaptation or back-up classes).

Policy Recommendation: Development of mechanisms to effectively engage Syrian parents UTP to their children's education processes.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Developing mechanisms to overcome the language barriers for reaching out to and communicating with the parents, such as including some Syrian parents UTP in the Teacher-Parent Associations, preparing information/announcements in Arabic if needed, etc.
- Benefiting from the communication networks of the Syrian UTP population to reach out to the parents.
- Organizing meetings and social activities with Syrian parents and their children.
- Raising funds to increase the number of SVEP to support not only the students but also the teachers at schools and distributing them according to the needs of the provinces.
- Distributing SVEP to schools based on the population of the Syrian students UTP at each school and the specific needs of the schools.
- Strengthening and expanding the role of SVEP in conducting household visits to overcome language barriers.

Policy Recommendation: Further development of teaching/learning capacities at schools.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Continuation of production/distribution of supportive learning materials in Turkish for foreigner students.
- Encouragement of the use of applied methods and physical/scientific activities (such as small learning groups, paper-based solutions, etc.) in teaching.
- Strengthening the availability of data and information on learning for schools/teachers to better assess where students stand in terms of learning.
- Taking measures to prevent flexibility in absenteeism.

- Strengthening systems around tracking attendance rates and also tracking mechanisms to prevent early school leaving, especially at the upper-secondary level.
- Development and implementation of academic support programmes such as early warning learning systems, ongoing remedial education programme at different school levels, etc., and providing guidance about alternative learning pathways/different schooling options for those who are not excelling in their academic studies.
- Ensuring a safe return of children back to school after the COVID-19 pandemic to ensure remedial learning to recover learning losses for the children and support them for any possible in-person, distance or hybrid education models.
- Development of the instruments to appreciate and support specific talents or success of children by the teachers and school administrators.
- Ensuring a safe return of teachers back to school after the COVID-19 pandemic and to support them in addressing the learning losses of the children and better use of digital education tools into their teaching practices.

Policy Recommendation: Fight against and elimination of bullying at school.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Developing and implementing strategies and initiatives to prevent bullying at school at the central level.
- Developing and implementing mechanisms at the school level to be implemented in cases of bullying.
- Ensuring cooperation between the school administrators, school counsellors and parents of the children who are exposed to bullying to better help children overcome the negative effects of bullying.

Policy Recommendation: Empowering schools as a prevention and intervention mechanism.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Developing mechanisms at school for identifying and acting for the children at risk of being exposed to domestic violence and for identifying the children at risk of early and forced marriages.
- Ensuring implementation of the already existing regulations for the schools to make friendly and accessible school arrangements for children with disabilities.
- Developing mechanisms for identifying the child labour cases and acting to ensure schooling for children who are at a legal working age.
- Strengthening the relations between the relevant public authorities and the schools in cases of need for action upon identification of situations against the law.

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Data Collection, Monitoring and Outreach

Collection and availability of reliable and regular data is not only a crucial component of development of evidence-based and targeted education policy for the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, but also of monitoring the progress for further development of policies and reaching out to the at risk of drop out or OOS Syrian children UTP. The analysis in this study points out to limited availability of some sorts of data on the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, mostly related to the elimination of the barriers such as high levels of household mobility, overage enrolment, or barriers hindering access to education of children with disabilities.

Policy Recommendation: Collection and sharing reliable and regular data on the Syrian children UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Continuation of outreach activities to identify and encourage OOSC for school enrolment.
- Ensuring integration of different information systems to be able to track Syrian children UTP in general and Syrian OOSC UTP in particular.
- Strengthening the systems around tracking mechanisms for attendance rates to prevent early school leaving, especially at the upper-secondary level.
- Establishment or development of a bottom-up mechanism and adjustment of the e-School system to be able to follow-up domestic and international family mobilities of the Syrian children UTP.
- Following up of the children with chronic conditions by the schools to support their additional education needs to compensate learning losses throughout the semester.
- Development of YÖBİS in the same way as the e-School system to ensure the follow-up of the enrolment of OOSC.
- Development of a compressive and open platform for data and information sharing about the Syrian children UTP.
- Ensuring sharing and accessibility of outcomes of different projects conducted on the education of Syrian children UTP.
- Development of more targeted evidence-based policy measures and projects on the basis of data for different categories of Syrian children UTP to education.

Advocacy and Collective Action

The analysis shows that some particular bottlenecks that could hinder the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP in Türkiye, such as early and forced marriages, child labour or barriers hindering access of children with disabilities to education, go beyond the exclusive competence of the education policy and governance to reflect the need for cooperation and collective action among different policy areas and policy actors. In addition, barriers to education such as security concerns, peer bullying, lack of registration and ID cards or certificate of residence, children's domestic responsibilities or domestic violence are to be targeted from a macro perspective. Policy advocacy at the macro level would also help bringing the need for further and cooperative efforts to overcome such bottlenecks into the policy agenda.

Policy Recommendation: Increasing policy advocacy initiatives for eliminating the barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Promoting pre-school education and encouraging enrolment of Syrian children UTP to (public) pre-schools.
- Collection and promotion of (educational) success stories of Syrian girls UTPs at school as agents or promoters of education.
- Organization of information campaigns about the legal conditions of civil marriages, not only for the females but also targeting male members of the households.
- Supporting initiatives of other policy actors specifically targeting elimination of early and forced marriages.
- Supporting initiatives of other policy actors targeting the elimination of child labour in Türkiye.
- Promoting vocational and open education options for the Syrian children UTP.
- Developing initiatives to discourage employers about employing children through legal measures and inspections.
- Attracting attention of the public authorities to the negative consequences of long processes of registration with the Turkish authorities, getting an ID card and residence permit, on the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP.

Policy Recommendation: Developing and participating in collective action for eliminating the barriers to the education of Syrian children UTP.

Recommended Policy actions:

- Enhancing legal sanctions and inspections on early and forced marriage.
- Enhancing measures and sanctions for the prevention of child labour.
- Simplifying the process of flow of information in and among public institutions to fasten the procedures of registration with Turkish authorities and transfer of a certificate of residence.
- Strengthening interpretation services for the public offices where public service providers (such as GRCs, hospitals, police offices, etc.) can be relied upon to assist non-Turkish speaking parents.
- Continuation and encouragement of cooperation between of all relevant actors, central and provincial level public institutions, local governments (particularly municipalities), non-governmental actors, private sector, international organizations at the education policy-making and implementation stages.
- Institutionalising the mechanisms to coordinate and act collectively among the relevant policy and enforcement actors in the inventory of OOSC.
- Encouragement of more participatory policy-making and implementation processes based on the experiences and feedback of the people working in the field on a daily basis with the Syrian children UTP.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

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Türkiye is home to the largest group of refugees in the world and there are over 1 million Syrian children Under Turkish Protection (UTP) that currently reside in the country. The Syrian refugee crisis has placed an immense responsibility on the Turkish government to meet the educational needs of a large number of vulnerable children. This study provided a detailed analysis of OOSC among Syrian children UTP, with an overarching goal of providing Turkish education stakeholders with "actionable" findings and recommendations that can be used to reduce the number of children who are out of school.

The study is divided into three main parts. In the **first part** an extensive set of quantitative data was incorporated to describe recent trends in OOSC based on the official OOSC dimensions that were developed by the UNICEF-UNESCO initiative on OOSC (UNICEF, 2015). The data includes a series of monitoring data surveys that were supported by UNICEF during the 2016–2020 period, the DHS 2018 data that included a nationally representative sub-sample of Syrian households UTP, and official MoNE data on enrolments of Syrian children UTP. The **main finding** from the quantitative overview of OOSC is that both the raw number and percentage of Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 that are out of school have declined considerably since the 2014–2015 school year. For example, in 2014–2015 there were 526,000 Syrian children UTP aged 5–17 that were out of school, representing nearly 70 per cent of all children in this age cohort. By 2019–2020, despite a roughly 40 per cent increase in the number of 5–17-year-old Syrian children UTP residing in Türkiye, the OOS figure had declined to 400,000 children, or roughly 37 per cent of the total cohort. In other words, in just a 5-year period the percentage of Syrian children UTP who were out of school was cut in half.

Nevertheless, despite the clear evidence of improvement in reducing the numbers of Syrian children UTP that are out of school, the **second main finding** from the quantitative summary is that the rate of progress has slowed in recent years. As a result, the percentage of children classified as OOSC has remained steady at just under 40 per cent of the total group. Furthermore, the quantitative data summaries show that among enrolled Syrian children UTP there is a sizeable proportion who are extremely overage for their level of study (3 or more years older) or have been absent for more than 30 days in the most recent school years. In other words, in addition to the large group of children who remain outside of the education system, a sizeable group of enrolled Syrian children UTP are at risk of leaving school before completing secondary or even primary levels.

The quantitative summary confirms that there is much work to do to get all school-aged Syrian children UTP into school. The quantitative data alone are not capable of explaining **why these children are out of school**. Addressing this question was the main task of the **second part** of the report, which identified an extensive set of barriers to education for Syrian children UTP. This analysis incorporated both quantitative and qualitative data sources, although the principal source of information, and the main contribution of this study to the knowledge base on the OOSC problem among Syrian children, was a very large qualitative data collection undertaken throughout the country with Syrian children UTP, their families and other key informants.

The findings from the barriers' analysis are too extensive to be summarised here, but the main takeaway is simply that Syrian children UTP are exposed to a wide-ranging set of barriers that impact school enrolment. These barriers include demand-side factors such as household poverty and the need for child labour that in effect pulls children out of school or prevents them from enrolling upon arrival in Türkiye. There are also supply-side issues related to school registration and the adaptability of Turkish Public Schools (TPS) to address the specific needs of the Syrian children UTP and keep them in school once enrolled. Within each of these demand and supply-side categories there are numerous other factors, and the barriers' analysis also highlighted variation in barriers by gender, age group and category of OOSC (out of school or at risk of dropping out).

In the **third part of the study** the objective changed from describing and understanding the OOSC problem to finding ways to get these children into school. Over 14 individual policy recommendations were developed, and each one was mapped onto the corresponding barrier using the same categories that organized the barriers analysis in the second part of the study.

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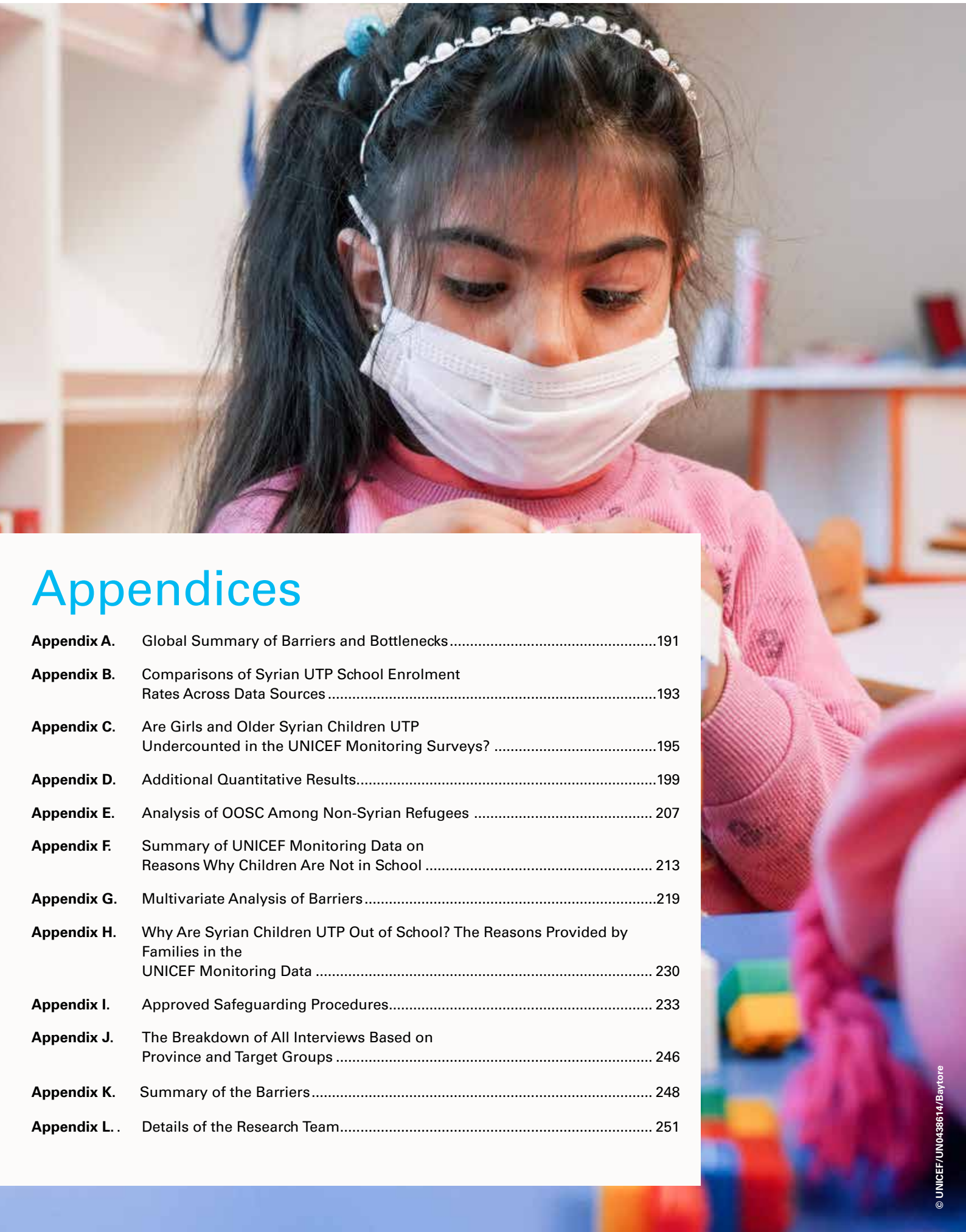

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Appendix A. Global Summary of Barriers and Bottlenecks

Barriers and Bottlenecks that Affect OOSC	
Socio-Cultural, Human Capital- and Health-related Barriers (Demand-side)	Gender-related values • Chastity, honour and gender-based norms (including early and forced marriages) • Family's expectations about a child's future being shaped by gender roles • Child's domestic responsibilities
	Human capital • Language • Not valuing education • Poor performance at school • Previous education background/norms

	Health-related reasons
	• Disability
	• Illness
	• Psycho-social effects (compared to previous living conditions)
	  • Stigma of extreme poverty
	  • Engagement in different forms of labour
	• Psycho-social effects of traumatic experiences
	  • Being forced into crime
	  • Being the survivor or witness of a crime
	  • Survivor or witness of violence (in or out of school)
	  • Survivor or witness of sexual abuse and incest
	• Pregnancy

	Family structure (size of the family, parents at home, fosterage, etc.)
	Social cohesion • Bullying • Lack of friends/social isolation • Integration with local community • Security concerns
Economic Barriers (Demand-side)	Poverty and lack of resources • Food security • Cost of living • Not being able to afford school expenses • Reliance on child labour as a family coping strategy
	Migration and family mobility • Problems with registration and ID numbers • Urge to change city

Barriers and Bottlenecks that Affect OOSC	
School Administrative Regulations-related Barriers (Supply-side)	Enrolment/new registration • Access to information (families and schools) • Inability to register in school. Misplacement of children in terms of age and grade
	School calendar
	Maximum age of school enrolment
	Non-attendance regulations
	Grade transitions
School Supply, Quality and Relevance-related Barriers (Supply-side)	School supply • Location • Pre-primary level (quantity, access) • Open Education – access to formal education not being at the desired level (quantity, access, relevance, quality, aspects of job opportunities) • TVET (quantity, access, relevance, quality, aspects of job opportunities)
	School resources • School contributions • Physical conditions (water, electricity, food, toilets, etc.) • Class size • Mixed-gender classes • Transportation to and from school • Learning materials (difficulty level, relevance, language, etc.)
	Teacher quality • Lack of experience in working with refugee children • Attitude • Communication with children and parents (including language)
	Security in the school • Bullying • School climate (violence, discipline problems, addictive substances, etc.) • Relationship between community and students/parents
Governance, Finance and Institutional Barriers (Supply-side)	Public spending on education and budget allocation

Appendix B. Comparisons of Syrian UTP School Enrolment Rates Across Data Sources

The UNICEF Monitoring Data are critical resources in the quantitative analysis of Syrian OOSC UTP. The surveys cover four school years (2016–2017, 2017–2018, 2018–2019, and 2019–2020) with more than 100,000 Syrian children UTP drawn from over 20 provinces. The school participation questions include some important details about whether or not the chid has ever enrolled in school, if they have enrolled and no longer attend (drop-outs), the frequency of attendance in the last month, and the type of school.

There are also some child and family background indicators that provide additional context about current living conditions. And finally, the UNICEF Monitoring Data asked families to indicate the reason for why their children are not in school, when applicable. This last feature is especially important for this study since the UNICEF Monitoring Data are the only quantitative source on reasons for not being in school (provided by the families).

However, there are some limitations with the UNICEF Monitoring Data. They are not based on a defined population, but instead rely mainly on a form of convenience sampling ('snowball sampling') where Syrian families UTP with children were identified during the data collection fieldwork. The school participation questions do not include current grade information for enrolled children, which makes it impossible to calculate things like the gross enrolment rate for a specific schooling level. The schooling question wording can vary slightly, although most of the surveys rely on the same set of questions. And the monitoring surveys were prohibited from entering refugee camps, so the samples only cover non-camp Syrian UTP households.

A lot of resources have been invested in the UNICEF Monitoring Data, and to date there is no systematic assessment of how these surveys compare with other data sources. This section provides a brief summary of school enrolment rates across the various UNICEF Monitoring Data, with comparisons against official MoNE enrolment rates, the 2018 DHS, and Third-Party Monitoring (TPM) surveys conducted with CCTE beneficiary families.

Figure B1 provides a comparison of school enrolment rates for Syrians UTP aged 5–17 across the different UNICEF Monitoring Data, divided into the four most recent school years. Within each school year the official (MoNE) enrolment rate for Syrians UTP aged 5–17 is provided (blue dots, right side of each column) as well as the outreach survey sample average in 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 when there are multiple surveys available (orange dot, right side of column). The DHS sample average is included in the 2018–2019 school year (green dot).

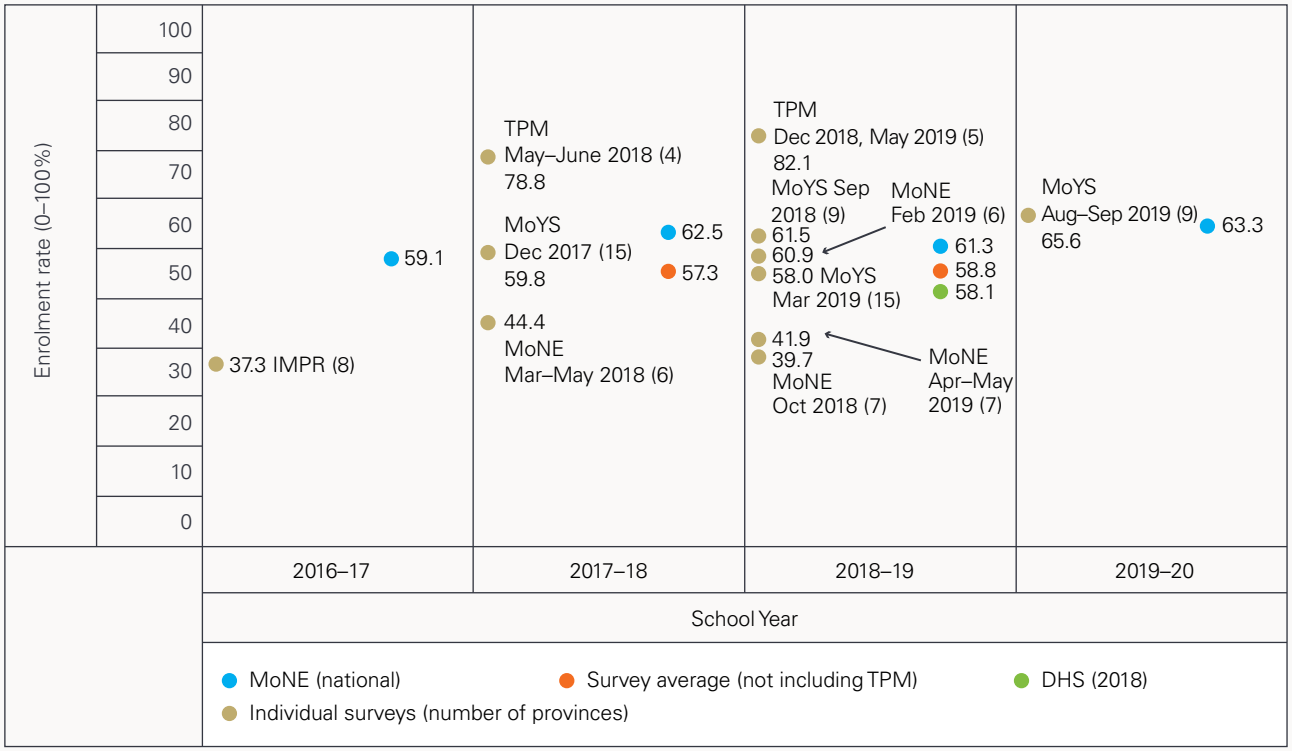
For the 2016–2017 school year the only survey available is the UNICEF Monitoring Data from eight provinces, and the enrolment rate in the surveyed households (37.3 per cent) is much lower than the official MoNE rate for that school year (59.1 per cent). By contrast, for the 2019–2020 school year the only monitoring survey data are from UNICEF Monitoring Data, and the 5-17–year-old enrolment rate in the survey (65.6 per cent) is very close to the MoNE-reported national average (63.3 per cent).

For 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 school years there are multiple surveys, and the results can differ considerably between surveys within the same school year. However, the average enrolment rate across all monitoring surveys[83] is very close to the official MoNE rate in both years, and in 2018–2019 the outreach average is nearly identical to the DHS enrolment rate.

The Third-Party Monitoring (TPM) survey results are also included for the 2017–2018 and 2018–2019 school years as reference points. Not surprisingly, **the enrolment rate among Syrian children UTP in households that include at least one CCTE beneficiary child is higher than the MoNE rate in each year.**

83 The calculation of the averages across the different outreach surveys within each school year is based on an updated weighting scheme that corrects the sample balance so that it is equal to the 2017 population totals of Syrians UTP by age and province (see discussion sample and weights in Section 3.1.3). For example, in the 2017–2018 UNICEF monitoring surveys the Syrians UTP from Hatay province make up almost 25 per cent of all cases, but in the 2017 population summary this province only accounts for about 13 per cent of all Syrians UTP aged 5–17. So, the Hatay cases are 'down weighted' in the analysis so that they make up the correct proportion of cases.

Figure B1:
School Enrolment Rates for Syrians UTP Age 5–17 by Data Source



UNICEF's initial analysis of Syrian OOSC UTP focused on the March–May monitoring survey from 2017–2018 (six provinces), and the September UNICEF Monitoring Data survey (nine provinces) for the 2018–2019 school year (see UNICEF, 2019c). The enrolment rate among 5–17-year olds in the March–May monitoring survey is quite a bit lower than the MoNE average for the 2017–2018 school year (44.5 per cent versus 62.5 per cent). However, the average for the later monitoring survey (with UNICEF Monitoring Data) in 2018 (63 per cent) is very close to the overall average for the 2018–2019 school year (61.3 per cent).

There are four results that stand out in this summary. The first is the very low enrolment rate in the 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data compared with the official MoNE enrolment rate for that school year. The discrepancy does suggest that some caution may be required in generalising the UNICEF Monitoring Data results to the entire Syrian UTP population for that school year. The UNICEF Monitoring Data sample is weighted towards several provinces that have the lowest enrolment rates among Syrians UTP (e.g. Adana, Kilis, and Şanlıurfa). Also, the UNICEF Monitoring Data were not allowed to enter Syrian refugee camps where enrolment rates tend to be higher[84].

The second main result in Figure B1 is the trend towards convergence between the monitoring data enrolment rate estimations and the MoNE official summaries. The monitoring survey averages for enrolment rates in 2017–2018, 2018–2019, and 2019–2020 are very close to the MoNE figures (and also DHS in 2018–2019). The third result in Figure B1 is the sizeable variation in enrolment rates across monitoring surveys conducted within the same school year (2017–2018 and 2018–2019). This in turn suggests that individual surveys should not be relied on too strictly, and it is probably safer to combine surveys (aggregate) within specific school years.

Overall, the results of the UNICEF Monitoring Data comparisons show a generally high degree of agreement across data sources, especially in recent school years and when averages are taken across outreach surveys by school year. This validation of outreach data is important because if the Syrian children UTP in these samples had very different rates of enrolment compared with DHS and MoNE data sources, then it would call into question the accuracy of other indicators. But given the general consistency across data sources there is a strong case for using the UNICEF Monitoring Data in the analysis of OOSC rates and reasons for not being in school.

84 The 2018 DHS stratified the Syrian sample by camp/non-camp, and as a result it is possible to compare averages between these two groups. The results show that the net attendance rate (NAR) for primary/secondary school was 75.2 per cent among non-camp Syrians UTP in 2018–2019, and 86.9 per cent among Syrians UTP in camps. In high school the gap was even larger, with a NAR of 13 per cent for non-camp children and 35 per cent for camp children. The UNICEF Monitoring Data results in Figure B1 are also impacted by the lack of coverage of Syrians UTP in camps, but this issue is more relevant in earlier years when there were more Syrians UTP living in the camps.

Appendix C. Are Girls and Older Syrian Children UTP Undercounted in the UNICEF Monitoring Surveys?

UNICEF has flagged a potential problem with the monitoring surveys related to the age distribution of the samples or, more specifically, the relatively small number of adolescents. Household surveys do not require all family members to be present to be included, so even if adolescents are more likely to be engaged in work this should not be a limitation for counting them during household visits.

Nevertheless, Table C1 shows that there is a noticeable decline in the number of children by age among the surveyed households. For example, from the two monitoring surveys conducted during the 2017–2018 school year there are nearly 6,000 Syrian children UTP aged 5–6 in the data files, compared with 3,800 15–16-year olds and only 1,300 17-year olds.

Table C1 also includes the official government data on Syrian UTP totals by age (and gender) for 2017 as a reference point (yellow shading). This makes it possible to compare outreach sample survey coverage against the actual (official) population.

Table C1:
Number of Children in UNICEF Monitoring Survey Households by Age and School Year with 2017 Population Reference, 2017–2020

Year	Gender	5–6	7–8	9–10	11–12	13–14	15–16	17
2016–2017	Female	1,030	1,050	952	769	690	613	346
	Male	1,161	1,088	1,004	778	755	765	416
2017	Female	90,309	84,484	78,202	63,533	59,402	57,732	32,598
Population	Male	95,840	90,049	82,706	68,674	66,076	66,189	40,406
2017–2018	Female	2,731	3,298	3,163	2,669	2,129	1,623	318
	Male	3,165	3,597	3,547	3,041	2,483	2,173	519
2018–2019	Female	2,699	3,925	3,930	3,674	3,000	2,287	829
	Male	3,065	4,022	4,213	4,042	3,413	2,998	1,171
2019–2020	Female	699	1,037	1,099	914	714	464	132
	Male	809	1,170	1,241	1,056	822	498	156

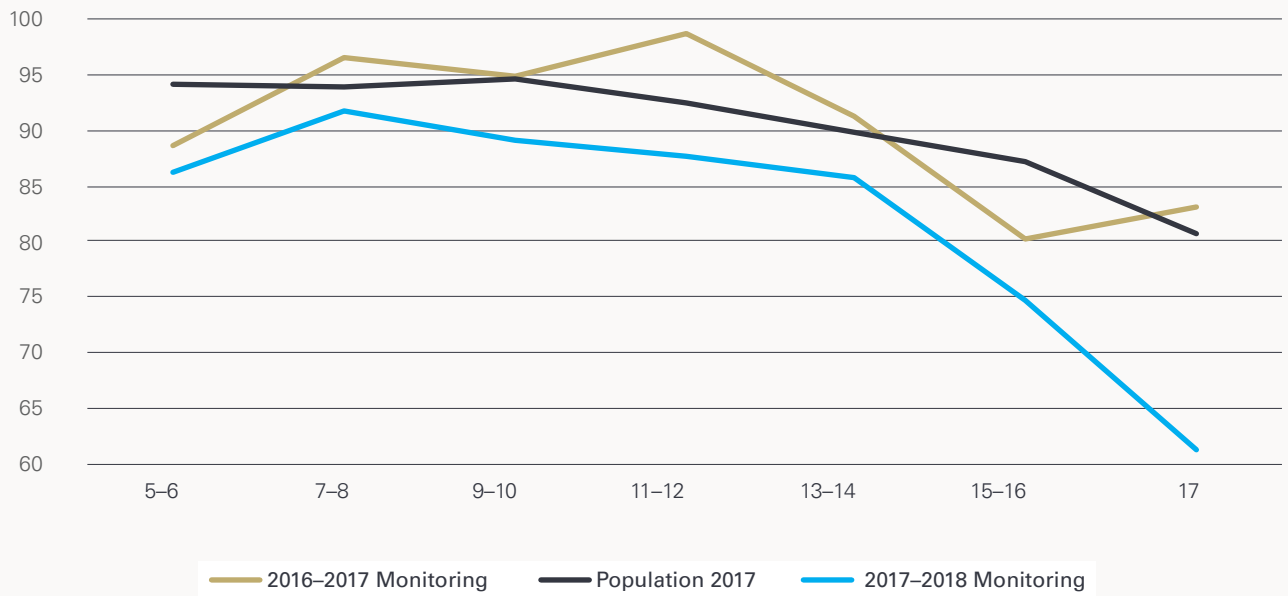
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

For gender there are more boys than girls in all of the age ranges and samples in Table C1, which is consistent with the 2017 population summary. Figure C1a below provides a more exact comparison with the gender ratio (females as a percentage of males) for the 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2017–2018 UNICEF Monitoring Data and 2017 population. The differences are generally quite small between the survey lines (blue and grey) and the population ratio (orange line) in each age range. The one exception is for 17-year olds in the 2017–2018 UNICEF Monitoring Data: 17-year-old girls make up only 60 per cent of the male total, compared with 80 per cent in the 2017 Syrian UTP population.

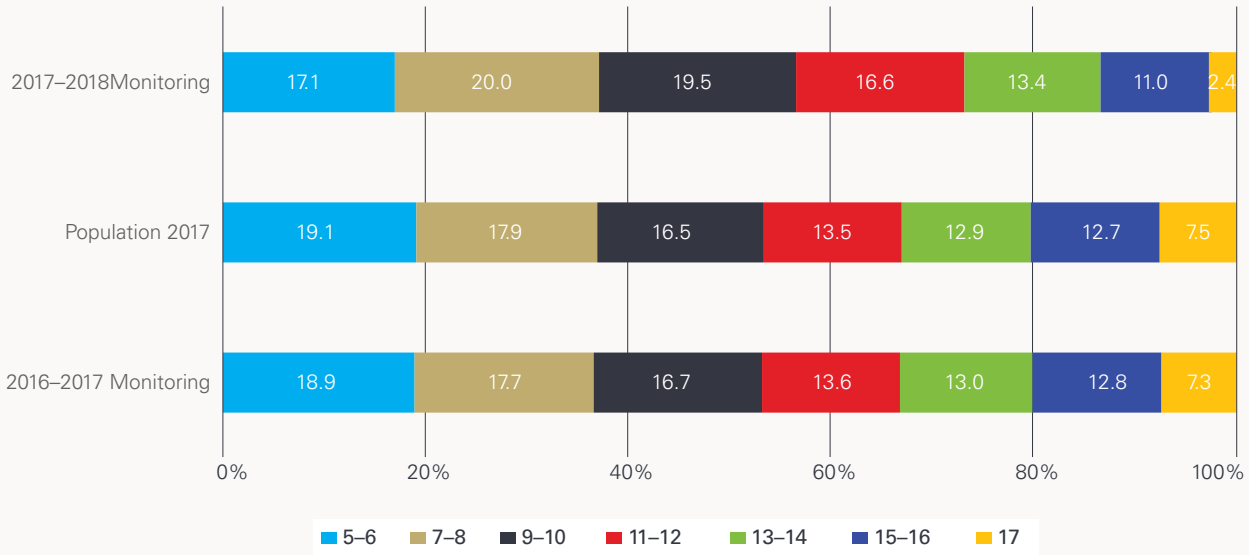
For age composition (Figure C1b) the results also do not show much of a discrepancy between survey and population data, again with the exception of 17-year olds in the 2017–2018 monitoring survey. The 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data sample age composition is nearly identical to the 2017 population.

Figure C1:
Comparisons of 2016–2017 and 2017–2018 UNICEF Monitoring Data Samples with 2017 Syrian UTP Population by Gender and Age Composition

a) Gender Ratio (female/male %)



b) Age Composition (age categories as percentage of 5–17-year olds total)

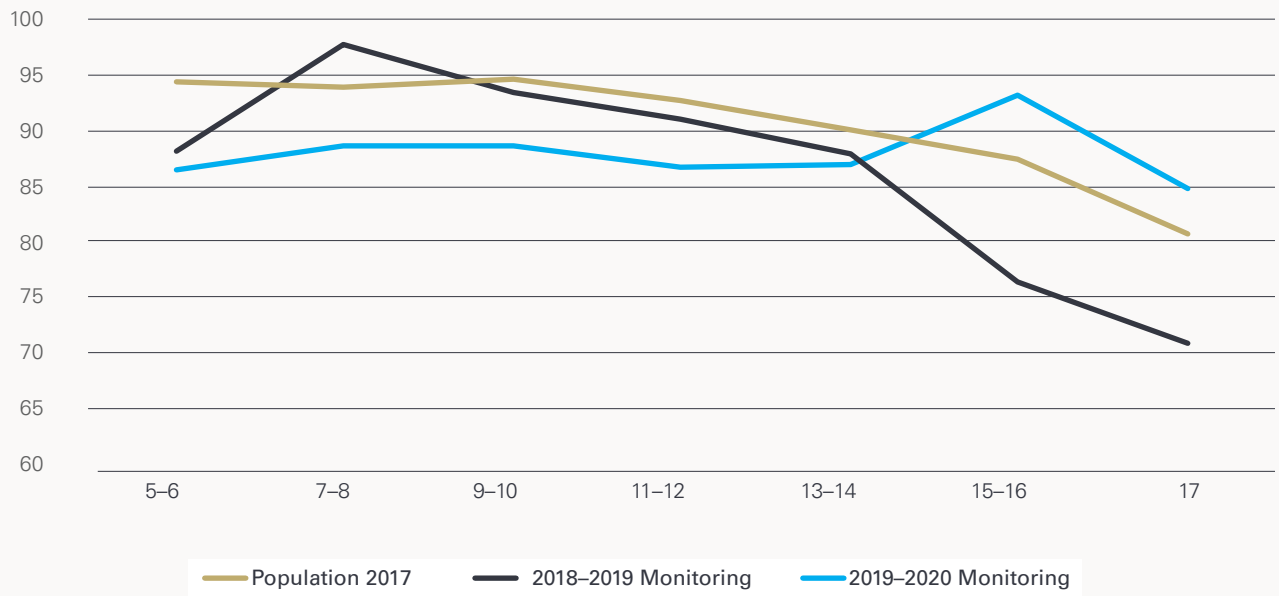


Source: Population data and UNICEF Monitoring Data.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2017–2018 (34,997).

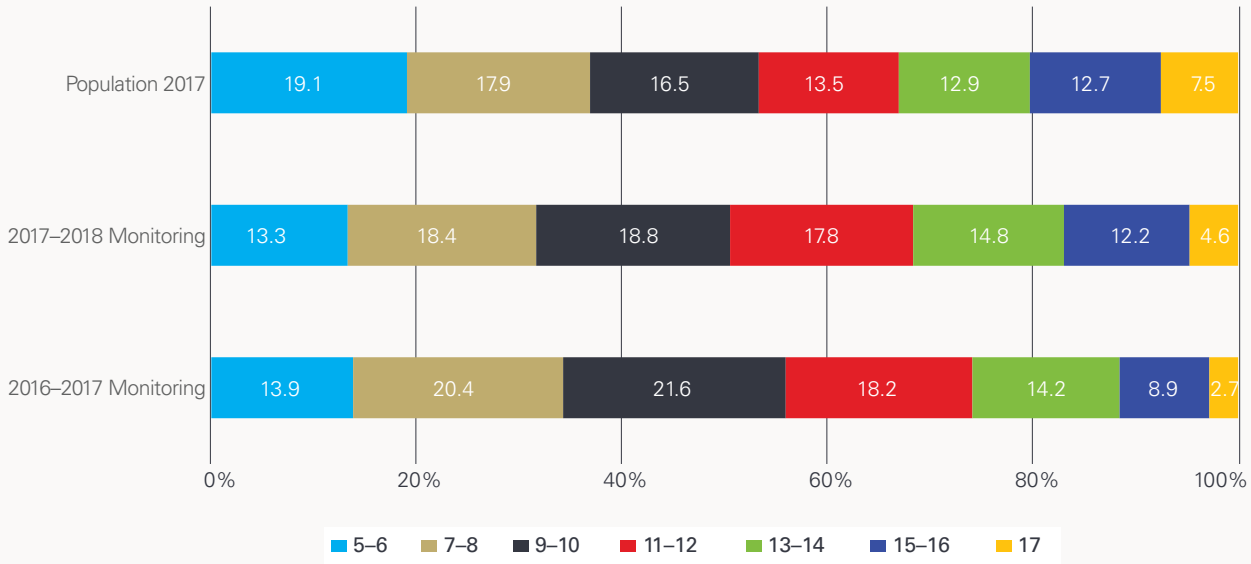
Figures C2a and C2b replicate Figures C1a and C1b with comparisons of the 2017 population gender and age distributions against the 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 outreach survey results. This is somewhat problematic since the 2017 population reference is dated for these later surveys. Nevertheless, based on this imperfect comparison the results do not suggest serious problems with the gender makeup of the 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 samples across most of the age ranges, as the female/male ratios are generally similar to the 2017 ratios by age. However, the exception is again for 17-year olds in the 2018–2019 outreach, where girls appear to be undercounted, although this is not the case with the 2019–2020 monitoring survey.

Figure C2:
Comparisons of 2018–2019 and 2019–2020 Outreach Samples with 2017 Syrian UTP Population by Gender and Age Composition

a) Gender Ratio (female/male %)



b) Age Composition



Source: Population data and MoNE/ UNICEF Monitoring Data outreach surveys.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

In terms of age composition there is more evidence of undercounting in the later monitoring surveys (Figure C2b). Firstly, the 17-year olds in the 2019–2020 monitoring survey are significantly undercounted relative to the 2017 population proportion: 17-year olds made up nearly 10 per cent of the 5–17-year old population in the 2017 official count but make up less than 3 per cent of the 2019–2020 monitoring survey sample. The 17-year olds also appear to be somewhat undercounted in the 2018–2019 monitoring survey. Also, the 15–16-year olds in the 2019–2020 monitoring survey make up a significantly smaller proportion of the total than in the 2017 official data summary (orange bars in Figure C2b).

In summary, the monitoring samples do appear to be undercounting Syrian children UTP in the 15–17 age range, especially in the later surveys (2018–2019 and 2019–2020). This is consistent with UNICEF's concern that older children

are harder to find in the monitoring work. Furthermore, this undercounting is more likely for older girls than older boys, at least in some surveys. These results cannot be confirmed against population figures for Syrians UTP by age and gender in more recent years because the only disaggregated data available (by age) are from 2017.

This apparent limitation in the data cannot be resolved, with certainty, with sampling weights. The weighting scheme for the monitoring data analysis (described in Section 3.3.2) corrects the sample totals by age, gender and province so that the distributions by category look like the 2017 population distribution. But weighting schemes of this type are based on a very strong assumption, which is that the under- and over-reporting of Syrians UTP by age and gender in the various samples is based on random factors in the data collection. This does not seem likely.

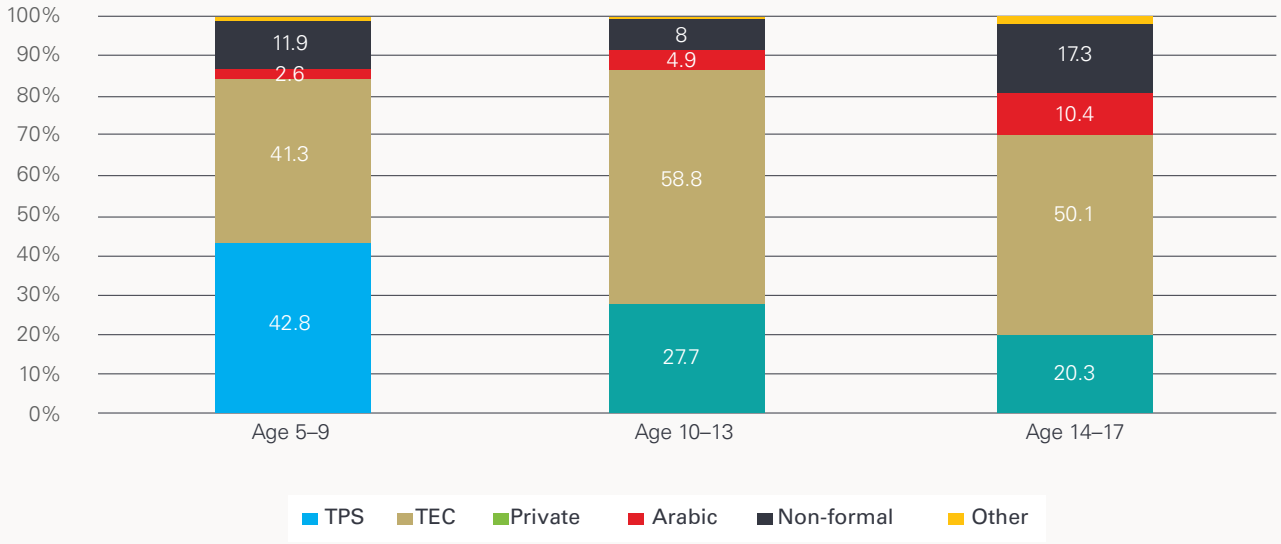
Given the limitations of weighting to resolve issues of non-random variation in response rates[85], the monitoring survey data results for older children need to be handled with some care, and this is especially true for girls (and gender comparisons). Nevertheless, it is important to note that school enrolment rates by age and gender in the 2018 DHS shows a similar pattern to monitoring surveys (Figure 9). So, the monitoring data results for enrolment rates and age/gender patterns are not inconsistent with other sources.

85 The two most common methods for dealing with this kind of problem, imputation and non-response weighting, are not practical for this work because of the very limited family and child background information that is available on Syrians UTP in the monitoring surveys. Some of the surveys have more information that could be used for these kinds of extensions (e.g., the 2016–2017 monitoring survey), but this cannot be done in a consistent manner across all surveys.

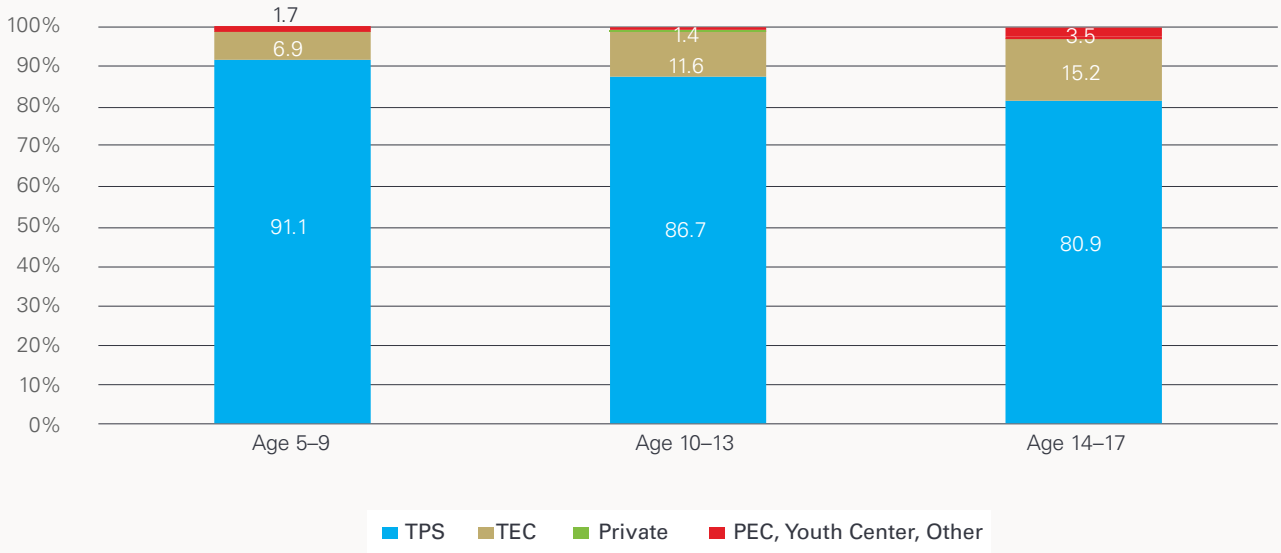
Appendix D. Additional Quantitative Results

Figure D1:
Institution Type Among Syrians UTP Enrolled in Some Form of Education by Age Group, UNICEF Monitoring Data

(a) UNICEF Monitoring Data (2016–2017 school year)

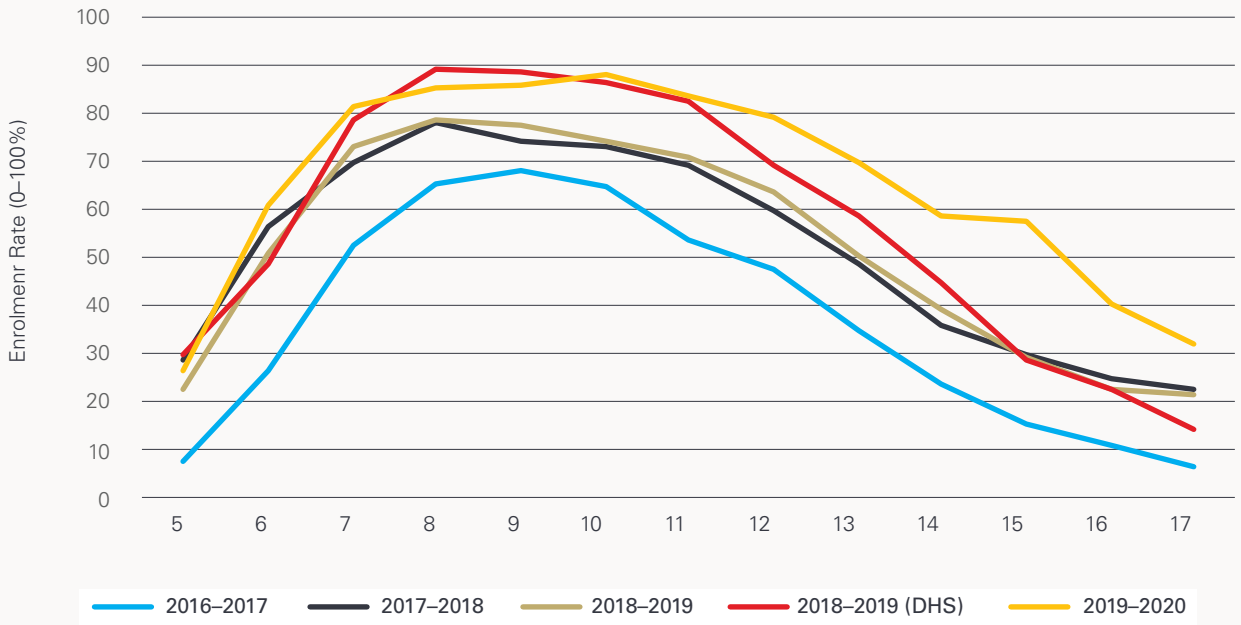


(b) UNICEF Monitoring Data (2019–2020 school year)



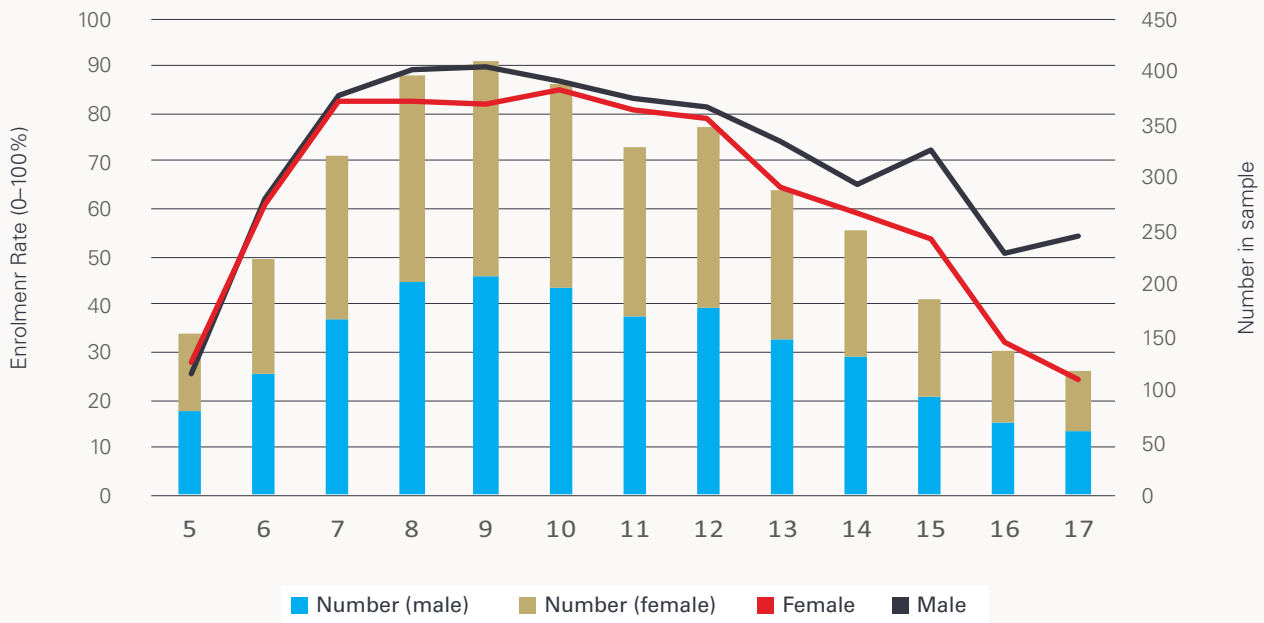
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017 and 2019–2020.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2019–2020 (10,777).

Figure D2:
School Enrolment Rates by Age and School Year, UNICEF Monitoring and DHS (2018) Surveys



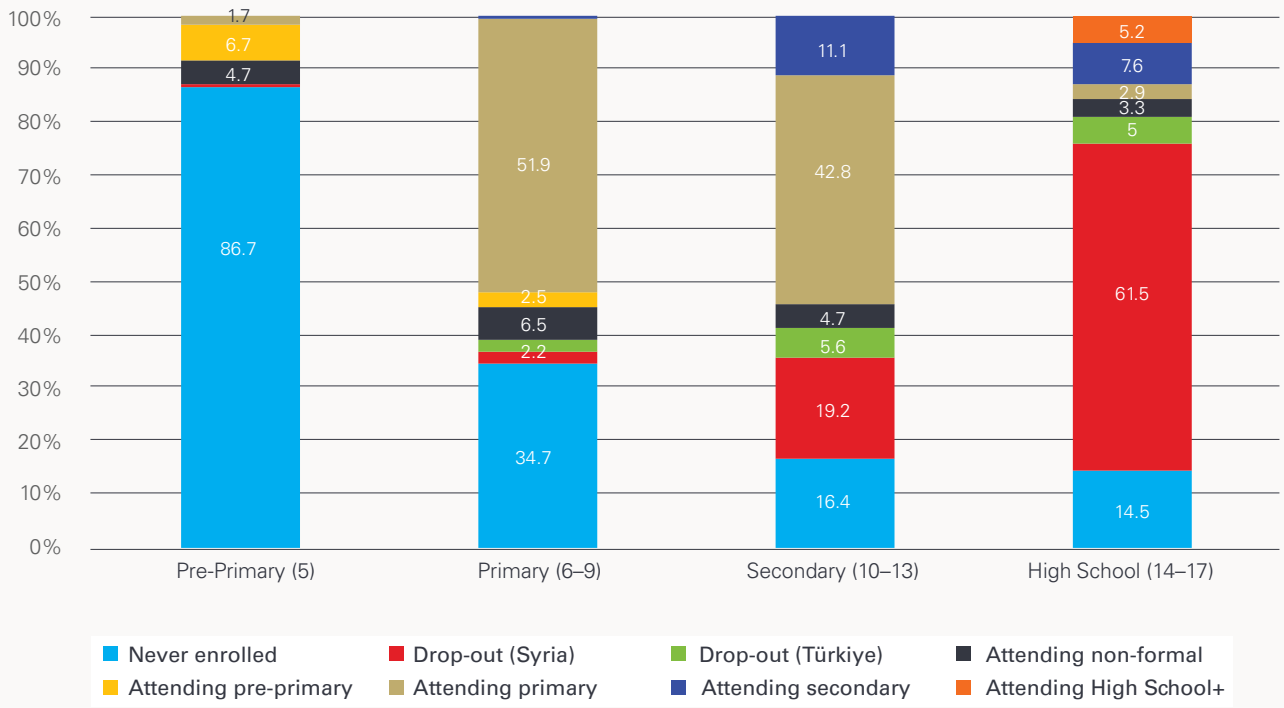
Source: UNICEF monitoring surveys, various years; DHS (2018).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777). Sample size for DHS 2018 is 3,612.

Figure D3:
School Enrolment Rates and Sample Size by Age and Gender in Southeast Provinces (Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, and Şanlıurfa), UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019–2020.
Notes: Sample size for UNICEF Monitoring Data in 2019–2020 is 3,577.

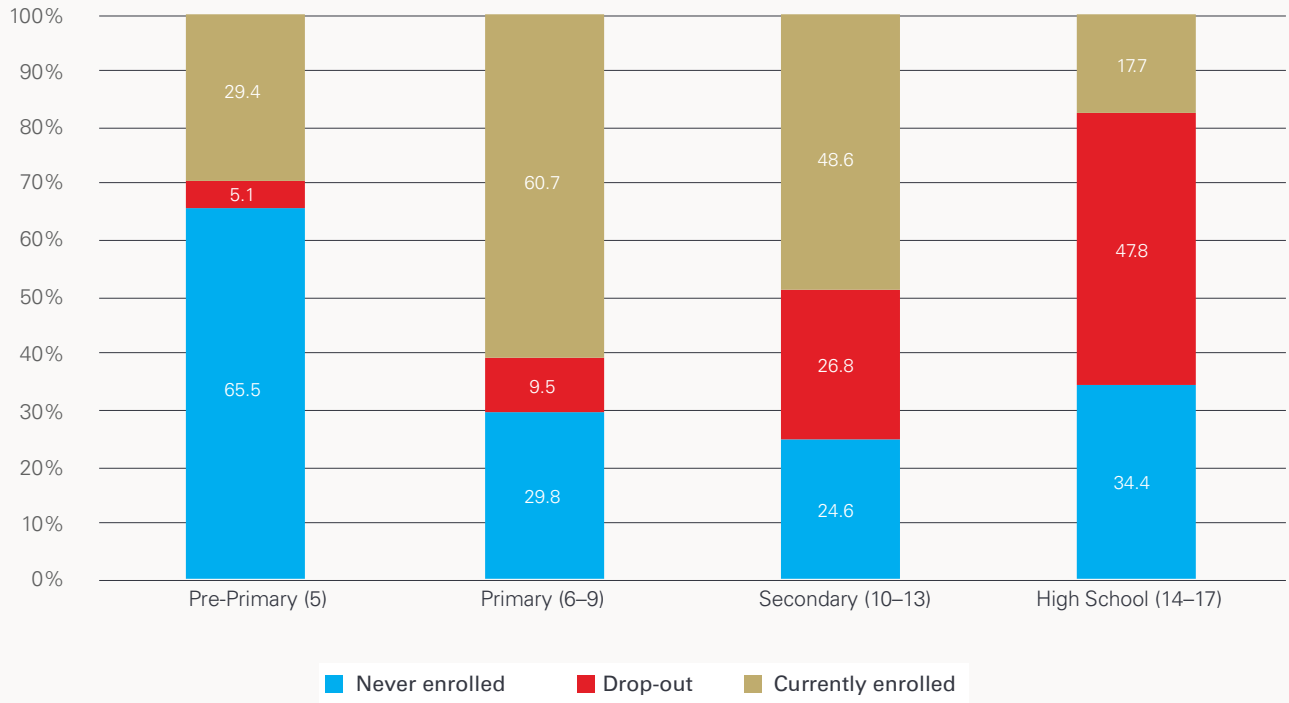
Figure D4:
Detailed OOSC Summary for Syrians UTP Ages 5–17 by School Year, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017



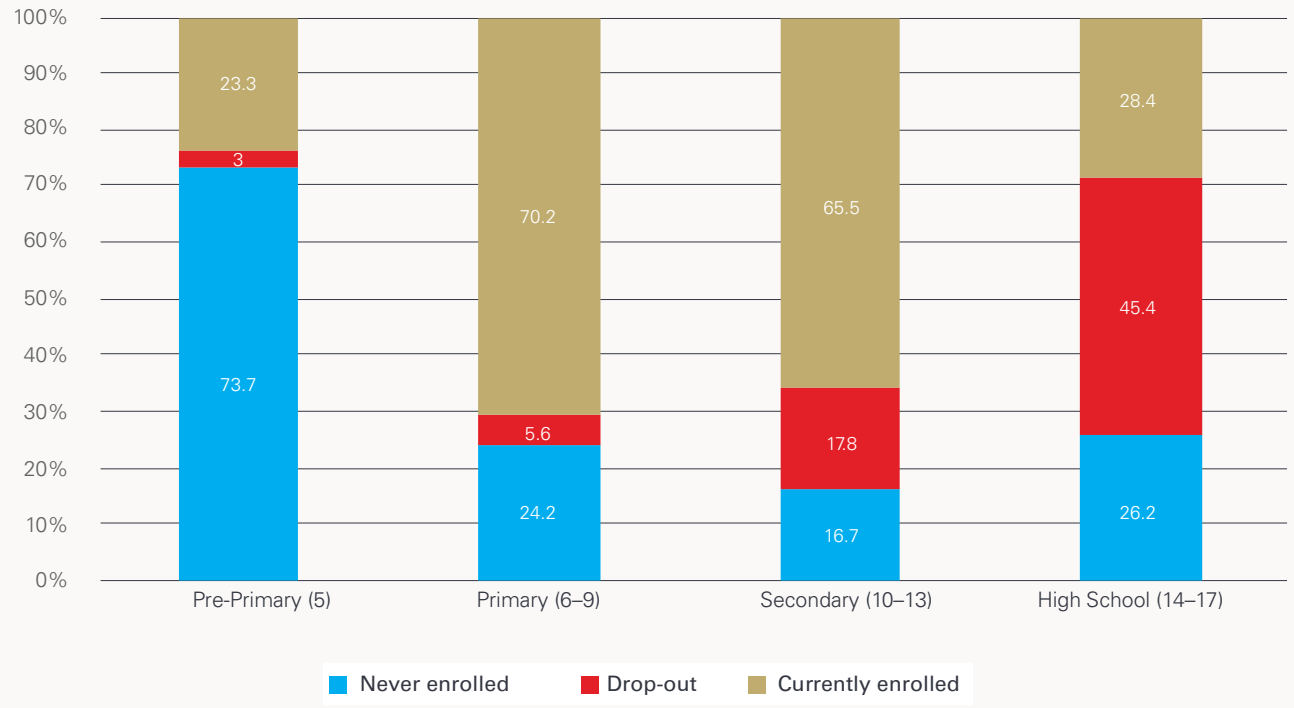
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017.
Notes: Sample size for 2016–2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data is 11,445.

Figure D5:
Basic OOSC Summaries for Syrians UTP Ages 5–17 by School Year, UNICEF Monitoring Data

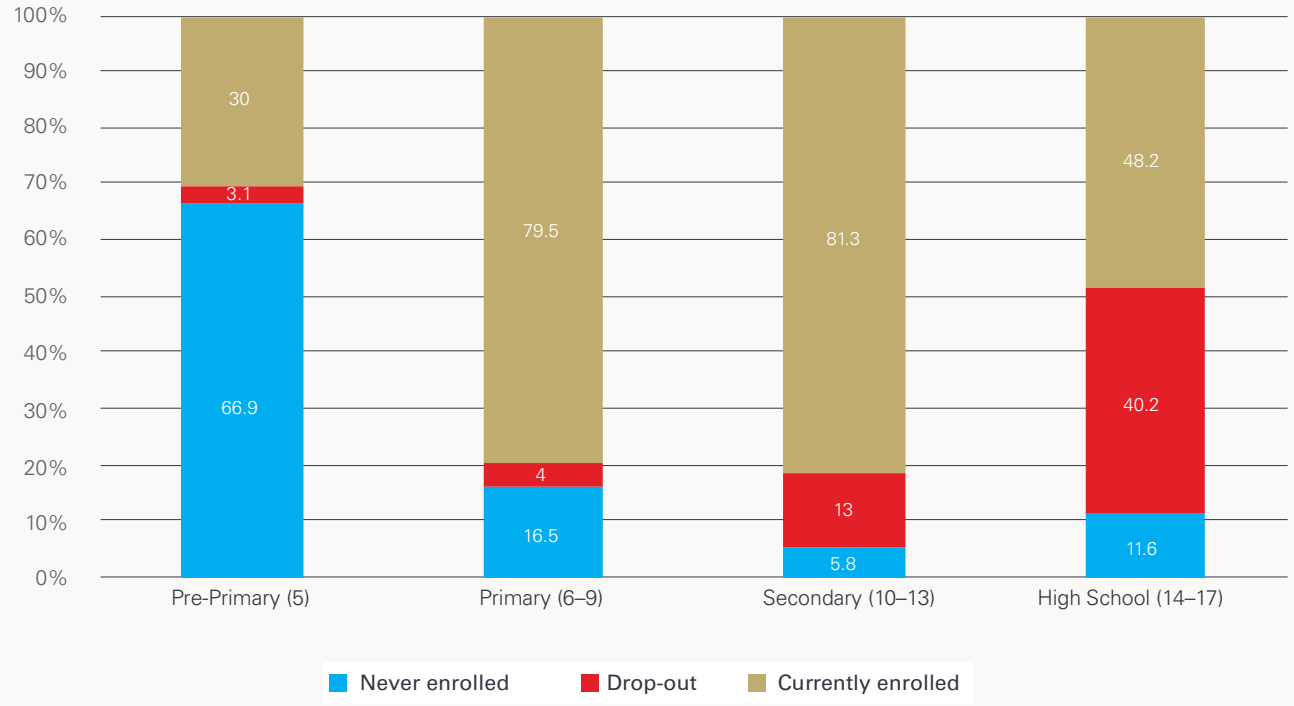
(a) 2017–2018



(b) 2018–2019

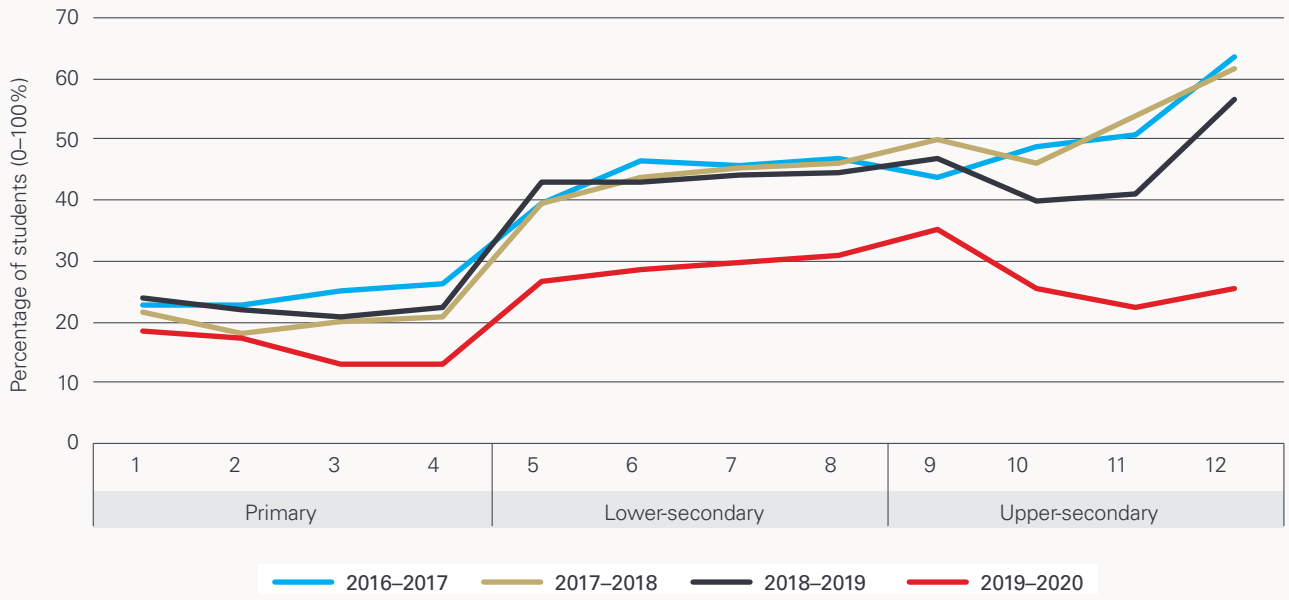


(c) 2019–2020



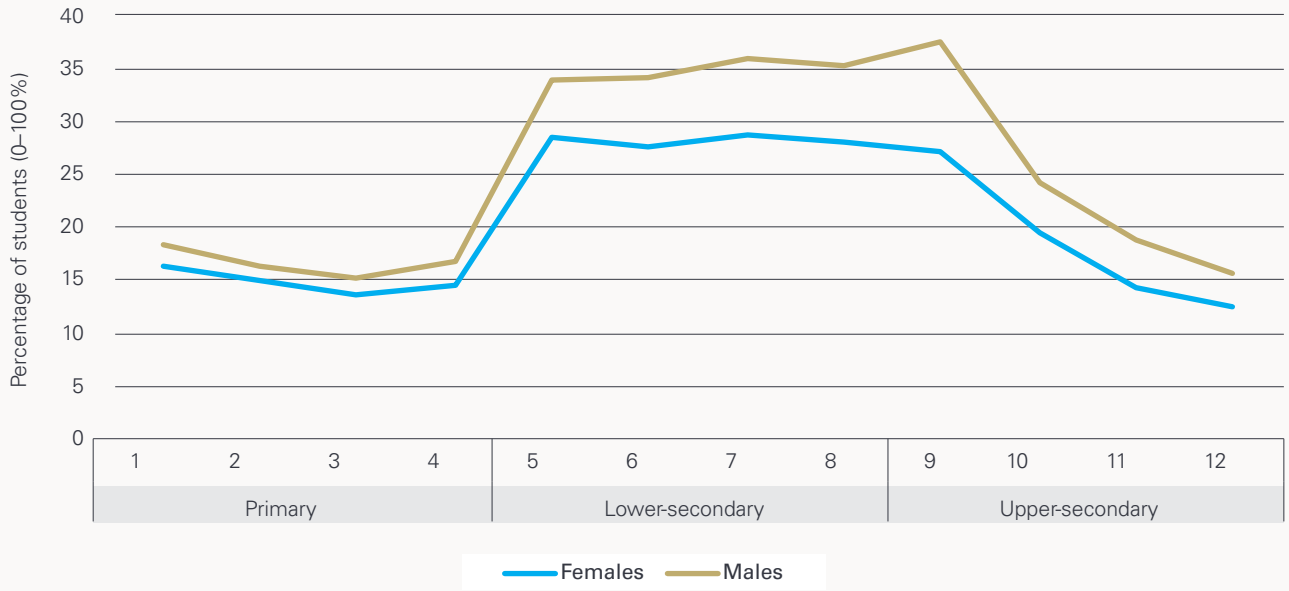
Source: UNICEF monitoring surveys, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

Figure D6:
Percentage of Syrian Students UTP Absent 20 or More Days During School Year, by Grade and School Year



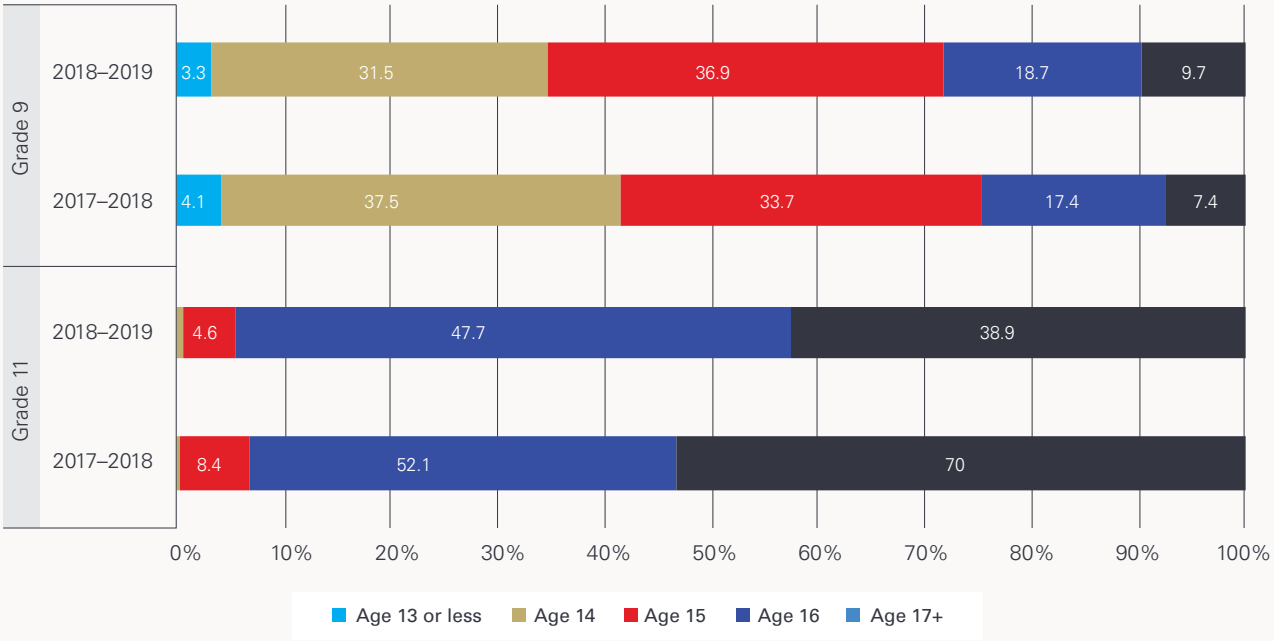
Source: MoNE (2020).

Figure D7:
Percentage of Syrian Students UTP Absent 30 or More Days During the 2018–2019 School Year, by Gender and Grade



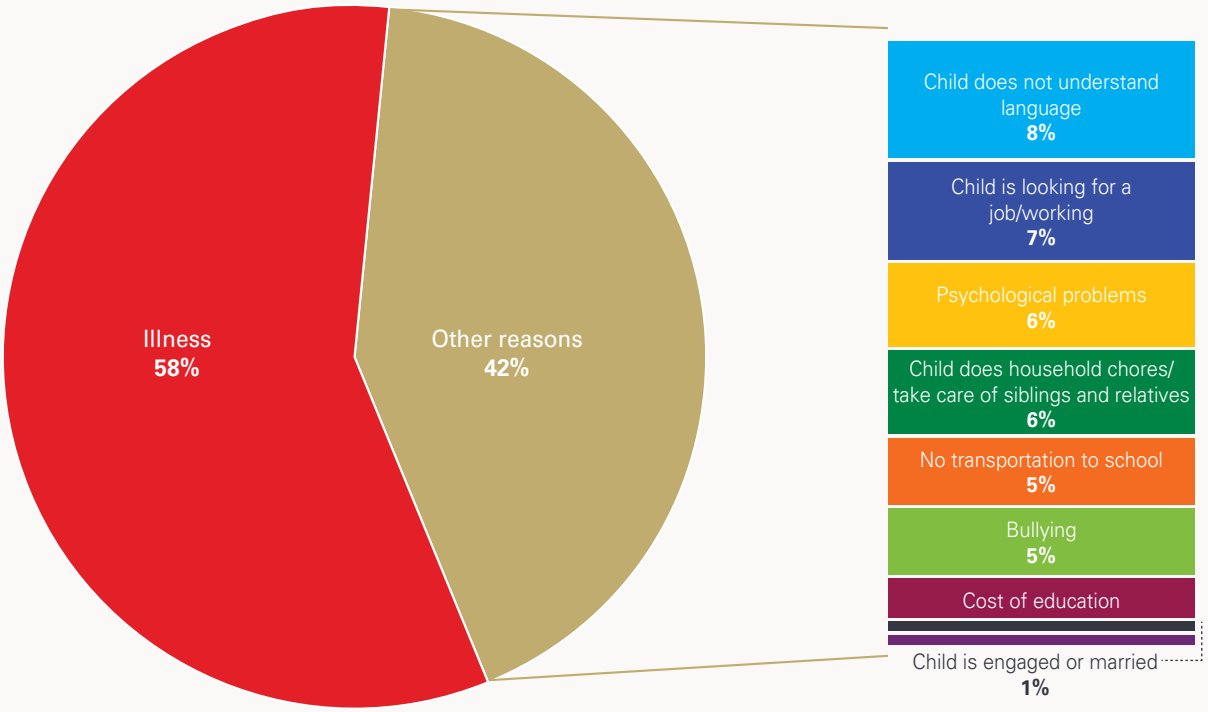
Source: MoNE (2018–2019).

Figure D8:
Student Age Category Frequencies for Syrian UTP by High School Grades 9 and 11, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017–2019



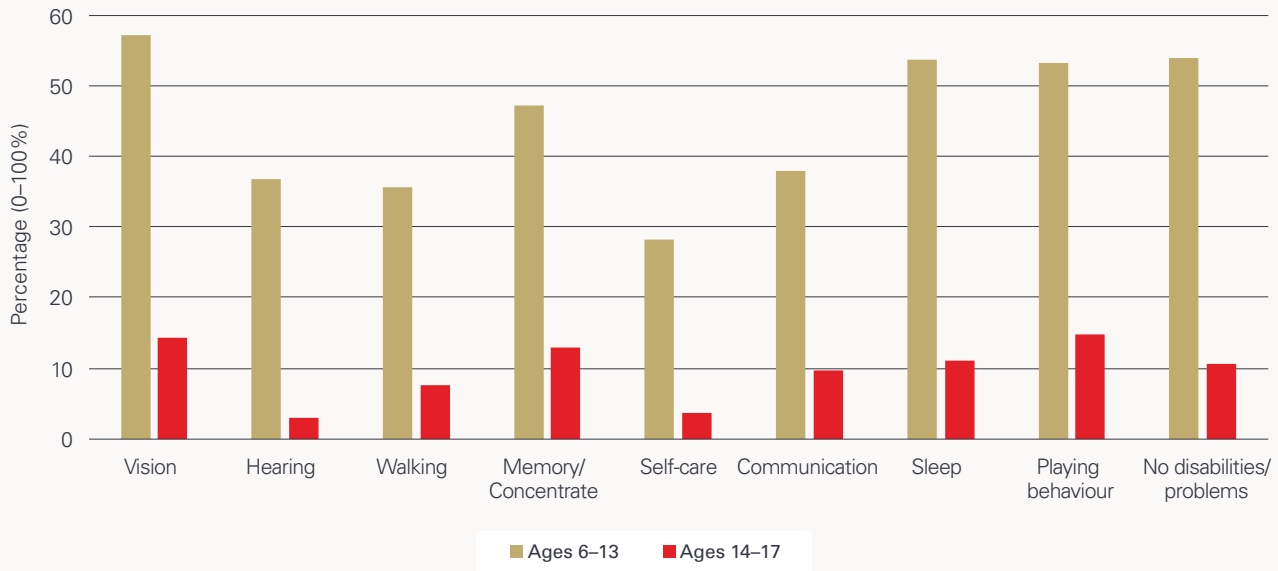
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (315,802).

Figure D9:
Irregular School Attendance Reasons for All CCTE Beneficiary Children (%), TPM May/June 2018



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, 2018.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997).

Figure D10:
School Enrolment Rates for UTP Syrian Children with Disabilities by Type and Age Group, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017



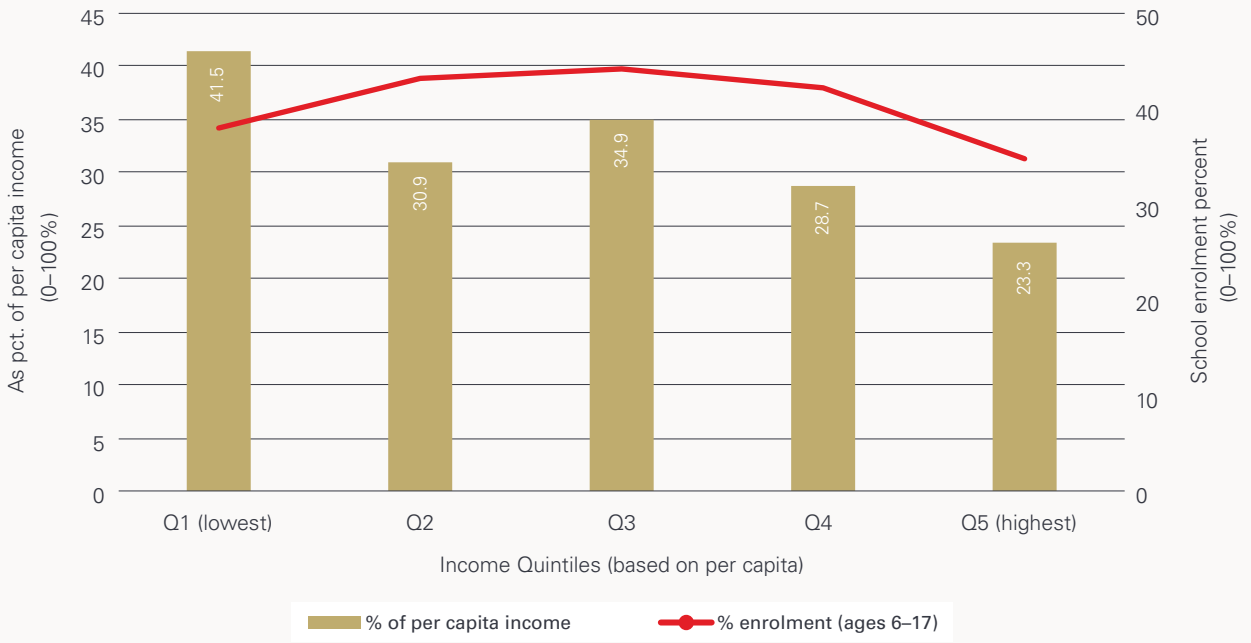
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

Table D1:
Average Monthly Education Expenditure on Beneficiary Child in Month Prior to the Survey Month with Respect to the Income Group, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019

Education Expenditures (Average)	$0–$0.99	$1– $2.14	$2.15– $4.29	$4.30 and above
Money for lunch	33.5	36.6	43.5	61.3
School clothing	20.5	22.2	24.9	38.3
School stationary	17.3	19.6	22.7	32.9
Other (specify)	7.7	7.4	11.3	11.3
School books	7.1	6.5	10.0	3.0
Transport to school	7.5	9.3	9.7	24
Monthly expenditures (contributions, activities, etc.)	2.1	1.6	0.7	0.0
Total Education Expenditure	95.7	103.1	122.9	171

Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

Figure D11:
Average Education Spending (Per Child) as a Percentage of Per Capita Household Income, by Income Per Capita Quintiles, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017

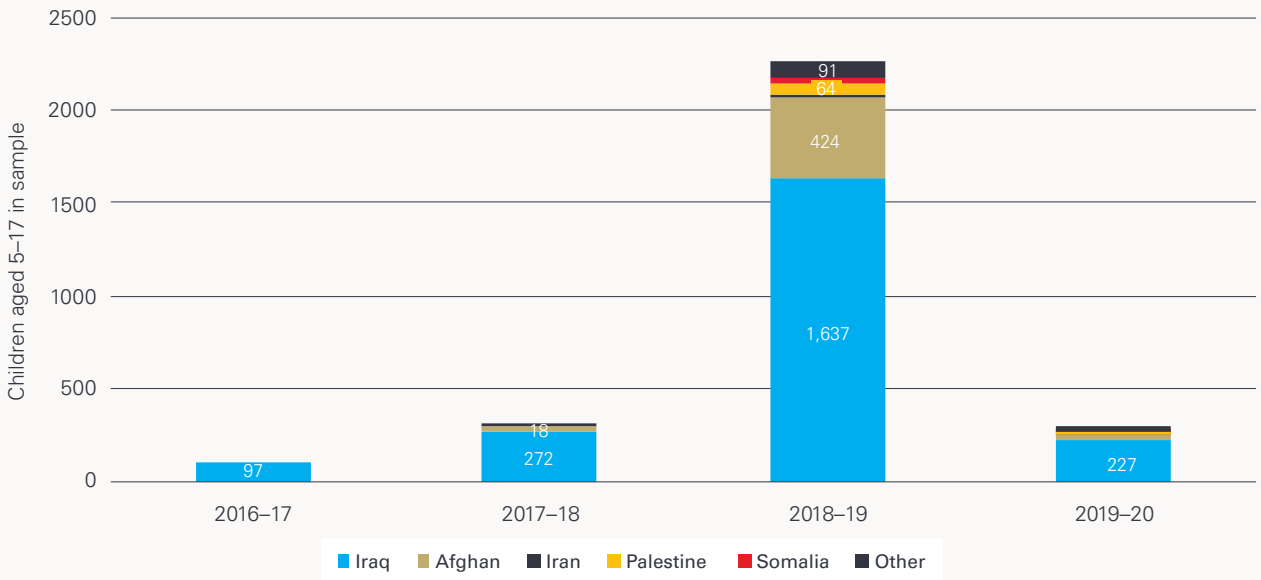


Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

Appendix E. Analysis of OOSC Among Non-Syrian Refugees

It was shown in Section 2 that nearly 375,000 non-Syrian refugees were in Türkiye as of September 2018, including Afghans (172,000), Iraqis (142,000), Iranians (39,000), and others (17,000). The UNICEF Monitoring Data interviewed some of these families during the fieldwork. Figure E1 summarises the number of children aged 5–17 that are identified in the monitoring data by nationality and year. Most of the non-Syrian refugee children in the samples are Iraqi, with the largest number (1,637) found during the 2018–2019 school year. In this same year 424 Afghan children were also identified.

Figure E1:
Number of Non-Syrian Refugee Children Aged 5–17 in UNICEF Monitoring Data Samples, by School Year

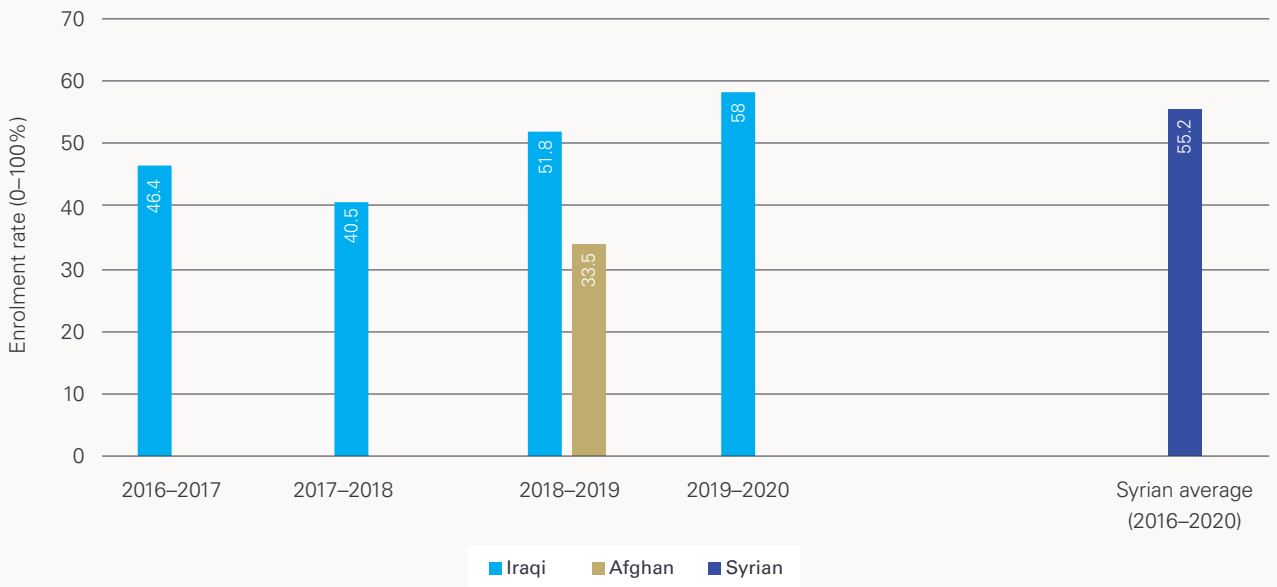


Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years.

The numbers in Figure E1 show that it is only feasible to summarise Iraqi and Afghan children in this analysis of OOSC among non-Syrian children. And there are some caveats to this analysis. Firstly, the underlying sampling framework is unknown, although the same is true with the Syrian monitoring samples that were based on 'snowball' sampling. Secondly, the sample sizes for Iraqis and (especially) Afghans are quite small in the 2016–2017, 2017–2018, and 2019–2020 school years. These issues simply mean that the estimations presented here are not definitive, and some caution is required in generalising these results to the entire population of Iraqi and Afghan refugee children.

Current school enrolment rates are summarised in Figure E2 for Iraqi and Afghan children aged 5–17 by year, with the Syrian average for the entire 2016–2020 period included as a reference point. Iraqi school participation rates have increased between 2016–2017 and 2019–2020 school years and are comparable to the Syrian average for this period (far right bar). By contrast, only 33.5 per cent of Afghan children aged 5–17 were in school in the 2018–2019 school year.

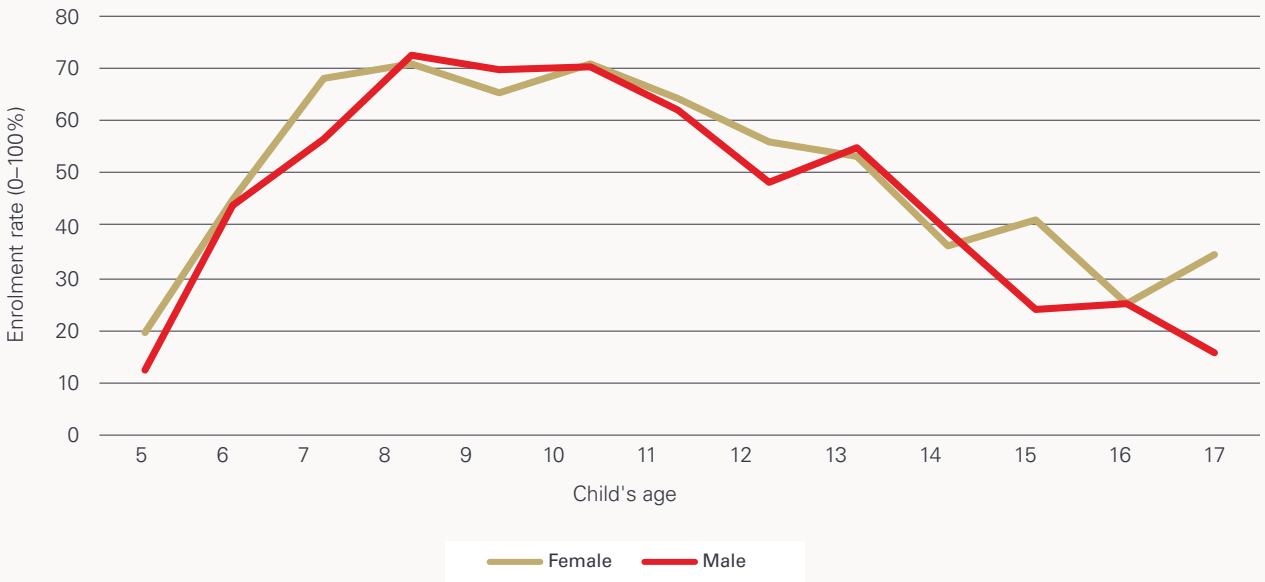
Figure E2:
School Enrolment Rate for Iraqi and Afghan Refugee Children Aged 5–17, by School Year



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years. For sample sizes see Figure E1.

The age and gender pattern for school enrolment among Iraqi children (Figure E3) is very similar to the pattern for Syrian children UTP; the Afghan results are not presented due to small numbers of children by age and gender. Enrolment rates increase sharply before levelling off at ages 8–10, and then begin to decline. Girls are marginally more likely than boys to have enrolled, and this gap is actually somewhat larger among older adolescents. As noted for the Syrian gender comparisons, these comparisons between older refugee boys and girls based on outreach data may be problematic if older girls are undercounted in the surveys (see Appendix C).

Figure E3:
Enrolment Rate for Iraqi Refugee Children by Age and Gender, 2018–2019 School Year



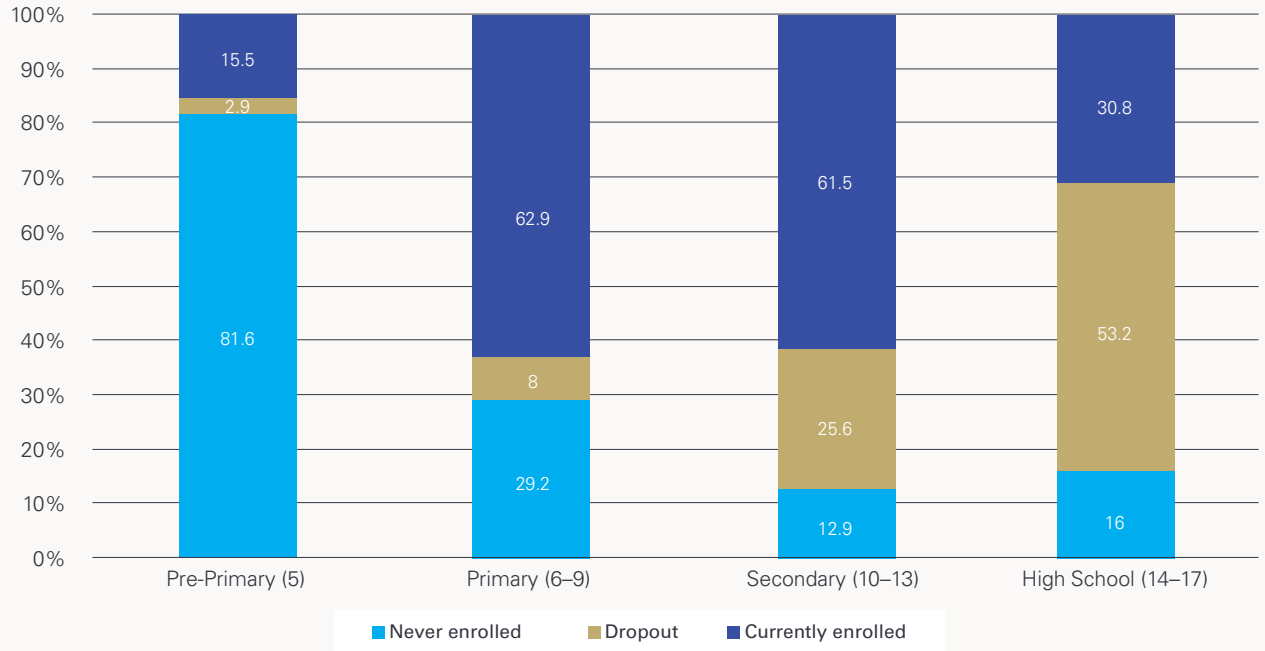
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2019). For sample sizes see

Figure E4 provides an overview of OOSC using the basic three category summary (never enrolled, dropped out, currently enrolled). This is done separately for Iraqi (E4a) and Afghan (E4b) children. Figure E4 covers four of the seven dimensions in the official OOSCI framework, corresponding to pre-primary through high school levels.

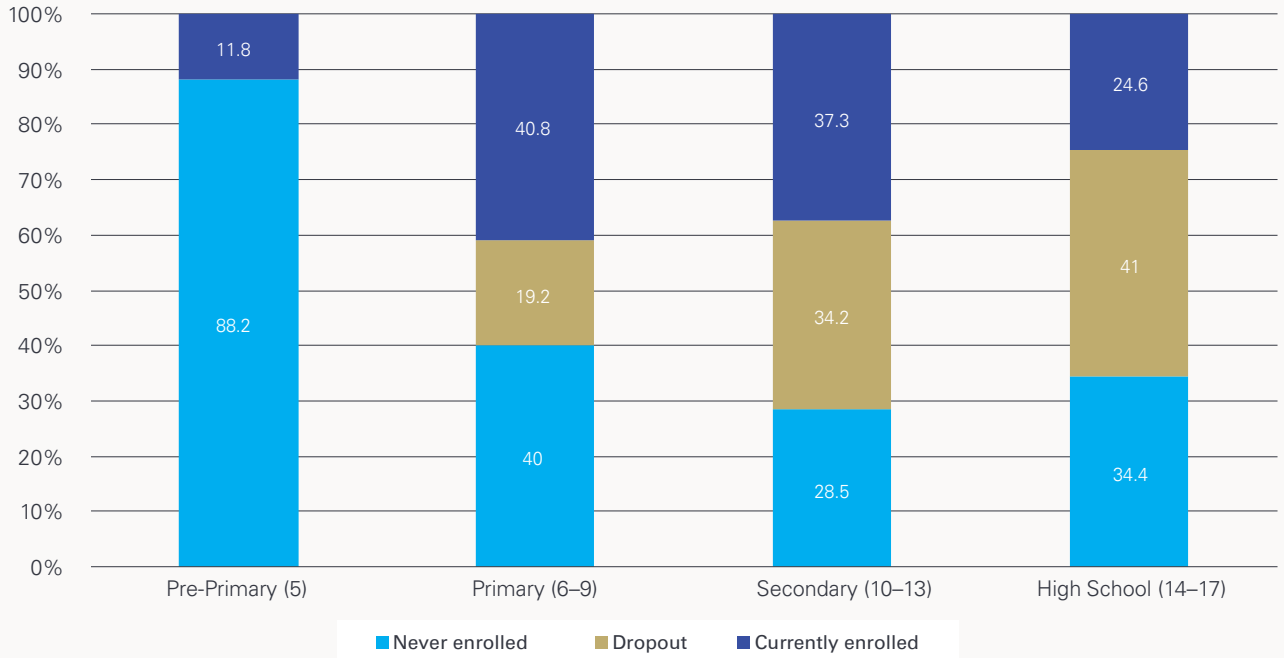
Once again, the results for Iraqi children are similar to those for Syrians UTP. Almost all 5-year olds are out of school, but for primary- and secondary-aged children the OOS rates are much lower before increasing considerably among high school-aged children. Drop-out is mainly a problem among secondary and high school children.

Figure E4:
OOSC Summaries for Iraqi and Afghan Refugee Children Aged 5–17, 2018–2019

(a) Iraqis



(b) Afghan

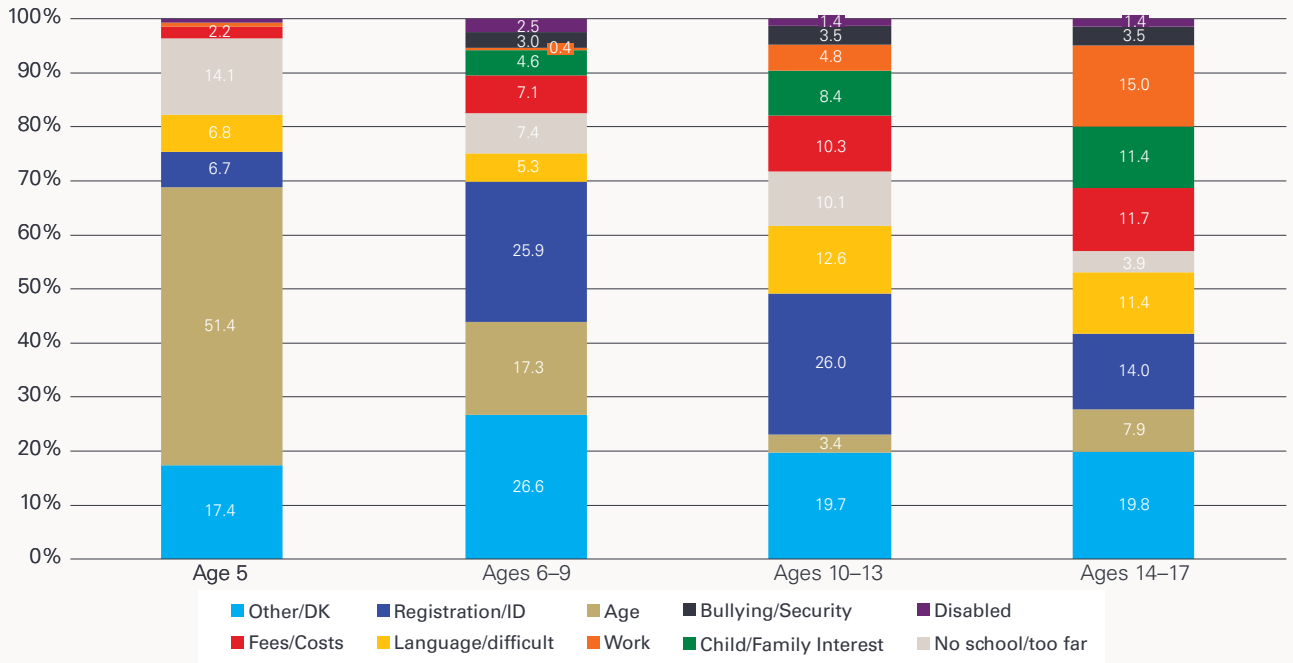


Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2019). For sample sizes see Figure E1.

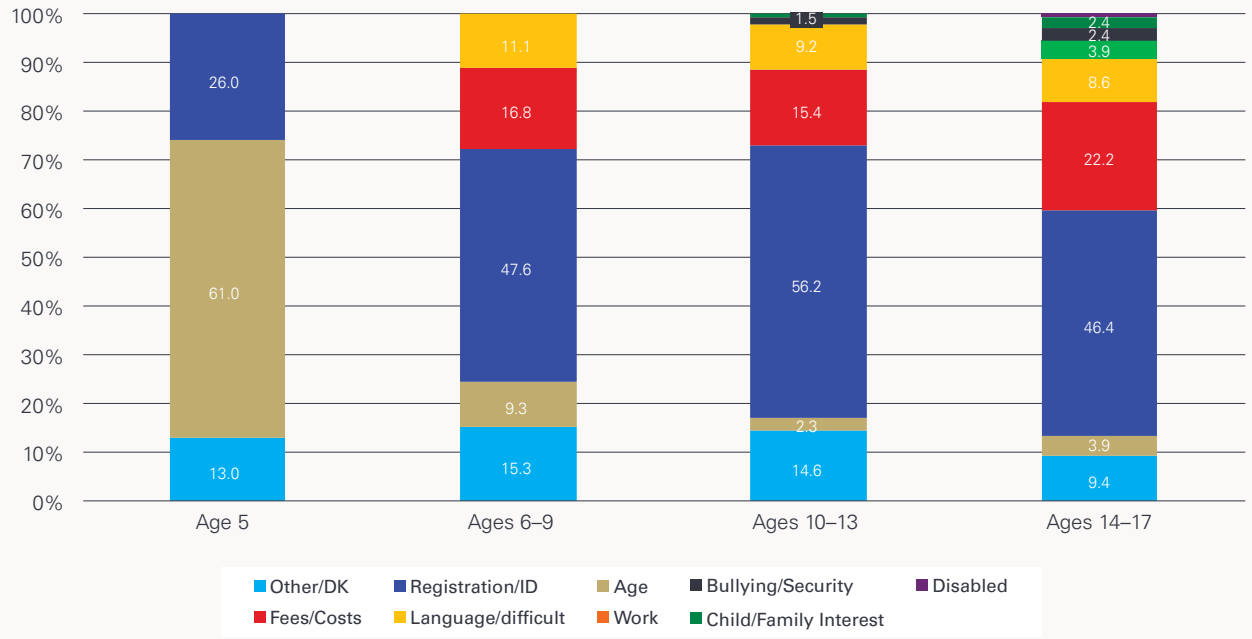
For Afghan children the overall pattern is similar, just with higher rates of OOSC in all four school levels. The main difference between Afghan and Iraqi children is the rate of never enrolled: among Afghan children of primary and secondary/high school age roughly 30–40 per cent have never enrolled in school, although it is not possible from the outreach surveys to confirm that this means never enrolled in Afghanistan or Türkiye.

Figure E5:
Reasons for Being Out of School by Schooling Level, 2018–2019 School Year

(a) Iraqis



(b) Afghans



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2019). For sample sizes see Figure E1.

Figure E5 concludes the summary of OOSC among non-Syrian refugees with a review of the reasons given by Iraqi (a) and Afghan (b) families for their children being out of school. Among Iraqi children the results are again similar to those for Syrian children UTP (Figure 24) and highlight a diverse set of factors that affect school participation. Significant proportions of families cited registration/ID problems, as well as language issues, high costs, and school supply limitations. Among older Iraqi children work pressures are also more likely, as well as the child not wanting to go to school.

For Afghan children only, a handful of reasons besides "age" and "other" were cited. Afghan families also cited the costs associated with schooling, and language difficulties. But references to work demands, not wanting to go to school and other categories were much less frequent among this group.

Qualitative data collected for this study provides further evidence to explore more deeply the situation of the other refugee children in Türkiye in relation to their education.

Firstly, the qualitative data confirms the quantitative findings that enrolment rates are higher at the primary school level but start to drop at the lower-secondary school level and drop further at the upper-secondary school level. Secondly, the qualitative data also provides some details for the barriers already identified by the quantitative data above.

Key informants reported that the most prevalent reasons for the OOS phenomenon among the other refugee children were economic factors, as most of the other refugee households had quite low levels of income and had difficulty in affording their basic daily needs. Although some households were reported to benefit from some types of social assistance, for example, those that the TRC or Social Service Centres (SHM) provided, not all the other refugees were able to receive payments due to the requirements of the social assistance schemes.

In that sense, conditional cash transfers were considered to be beneficial for ensuring children's schooling. The key informants also reported cases where children both attended school and also worked after school, as the social assistance payments were not considered to be sufficient for the subsistence of the household. Additionally, some refugee children who were still at upper-secondary school at that age could risk leaving school before they finished their studies because the payments are stopped when the child reaches the age of 18.

An important consequence of economic problems was indicated as child labour, particularly for the other refugee households where the parents were not able to work for one or another reason. It was stated that in many cases, after the age 15–16, boys became engaged in income-generating activities and their connection to the school was broken. It was also mentioned that girls could also assume such a role, for example, working in jobs such as washing dishes in restaurants or cleaning other people's houses together with the mothers. However, key informants also mentioned that another reason for girls being out of school was early marriage. In cases where the parents could work, more children were observed to attend school.

Another observation was that in cases where the awareness of the need for education was higher, children were more likely to be enrolled in school. Nevertheless, key informants also pointed out some problems that those other refugee children who were enrolled in school had faced.

One of those problems was language barrier. The children who arrived in Türkiye at younger ages were stated to have less of a problem with language at school, and since they had the chance to learn Turkish at an earlier age, they could more readily continue their education at upper levels. Key informants also referred to the benefits of some already-existing language courses for the education of refugee children. However, an important problem was mentioned in relation to the children who arrived in Türkiye at the age of 9–10 and above. Key informants stated that those children were usually placed in grades according to their age, and to the extent that those children had no education backgrounds and minimal Turkish language skills, they could not easily adapt to the education system. In addition, the key informants also referred to problems of peer bullying in the school environment, especially in schools where there were only a few refugee children registered.

A specific barrier for the other refugee children at upper-secondary level was the distance between home and school. Key informants stated that although the primary and lower-secondary schools might be closer to the household, some upper-secondary schools were at a considerable distance. In cases where there were no school transportation services, the households could not afford the transportation costs, and the children had to walk long distances to school.

Another factor which negatively affected the school enrolment of the other refugee children was reported to be the registration procedures involved. It was stated that in some cases the parents seem to be uninformed about the procedures, and in some cases, it was the schools which did not seem to be supportive about the enrolment of the children in their schools. Some schools were reported to have told some children that they could not be enrolled without providing any explanation why. This was observed to limit the chances for the parents to receive proper and correct information about their children's schooling opportunities.

Although, the fact that the legal framework and regulations for the other refugee children's education in Türkiye were already prepared and in place, there could still be some implementation gaps in practice. A final problem in terms of efforts to keep children in school was indicated as the difficulty for the schools to be able to follow up the other refugee children at school as the children's families could be relocating to other parts of the country.

The key informants also shared some of their experiences about the education experiences of the other refugee children with disabilities. It was stated that in most of the cases the other refugee parents were not aware of the educational options for their children with disabilities. Even in cases where the parents were informed, their communication with the RAMs were reported to be slow, especially in the city centres where the workload of the RAMs was high. In that sense, the key informants stated that the parents of the children with disabilities clearly needed more support in their relationship with the RAMs and other procedures for the education of their children.

The qualitative data suggests that the various demand-side and supply-side problems, in many cases in combination with each other, could result in a decrease in children's motivation towards school, in low academic performance, and accordingly in low levels of school attendance and high levels of school drop-out.

Appendix F. Summary of UNICEF Monitoring Data on Reasons Why Children Are Not in School

The various UNICEF monitoring surveys asked Syrian families UTP why their children were not in school, when applicable. The responses were then coded based on a set of categories, and it was possible for the families to mention more than one reason. Table E1 summarises the coverage of the OOSC reasons by survey.

Between the eight monitoring surveys implemented with the MoNE and UNICEF Monitoring Data partners there is some variation, although a core set of OOSC reasons have been coded into each survey. The 2016–2017 survey is somewhat more detailed. Unfortunately, the missing "Xs" in Table F1 are extensive enough to rule out using a comprehensive, single summary strategy that is common across all nine surveys. Furthermore, in some surveys the wording of the reason(s) varies slightly (see notes at bottom of Table F1), and in the case of the December 2017 monitoring survey the raw data was not coded so a modified coding structure has been implemented for this study (see Section 3.3.1 and Footnote 25).

Table F1:
Summary of OOSC Reason Coverage by Survey and School Year

OOSC Reason:	2016–2017	2017–2018		2018–2019					2019–2020
	Feb–Apr (8)	Dec (15)	March–May (6)	Sept (9)	Oct. (7)	Feb–March (15)	Feb. (6)	Apr–May (9)	Aug–Sept (9)
Bullying	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
No school		X	X	X	X		X		
School too far	X	X		X					
Work	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Looking for work	X								
Doing chores	X								
Take care of family member		X	X	X					
Child does not want to go	X	X*	X	X	X*	X*	X	X*	X*
Family interest	X								
Difficult		X	X	X					
Language	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Disabled	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marriage	X	X	X	X					
School costs	X								
School costs: contributions		X**	X	X	X	X**	X	X	X**
School costs: transportation			X	X	X		X	X	
School costs: materials			X	X	X		X	X	
School registration	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Information	X								

OOSC Reason:	2016–2017	2017–2018		2018–2019					2019–2020
	Feb–Apr (8)	Dec (15)	March–May (6)	Sept (9)	Oct. (7)	Feb–March (15)	Feb. (6)	Apr–May (9)	Aug–Sept (9)
ID-mobility					X	X	X	X	X
Insecurity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mixed education	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
Age inappropriate	X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Just arrived	X								
Will move soon	X								
No transportation	X								
Shifts	X								

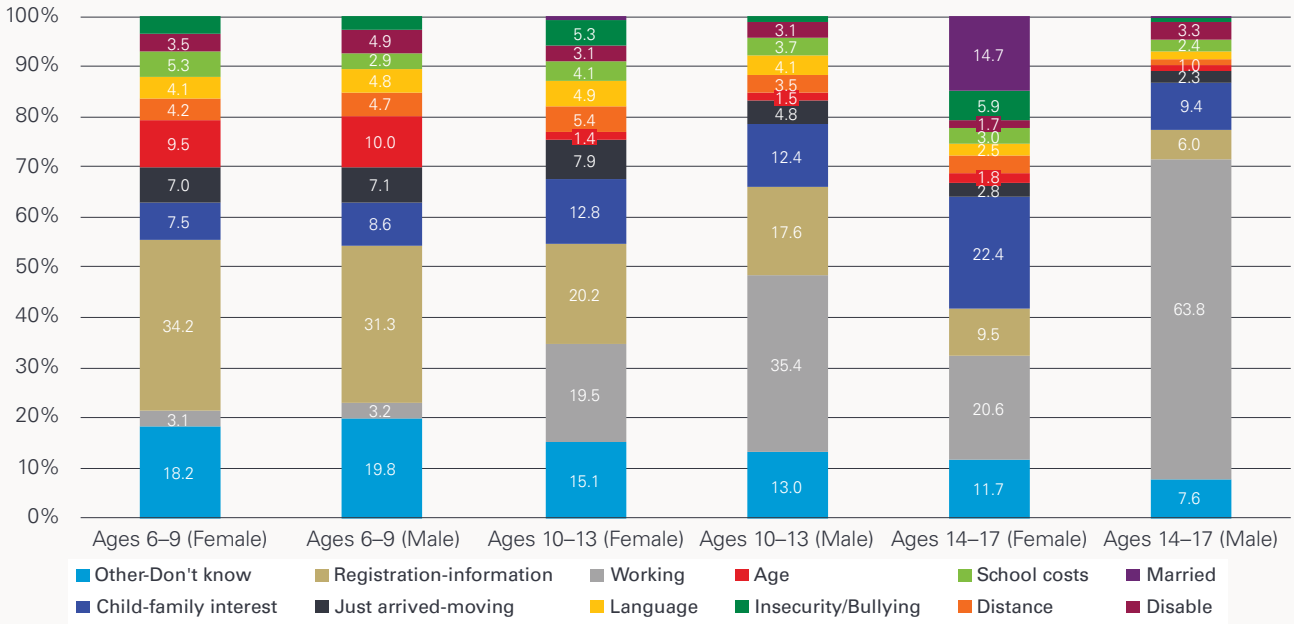
Source: UNICEF Monitoring Databases, various years. Number of provinces in parentheses next to month(s) of survey.
Notes: "X" denotes OOSC category is included in survey list of OOSC reasons.
* "Family interest" also referenced in this category.
** "Transportation costs" and "Materials costs" also referenced in this category.

The lack of exact consistency across the nine waves of monitoring data collections somewhat complicates trends analysis and comparing how frequently the Syrian families UTP mentioned each reason across the range of years. Despite this limitation, the responses still provide a potential wealth of information about the underlying causes of OOSC. And, by comparing the frequencies between school years, it is also possible to assess trends and the possible impact of policy responses to the Syrian refugee crisis.

The detailed summaries of reasons by school level (dimension) for the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data and 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data are discussed in Section 5.1 of the main text. In the remainder of this appendix additional results are provided that get into more detail on the reasons the Syrian families UTP provided for why their children are out of school. The text is limited mainly to describing the content of the various figures and tables. The summary is divided into two sections corresponding to UNICEF Monitoring Data (E.1) and outreach data (E.2). This distinction is used because the UNICEF Monitoring Data allows for a more detailed analysis.

Figure F1 presents reasons for being out of school among Syrian families UTP by age and gender at the time of the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data survey; this is intended as the counterpart to Figure 23 in the main text.

Figure F1:
Reasons for Being Out of School by Age and Gender, 2016–2017 Monitoring Data

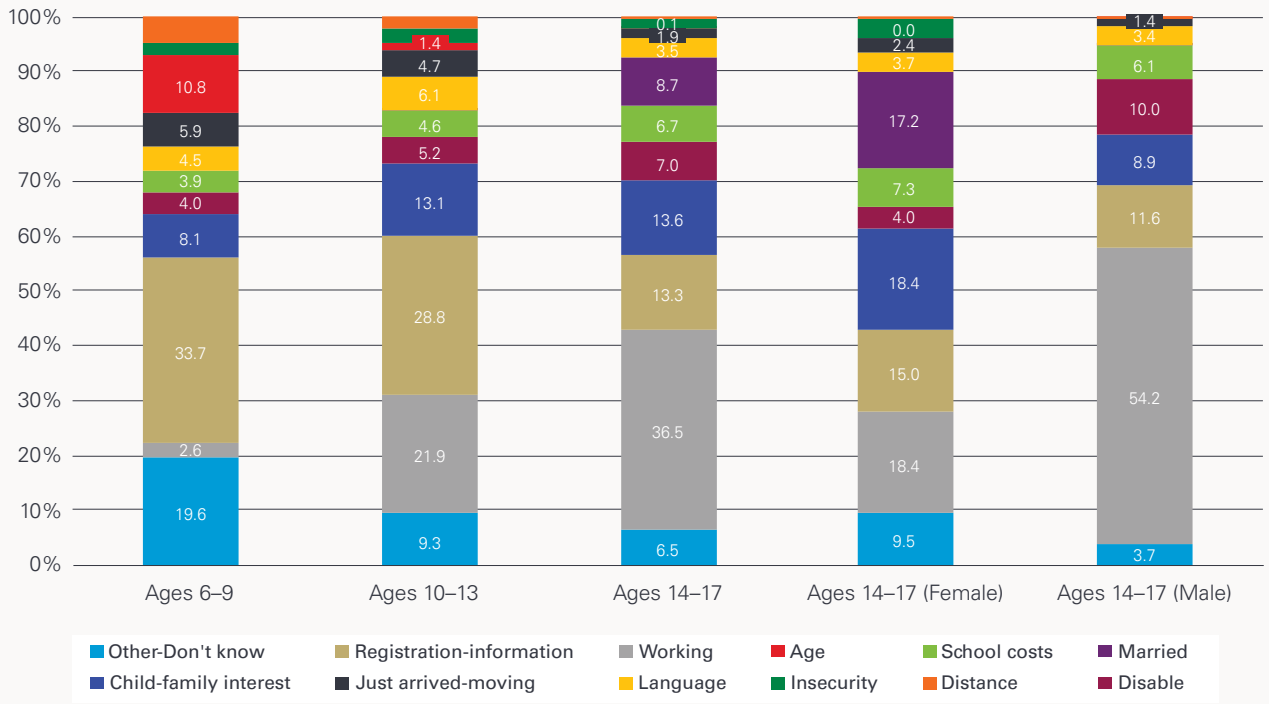


Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

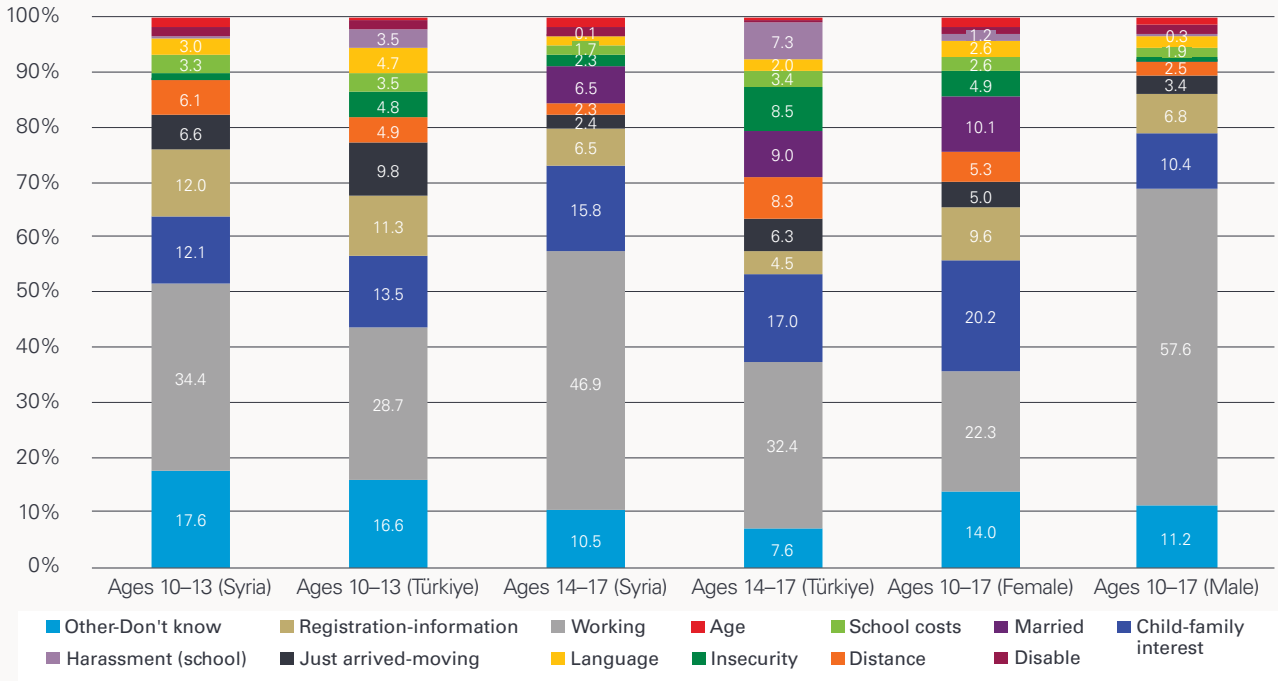
Figure F2 provides the reasons for being out of school in the UNICEF Monitoring Data divided between children who have never enrolled (E2a), and who have dropped out after being in school (F2b). As noted above, the definition of "Never enrolled" is potentially problematic since some Syrian families UTP may have understood the question to be related to schooling in Türkiye instead of the entire school-age period going back to life in Syria. But one advantage of the UNICEF Monitoring Data is that for drop-outs it is possible to specify the country where the drop-out took place (Syria or Türkiye).

Figure F2:
Reasons for Being Out of School for Children Who Have Never Enrolled by Age and Gender, 2016–2017 Monitoring Survey

(a) Never enrolled



(b) Dropped out



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017.
Notes: Country where school was last attended is highlighted in parentheses. Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

Table F2:
Main Reasons for OOSC by Category and Age Group, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017

Age 6–9	Age 10–13		Age 14–17	
Never Attended	Never Attended	Dropped Out (Syria)	Dropped Out (Syria)	Dropped Out (Türkiye)
1. Lack of information	1. Lack of information	1. Child is working	1. Child is working	1. Child is working
2. Registration not accepted	2. Child is working	2. Lack of information	2. Family not interested	2. Dangerous/ harassment
3. Not age appropriate	3. Family not interested	3. Family not interested	3. Doesn't want to attend	3. Doesn't want to attend
4. Family not interested	4. Registration not accepted	4. School is too distant	4. Child is married	4. Child is married
5. School is too distant	5. Language problem	5. Doesn't want to attend	5. Lack of information	5. School is too distant
6. Language problem	6. Disability	6. Just arrived		6. Family will move soon
7. Disability	7. Doesn't want to attend	7. Registration not accepted		7. Family not interested
8. Too expensive				
9. Problem with ID				
		Dropped Out (Türkiye)		
		1. Child is working		
		2. Doesn't want to attend		
		3. Dangerous/ harassment		
		3. Just arrived		
		4. Lack of information		
		5. Registration not accepted		

Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2016–2017.
Note: OOSC categories are based on household responses about a child's schooling history. Shading is used to denote answers that were mentioned in more than 20 per cent of the responses (dark blue) and in 10–20 per cent (light blue). The remaining reasons were cited in at least 5 per cent of the OOSC cases.
Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445).

Table F2 provides an additional summary of the UNICEF Monitoring Data on reasons for not being in school, divided into sub-samples of children by age and enrolled/drop-out status.

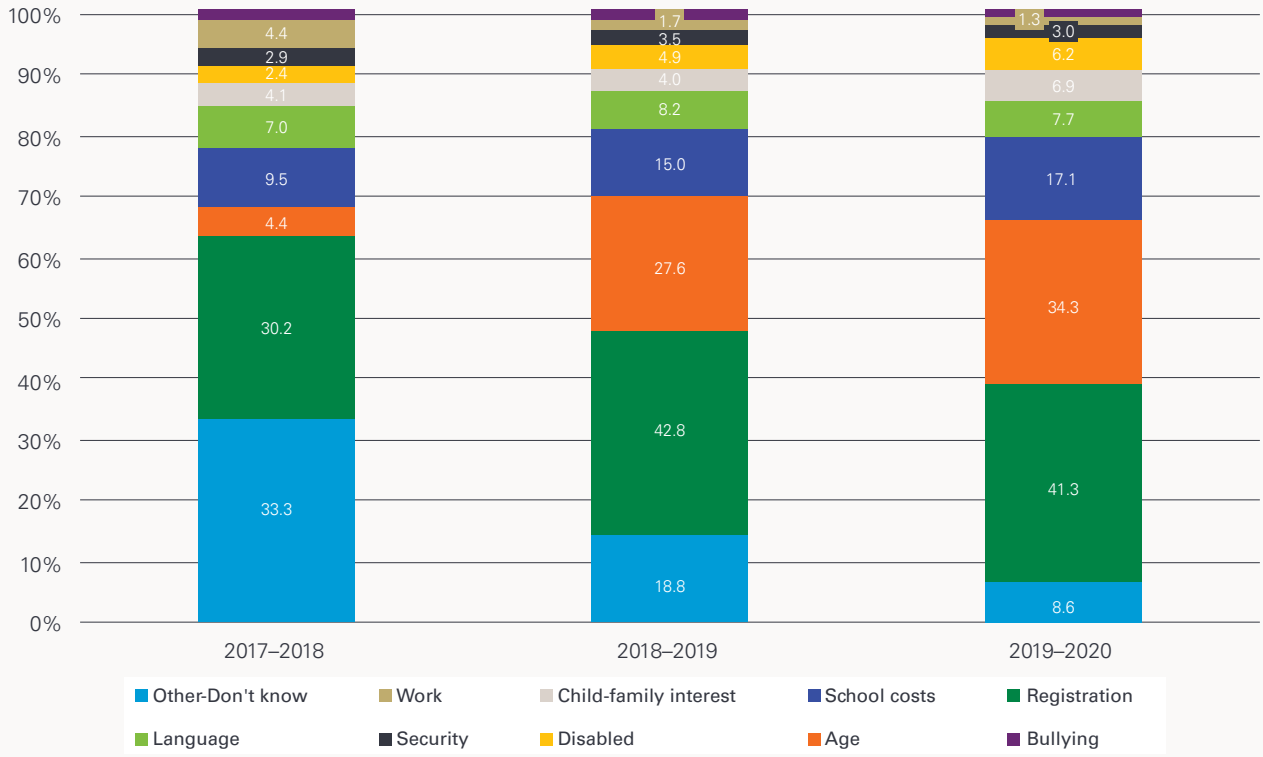
Overall, the UNICEF Monitoring Data summaries provide a wealth of interesting information about the reasons for not being in school among the Syrian UTP. But from a programming standpoint this information is somewhat dated, and the OOSC rate in UNICEF Monitoring Data was significantly higher than the overall average in 2016–2017 school year, as well as in subsequent school years. So, the analysis of data clearly needs to be extended into more recent school years.

The outreach surveys across the 2017–2018, 2018–2019, and 2019–2020 school years make it possible to provide a more recent summary of the reasons for not being in school (according to Syrian families UTP). In the main text in Section 5.1 the 2019 outreach data collected by UNICEF Monitoring Data are the focus. In this section some additional summaries are provided that focus on trends across the range of years.

The trends summary in the following figures are based on equalised categories. As demonstrated in Table F1, not all of the surveys have the exact same categories for OOSC reasons. Therefore, in order to facilitate comparisons over time a common set of reasons are incorporated. This requires coding additional reasons as "Other".

Figure F3 begins with a comparison of OOSC reasons among 6–9-year olds across the three school years covered by the outreach data. The results show a sharp decrease in the proportion of "Other/Don't know", and an increase in the proportion of families citing "Registration" and "Age" issues as the reasons for not being in school. There is also some increase in references to school costs.

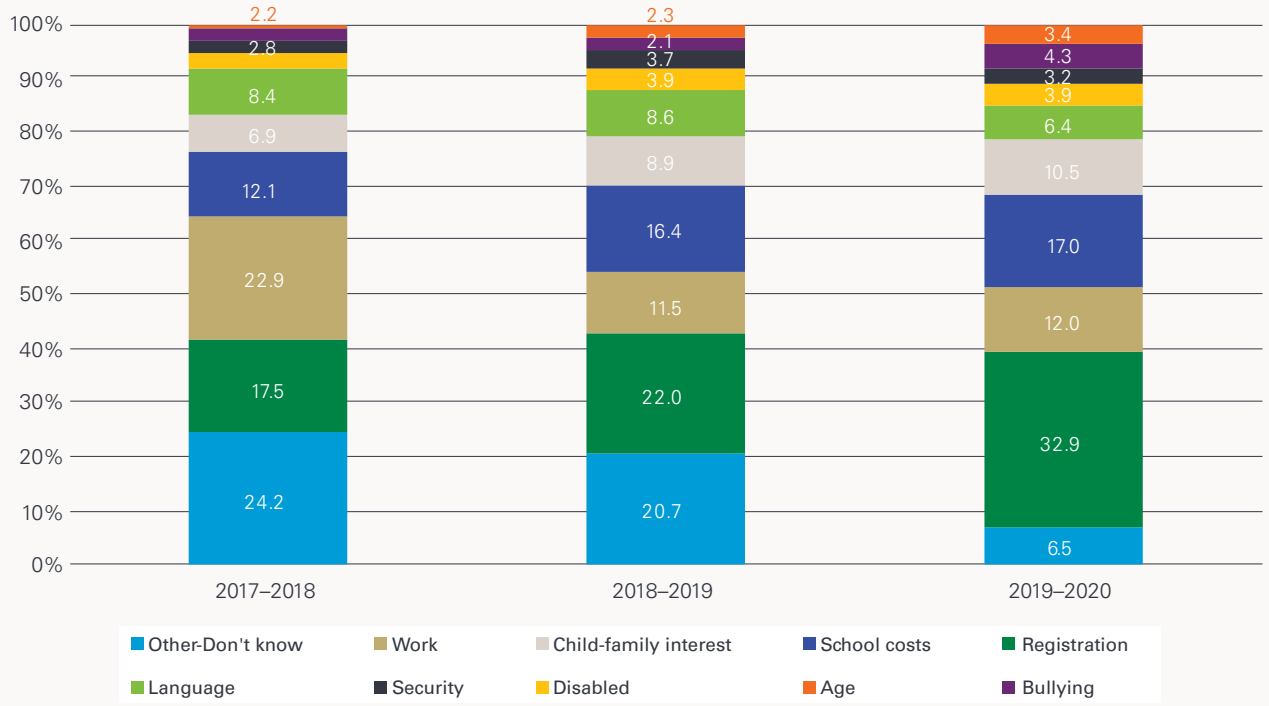
Figure F3:
Reasons for Being Out of School Among Children Aged 6–9 by School Year, Outreach Surveys 2017–2019



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

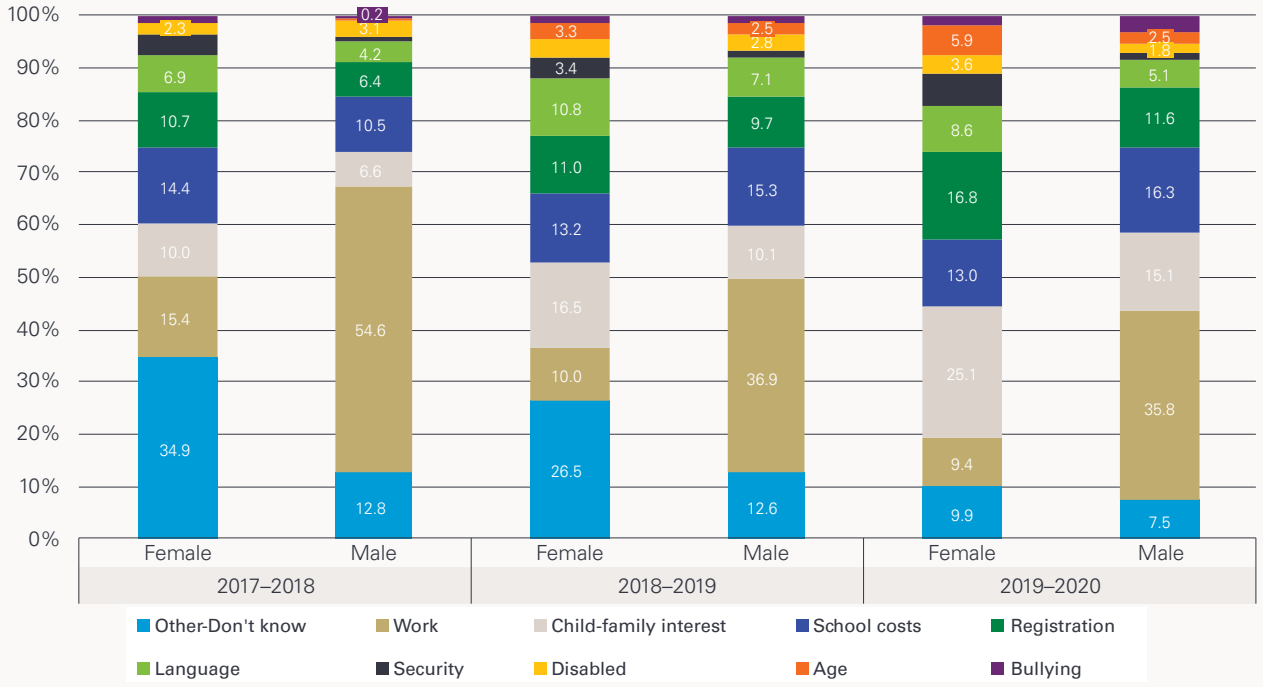
Figure F4 and F5 continue the summary with 10–13- and 14–17-year olds. Once again, the share of "Other/Don't know" is decreasing sharply, especially for females (the 14–17-year-old results are separated by gender). Consistent with the 6–9-year olds (and the comparison of UNICEF Monitoring Data and outreach in Section 5.1), the proportion citing registration issues is increasing over time. But for the older children, especially boys, the percentage of families referencing "Work" demands have decreased significantly (Figure F5).

Figure F4:
Reasons for Being Out of School Among Children Aged 10–13 by School Year, Outreach Surveys 2017–2019



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

Figure F5:
Reasons for Being Out of School Among Children Aged 14–17 by School Year and Gender, Outreach Surveys 2017–2019



Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys, various years.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2017–2018 (34,997); 2018–2019 (42,778); 2019–2020 (10,777).

Appendix G. Multivariate Analysis of Barriers

With the UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017, outreach and UNICEF Monitoring Data (various years) databases it is possible to analyse the covariates of school enrolment using multivariate methods. For example, the UNICEF Monitoring Data database includes information on family size, income, child disability and child work activities. Using statistical analysis methods, it is possible to assess the relative importance of these different variables on school enrolment probabilities among Syrian children UTP, with a goal of identifying barriers that stand out when controlling for other background features.

This is not causal analysis, and the results need to be handled with some care in terms of the degree to which each independent variable is directly impacting the school enrolment outcome. Furthermore, the databases mainly include information from the household, so it is not possible to see how other kinds of barriers related to school, teacher and neighbourhood characteristics impact enrolment.

Despite these limitations, the statistical analysis does make it possible to focus in on the household demand-side barriers that is not possible with the descriptive data summaries and basic comparisons (see Section 5.2). Two sets of analyses are summarised in this appendix:

- UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017: covariates of school enrolment based on a large set of family background indicators plus child labour and child disability measures;
- UNICEF Monitoring Data, various years: covariates of school enrolment and student absences among children in CCTE beneficiary households based on family background measures (income, wealth), school access, and child disability.

Additional analyses were undertaken using the UNICEF Monitoring Data on student absences, and the outreach surveys summarised in detail in Section 4 (also see Appendix B). However, these other datasets have a very limited set of independent variables compared with the UNICEF Monitoring Data, so the results do not add much to the discussion.

F1. Methodology

The school enrolment dependent Y for child i in district j is modelled as a function of a vector of child and family background variables (X):

$$Y_{ij} = \beta'_X \boldsymbol{X}_{ij} + (\mu_j, \varepsilon_i) \quad (1)$$

Equation 1 is estimated using a logistic function for the dichotomous school enrolment dependent variable (0=not in school, 1=enrolled), with robust standard errors based on the clustered sample design and province or district controls ("fixed effects"). For the absences' dependent variables in the UNICEF Monitoring Data two measures are used. The first is a 0–1 dichotomous measure for whether or not the child has zero absences during the last month. The second is an ordered dependent variable that is based on a scale of absences during the previous month, which is modelled as an ordered logit outcome. The analysis of absences in the UNICEF Monitoring Data dataset is restricted to children who are currently enrolled. The statistical model also incorporates mixed-model (or hierarchical) features through an additional error component (u) that captures district- or household-level influences on the different enrolment and absences outcomes.

The statistical modelling is based on standard econometric techniques for cross-sectional data, but it is important to clarify that the relationships between the dependent and independent variables are statistical "associations" rather than causal effects (or "determinants"). The fundamental problem with statistical modelling of non-experimental cross-sectional data is commonly referred to as omitted variable bias. For example, if children who do not work are more likely to be enrolled in school it may not be because they have extra time to attend school, although time availability is almost certainly part of the explanation, but it may instead reflect the fact that their families have prioritised education and school participation for their children, in addition to having sufficient financial resources that they do not need the child to work. The random effects extension detailed above helps to reduce the omitted variable problem. But the only way to completely remove this issue, and be certain that X is causing Y, is through experimental research designs with randomised assignment. These are simply not practical for large-scale surveys where the research (and policy) interest lies in a whole range of variables related to children, their families and the environments they live in.

G2. Barriers analysis: Multivariate modelling

Tables G1 (UNICEF Monitoring Data) and G2 (UNICEF Monitoring Data) present the results from the statistical analysis. The coefficients from the logistic regression have been transformed into marginal effects on the probability that the child is currently enrolled in school. For example, girls aged 12–17 are 5.3 per cent more likely to be enrolled in school, *ceteris paribus* (or "all else being equal"), than are boys (Table G1, column 2). The standard errors are adjusted for the clustering by district in the UNICEF Monitoring Data, and by household in the UNICEF Monitoring Data.

The discussion is organised around specific barriers. It is important to restate that the overarching purpose of this analysis is to consider multiple barriers at the same time. This makes it possible to identify barriers that appear to be especially important, as well as assess how the relative importance of barriers changes across age groups, gender and survey.

Child labour. The UNICEF Monitoring Data includes a general measure for whether or not the child does any kind of work, in addition to category-specific measures of work (and hours). The results in Table G1 shows that non-working children are about 12 per cent more likely to be in school than children who report any kind of labour activity ("Does not work"). Only 12 per cent of children in the 5–11-year-old category report any kind of work, compared with about 58 per cent of 12–17-year olds[86].

For 12–17-year olds, the individual work category measures are included to test for different effects of labour on enrolment by labour activity (instead of the Yes-No for work, see Table G1 columns 3–5). The most negative impact on enrolment is for "outside" labour in a factory, agricultural fields or another home. A standard deviation increase in the number of hours in this activity is associated with a roughly 10 per cent decrease in school enrolment probability. "Family income generation" and "Selling on the street" are also negative and significant, but the effect sizes are modest (about 2 per cent less likely to be in school). Finally, children who are engaged in any household chores are 4–5 per cent less likely to be enrolled in school.

There is some variation in the child labour and enrolment dynamics by gender. Girls who are 12–17-years-old are 5 per cent more likely than boys to be in school when controlling for labour using the 0–1 measure for no work at all (Table G1, column 2). But when adding in the specific labour categories the female advantage is substantially reduced (column 3). This suggests that the female enrolment advantage among older children in the UNICEF Monitoring Data sample is largely attributable to the fact that it is easier for them to balance schooling and work compared with boys who are more likely to be working full time outside of the home.

Children with Disabilities (CwD). The results for CwD are generally consistent with the descriptive summary in Section 5.2. CwD are less likely to be in school, but the size of the effect does depend on the specific disability type. Refugee children who were identified as having a disability in the UNICEF Monitoring Data were about 5 per cent less likely to be in school than non-disabled children (Table G2, column 1). In the UNICEF Monitoring Data, children aged 5–11 with any of the listed disabilities were 3 per cent less likely to be in school, while for older children there was no significant difference (results not presented). However, in the UNICEF Monitoring Data analysis summary in Table G1 the specific disability conditions are included. These results show that the most negative influences on enrolment are for disabilities related to hearing, "self-care" and communication. These effects can be quite large. For example, 12–17-year-old refugee girls with hearing disabilities are 15 per cent less likely to be in school than children with no disabilities (Table G1, column 4), which is one of the strongest effects on enrolment in Table G1[87].

Early and forced marriage. Married children aged 12–17 in the UNICEF Monitoring Data sample are about 16 per cent less likely to be enrolled than non-married children. The marginal effect on school enrolment (16 per cent) is quite large, especially since the sample average enrolment rate for 12–17-year olds in the UNICEF Monitoring Data was only about 23 per cent (bottom of Table G1). However, it should be noted that of the 305 girls aged 12–17 in the UNICEF Monitoring Data that were reported as married, only 5 were enrolled in school. And this is overwhelmingly an issue for girls: only 16 boys aged 12–17 in the UNICEF Monitoring Data were reported as married (less than 1 per cent).

Family ID. Syrian families UTP frequently cited issues with registration, including not having ID cards, as the reason for why their children were not enrolled in school in the outreach surveys (see Section 5.1). In the UNICEF Monitoring Data, the interviewed adult was asked if they had an ID card. When they did, the children in the household were significantly more likely to be enrolled in school, and this effect was especially strong for younger children (Table F1). However, the problem of not having an ID was not very widespread in the UNICEF Monitoring

86 The UNICEF Monitoring Data interviews took place with adult household members (usually the mother), and not directly with the children. Therefore, it is certainly possible that parents are under-reporting working engagement of their children (i.e., "social desirability" bias in responses).

87 The positive coefficient for "Vision" problems in Table F1 is an unexpected result. It is possible that it is picking up children with glasses who have diagnosed vision issues and are in school. There are only four children in the sample who are classified in the most serious category for this problem ("cannot see"), so it is not possible to explore this issue in much detail.

Data sample from 2017: about 7 per cent of interviewed adults did not have an ID card.

Bullying, school climate, and language. The only data available on bullying and how children get along with others are from the UNICEF Monitoring Data among CCTE beneficiary families (also see Section 5.2). The questions were answered by enrolled students, so the effect of the climate-related barriers can only be assessed for student absences. Two results stand out in Table G2. Firstly, children that reported being more frequently bullied at school are significantly less likely to never be absent (Table G2, column 4), and are absent significantly more often (column 5). Secondly, children who reported they only have Syrian friends at school are more frequently absent compared with children who have both Turkish and Syrian friends. **This is an interesting indication of the potential benefits from integration among the communities.**

The UNICEF Monitoring Data included a few questions related to language. **Not surprisingly, refugee children that speak Turkish as their first language or have some Turkish language ability are more likely to be in school (Table G1).** Also, older refugee children (ages 12–17) who indicated Kurdish as a first language were significantly less likely to be in school[88]. Interpretation of the language results are complicated in part by the fact that school participation is likely to improve Turkish language skills. Nevertheless, it is a reminder that **Turkish language acquisition is an important aspect of remaining in school.**

Family composition. A number of barriers to education operate through household compositional factors. Firstly, there is some evidence that refugee children from large families are less likely to be in school. The results vary somewhat across UNICEF Monitoring Data sources, but in general, children are less likely to be enrolled in school when there are other school-aged children in the household. Secondly, children are significantly less likely to be in school when the household is headed by one of their siblings (instead of a parent).

Also, having a mother at home significantly increases the probability of being in school, and the girl's enrolment is strongly impacted by the presence of the mother, but not the boy's enrolment (Table G1, columns 4 and 5). This is consistent with older girls having to replace missing mothers in work activities. However, the mother is missing in only 5 per cent of the surveyed UNICEF Monitoring Data households, so this is not a very prevalent risk factor.

Household income and poverty. Children from households with sufficient resources are more likely to be in school, for many reasons. In the case of refugee families, the relationship between family income and enrolment is complicated by several factors, including the difficulty of getting accurate data on income in surveys like the UNICEF Monitoring Data, and the general tendency for refugee families to be poor, with relatively few families in middle- and upper-class ("rich") categories.

The results in Tables G1 and G2 do not show a strong relationship between monthly income and school enrolment. Children from the poorest families in the UNICEF Monitoring Data, with monthly incomes below 500 Turkish Lira, are marginally less likely to be in school than children from average income households (Table G1). But the results in Tables G1 and G2 also show some evidence that refugee children from higher-income families are *actually less likely* to be in school. This is a somewhat surprising result, but again the refugee experience in socioeconomic terms may be very different from the general population. One possibility is a version of the "wealth paradox" that is observed in some studies in rural areas, where children from larger farms are less likely to be in school due to additional work demands. Some version of this dynamic may be present among the Syrian UTP, where the households with higher monthly incomes may rely more on child labour which in turn predicts less schooling for their children.

Overall, the results from the multivariate analysis provide some additional context for understanding the kinds of barriers faced by refugee children. The results confirm that three of the core barriers that are analysed in this study: child labour, early and forced marriage, and disabilities, are significantly associated with lower enrolment probabilities. The advantage with the multivariate analysis is that multiple barriers are considered at the same time, which makes it possible to identify barriers that stand out, as well as compare patterns across different subpopulations (age, gender).

88 Nearly 20 per cent of the Syrian families UTP in the UNICEF Monitoring Data indicated that their child's first language was Kurdish, compared with 76 per cent Arabic and only 6 per cent Turkish.

Table G1:
Multivariate Analysis: Covariates of Current Enrolment by Age Group and Gender for Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17, DHS 2018

Independent Variable	All Children Ages 5–17:		By Gender Ages 5–17:	
	(1)	(2)	Female (3)	Male (4)
Child is female	4.8* (2.31)	4.2* (2.00)		
Family SES (excluded=Q1)				
Quintile 2	7.1+ (1.67)	10.8* (2.44)	8.1 (1.60)	6.8 (1.26)
Quintile 3	10.8* (2.37)	12.7** (2.71)	17.1** (3.23)	4.8 (0.80)
Quintile 4	13.7** (3.06)	15.4** (3.14)	15.9** (2.93)	12.3* (2.14)
Quintile 5	21.4** (4.80)	20.5** (4.11)	26.2** (5.11)	19.1** (3.21)
Family financial status (scale)	0.5 (0.72)	0.1 (0.21)	0.4 (0.48)	0.7 (0.77)
Mother education (excluded=primary complete):				
No education	-13.2** (-3.47)	-11.6** (-3.06)	-14.6** (-2.92)	-11.5* (-2.33)
Primary incomplete	-7.6+ (-1.65)	-8.9+ (-1.84)	-3.5 (-0.62)	-13.6* (-2.29)
Lower-secondary incomplete	7.8 (1.51)	5.6 (1.09)	7.3 (1.08)	8.4 (1.45)
Lower-secondary complete	10.7** (2.59)	7.9+ (1.87)	9.6+ (1.86)	14.4** (2.69)
Upper-secondary incomplete	15.4** (2.94)	5.4 (0.40)	11.7 (0.84)	12.5 (0.71)
Upper-secondary or higher	-33.6** (-3.01)	13.4* (2.40)	7.2 (1.03)	23.5** (3.78)
Mother missing	-14.9* (-2.44)	-16.3** (-2.55)	-24.2** (-3.10)	-1.8 (-0.20)
Father education (excluded=primary complete):				
No education	-11.1* (-2.35)	-9.9* (-2.05)	-5.3 (-0.90)	-18.0** (-2.86)
Primary incomplete	-9.7+ (-1.73)	-11.4* (-2.02)	-10.5 (-1.32)	-7.4 (-1.11)
Lower-secondary incomplete	0.9 (0.22)	-0.5 (-0.11)	2.8 (0.52)	-0.9 (-0.17)
Lower-secondary complete	3.7 (0.94)	-0.1 (-0.03)	4.5 (0.94)	0.8 (0.15)
Upper-secondary incomplete	0.3 (0.02)	-4.9 (-0.32)	7.1 (0.39)	-15.8 (-0.91)

Independent Variable	All Children Ages 5–17:		By Gender Ages 5–17:	
	(1)	(2)	Female (3)	Male (4)
Upper-secondary or higher	12.6* (2.49)	7.3 (1.40)	15.0* (2.24)	8.8 (1.43)
Father missing	-1.6 (-0.38)	6.5 (0.54)	-2.0 (-0.37)	-3.4 (-0.53)
Child relationship to head of household (excluded=child):				
Grandchild	7.7 (1.25)	5.6 (0.90)	10.3 (1.31)	8.1 (0.99)
Other relative	-23.0** (-2.82)	-26.5** (-3.12)	-15.5 (-1.56)	-32.0** (-2.95)
Sibling	-2.0 (-0.22)	-6.3 (-0.69)	8.1 (0.70)	-16.6 (-1.38)
Not related	-26.9+ (-1.76)	-25.1 (-1.60)	8.1 (0.70)	-8.8 (-0.56)
Number of persons age 0–5	-2.8* (-2.29)	-1.7 (-1.36)	-3.2* (-2.17)	-2.7+ (-1.68)
Number of persons age 6–13	-0.7 (-0.73)	-0.6 (-0.67)	-0.7 (0.59)	-0.9 (-0.70)
Number of persons age 14–17	-0.4 (-0.22)	-1.4 (-0.77)	0.3 (0.15)	-0.8 (-0.30)
Number of persons age 18+	1.9+ (1.63)	0.8 (0.71)	1.4 (1.02)	2.5+ (1.63)
Frequency of smoking in household (scale)	-6.7** (-2.58)	-6.4* (-2.38)	-8.1* (-2.44)	-6.9* (-2.09)
Year of arrival in Türkiye (excluded=2014 or 2015):				
2011 or earlier	-8.1 (-1.10)	-16.4* (-1.95)	-2.9 (-0.25)	-17.7 (-1.55)
2012 or 2013	0.9 (0.31)	-0.8 (-0.25)	-0.1 (-0.03)	0.9 (0.22)
2016 or 2017	-5.7 (-1.53)	-7.2+ (-1.88)	-0.5 (-0.12)	-10.4* (-2.05)
2018	-46.6** (-5.57)	-47.9** (-5.64)	-44.6** (-4.52)	-50.7** (-4.85)
Cluster fixed effects?	No	Yes	No	No
Explained variance (R2)	0.35	0.40	0.35	0.38
Sample Size	3,612	3,612	1,752	1,860

Source: DHS (2018).
Notes: Presented coefficients are marginal effects that represent percentage change in probability of being enrolled in current school year, calculated at global sample means. Estimations also include controls for age. All estimations based on weighted data.
**Significant at p<0.01 level; *Significant at p<0.05 level; +Significant at p<0.10 level.

Table G2:
Multivariate Analysis: Covariates of Current Enrolment by Age Group and Gender for Syrian Children UTP Ages 12–17, DHS 2018

Independent Variable	All Children Ages 12–17:			By Gender Ages 12–17:	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	Female (4)	Male (5)
Child is female	11.6**	1.9	2.4	----	----
	(3.53)	(0.57)	(0.73)		
Child is working in paid labour	----	-41.3**	-39.4**	-40.9**	-42.5**
		(-8.28)	(-7.99)	(-3.23)	(8.74)
Family SES (excluded=Q1)					
Quintile 2	-0.5	1.0	1.1	1.9	-2.0
	(-0.07)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(-0.29)
Quintile 3	9.7	10.2	3.5	23.1*	-1.5
	(1.29)	(1.40)	(0.46)	(2.19)	(0.21)
Quintile 4	12.3+	15.4*	8.8	28.8**	4.4
	(1.68)	(2.11)	(1.09)	(2.67)	(0.58)
Quintile 5	20.1**	19.2**	9.0	31.4**	11.3
	(2.64)	(2.59)	(1.12)	(2.89)	(1.37)
Family financial status (scale)	1.4	2.3*	2.8**	1.0	3.9**
	(1.38)	(2.33)	(2.55)	(0.68)	(3.39)
Family has received immigrant benefits	6.4	6.8	11.3**	2.0	8.4*
	(1.46)	(1.61)	(2.97)	(0.28)	(1.95)
Mother education (excluded=primary complete):					
No education	-13.6**	-11.6*	-7.0	-15.7*	-8.7+
	(-2.79)	(-2.49)	(-1.45)	(-2.11)	(-1.81)
Primary incomplete	-12.1+	-7.4	-3.0	-11.8	-7.8
	(-1.83)	(-1.08)	(-0.45)	(-1.04)	(-1.34)
Lower-secondary incomplete	2.8	2.2	-1.3	-1.8	2.9
	(0.36)	(0.28)	(0.18)	(-0.16)	(0.33)
Lower-secondary complete	17.5**	14.8*	20.7**	27.3**	9.1
	(2.65)	(2.19)	(3.02)	(2.71)	(1.14)
Upper-secondary incomplete	31.9+	25.3	11.9	10.0	21.6
	(1.78)	(1.42)	(0.52)	(0.27)	(1.02)
Upper-secondary or higher	41.2**	41.7**	60.6**	30.2*	53.8**
	(4.90)	(4.96)	(5.71)	(2.26)	(4.36)
Mother missing	-17.9**	-18.2**	-12.7+	-34.5**	0.03
	(-2.60)	(-2.74)	(-1.90)	(-3.73)	(0.03)
Father education (excluded=primary complete):					
No education	-8.5	-10.0	-18.6**	-7.6	-11.5+
	(-1.19)	(-1.49)	(-3.63)	(-0.70)	(-1.71)
Primary incomplete	-12.3+	-12.6*	-18.4**	-9.1	-6.1
	(-1.65)	(-1.93)	(-3.61)	(-0.72)	(-0.85)
Lower-secondary incomplete	-0.4	-0.02	-4.8	19.2+	-13.2*
	(-0.06)	(-0.26)	(-0.78)	(1.85)	(-2.26)
Lower-secondary complete	2.0	0.1	-9.3+	1.2	-2.1
	(0.32)	(0.02)	(-1.63)	(0.14)	(-0.33)
Upper-secondary incomplete	-10.4	-9.2	-19.9	11.3	13.9+
	(-0.46)	(-0.41)	(-1.59)	(0.34)	(1.80)
Upper-secondary or higher	27.3**	27.9**	19.2**	41.5**	1.3
	(3.67)	(3.51)	(2.53)	(3.64)	(0.11)

Independent Variable	All Children Ages 12–17:			By Gender Ages 12–17:	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	Female (4)	Male (5)
Father missing	-5.2	-4.2	-12.7*	-4.3	1.5
	(-0.85)	(-0.70)	(-2.31)	(-0.47)	(0.22)
Child relationship to head of household (excluded=child):					
Grandchild	3.9	4.8	17.6	12.4	5.7
	(0.26)	(0.32)	(1.09)	(0.55)	(0.45)
Other relative	-3.0	-5.1	-7.4	15.0	-20.0**
	(-0.29)	(-0.50)	(-0.75)	(1.03)	(-2.60)
Sibling	-0.2	0.2	1.23	10.1	-12.3
	(-0.02)	(0.02)	(0.12)	(0.63)	(-1.43)
Not related	-18.1+	-17.4	-20.5		5.9
	(-1.63)	(-1.25)	(-1.57)		(0.65)
Number of persons age 0–5	-1.8	-1.1	-0.5	-1.6	-0.6
	(-0.94)	(-0.59)	(-0.30)	(-0.64)	(-0.29)
Number of persons age 6–13	-3.7*	-2.9+	-4.0**	-3.2	-1.6
	(-2.20)	(-1.79)	(-3.09)	(-1.43)	(-1.05)
Number of persons age 14–17	-0.4	-0.3	-2.1	-0.8	-0.3
	(-0.14)	(-0.12)	(-0.86)	(-0.20)	(-0.11)
Number of persons age 18+	3.6*	3.0+	2.6+	2.7	4.0*
	(2.33)	(1.80)	(1.75)	(1.24)	(2.24)
Frequency of smoking in household (scale)	-12.0**	-11.6**	-11.1**	-15.4**	-7.8*
	(-3.18)	(-3.10)	(-3.00)	(-2.61)	(-1.95)
Year of arrival in Türkiye (excluded=2014 or 2015):					
2011 or earlier	-14.1	-12.5	-8.5	-12.5	-16.2*
	(-1.54)	(-1.35)	(-1.01)	(-0.73)	(-2.04)
2012 or 2013	5.2	2.6	3.9	5.4	-0.7
	(1.22)	(0.62)	(0.89)	(0.80)	(-0.16)
2016 or 2017	-3.0	-4.9	-7.8	5.0	-12.6**
	(-0.60)	(-1.00)	(-1.57)	(0.64)	(-2.63)
2018	-32.3**	-29.6**	-24.2**	-39.8**	-21.1**
	(-3.54)	(-3.73)	(-3.66)	(-3.80)	(-3.32)
Cluster fixed effects?	No	No	Yes	No	No
Explained variance (R2)	0.33	0.40	0.52	0.38	0.49
Sample Size	1,460	1,460	1,460	684	776

Source: DHS 2018
Notes: Presented coefficients are marginal effects that represent percentage change in probability of being enrolled in current school year, calculated at global sample means. Estimations also include controls for age. All estimations based on weighted data.
**Significant at p<0.01 level; *Significant at p<0.05 level; +Significant at p<0.10 level.

Table G3:
Multivariate Analysis: Covariates of Current Enrolment by Age Group and Gender for Syrian Children UTP Ages 5–17, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017

Independent Variable:	Ages 5–11	Ages 12–17			
		All children:		Female:	Male:
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Female	1.0 (0.94)	5.4** (4.34)	1.2+ (1.67)		
Child is married		-16.5** (-3.33)	-16.1** (-3.65)	-12.6** (-2.79)	-0.1 (-0.02)
Number of persons in household:					
Ages 0–4	-1.6* (-2.34)	-1.1** (-2.98)	-1.2** (-3.47)	-1.0+ (-1.72)	-0.10 (-1.60)
Ages 5–11	-2.2** (-2.58)	-0.04 (-0.03)	0.04 (0.15)	0.2 (0.69)	-0.1 (-0.12)
Adults 12–17	-1.9** (-2.83)	-1.2 (-1.43)	-1.2 (-1.29)	-0.9 (-0.92)	-1.2+ (-1.68)
Adults	-0.8* (-2.42)	0.1 (0.40)	0.06 (-0.22)	0.05 (0.10)	-0.05 (-0.47)
Family member has ID card	13.7** (3.59)	7.6** (3.20)	7.1** (3.29)	5.0* (2.16)	7.1** (2.66)
Mother lives at home	5.6* (2.17)	8.4* (2.08)	8.4* (2.40)	11.6* (2.27)	5.9+ (1.75)
Father lives at home	-0.3 (-0.26)	-0.7 (-0.45)	-0.7 (-0.54)	-2.2 (-1.21)	1.7 (0.91)
Relation to head of household (excluded=child):					
Grandchild	0.3 (0.18)	1.2 (0.24)	0.4 (0.10)	-3.3 (-0.74)	7.9* (2.40)
Sibling	-7.3* (-2.17)	-4.7** (-2.52)	-5.0** (-3.15)	-5.5** (-2.58)	-2.9* (-2.09)
Other	-5.7* (-2.10)	-4.4 (-1.40)	-4.2 (-1.42)	-3.0 (-0.84)	-5.8** (-3.20)
Family arrived in Türkiye (excluded=2016–2017):					
2012 or before	1.2 (1.00)	-0.5 (-0.17)	-0.3 (-0.12)	-2.2 (-0.59)	2.8* (1.93)
2013	2.0 (1.36)	0.1 (0.04)	0.5 (0.16)	0.6 (0.21)	0.5 (0.26)
2014	3.9** (2.49)	1.8 (0.92)	2.2 (1.18)	1.1 (0.42)	2.9+ (1.85)
2015	1.2 (0.78)	1.5 (0.79)	1.6 (0.88)	0.4 (0.23)	3.2+ (1.84)
Family monthly income (excluded=501–1000 TL):					
0–500 TL	-1.4 (-0.66)	-2.0 (-1.53)	-2.6** (-2.65)	-2.6* (-2.43)	-2.7+ (-1.66)
1,001–1,500 TL	0.8 (1.40)	-0.01 (-0.01)	0.06 (0.22)	0.6 (0.78)	-1.0 (-0.82)
1,500–2,000 TL	1.1 (0.76)	-1.5 (-1.33)	-0.1 (-0.07)	0.2 (0.23)	-1.3 (-0.60)
2,001+ TL	0.6 (0.46)	-7.6** (-3.60)	-6.2** (-3.47)	-4.5 (-1.60)	-7.3** (-3.06)

Independent Variable:	Ages 5–11	Ages 12–17			
		All children:		Female:	Male:
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Child's first language (excluded=Arabic):					
Turkish/Old Turkish	5.5*	3.6*	2.8*	0.03	6.1**
	(1.98)	(2.32)	(2.02)	(0.02)	(2.92)
Kurdish	-2.3	-3.8**	-3.9**	-2.6**	-4.5**
	(-1.02)	(-3.06)	(-4.52)	(-3.49)	(-3.11)
Child can speak Turkish (second language)	8.0**	5.7**	6.8**	7.3**	4.9**
	(3.41)	(3.65)	(4.33)	(2.95)	(5.97)
Child health issues/disabilities:					
Vision	2.6	6.2**	6.8**	5.5	6.6**
	(1.15)	(2.94)	(3.02)	(1.27)	(2.82)
Hearing	-2.7	-10.9**	-10.9**	-15.3+	-7.9**
	(-0.82)	(-2.88)	(-3.53)	(-1.71)	(-2.71)
Walking	-8.0*	-1.6	-1.6	-0.1	-1.1
	(-2.31)	(-0.41)	(-0.45)	(-0.31)	(-0.21)
Memory/Concentrate	-1.1	-1.0	-1.4	-0.3	-1.9
	(-0.20)	(0.62)	(-0.79)	(0.07)	(-1.26)
Self-care	-8.2*	-9.0**	-8.6**	-11.5+	-6.1
	(-2.17)	(-2.34)	(-2.72)	(-1.85)	(-0.86)
Communication	-3.5+	-5.7	-6.7+	-4.7	-7.5*
	(1.73)	(-1.60)	(-1.83)	(-1.40)	(-2.14)
Child labour measures (Yes/No)					
Does not work	12.2**	11.9**			
	(3.75)	(3.81)			
Helping with house chores			-5.2**	-4.7**	-3.8
			(-3.49)	(-2.99)	(-1.22)
Child labour measures (hours standardised):					
Outside of home (factory, etc.)			-10.3**	-11.2**	-9.7**
			(-5.37)	(-2.95)	(-6.16)
Family income-generation			-1.8*	-3.3	-1.4+
			(-1.93)	(-1.44)	(-1.65)
Selling on street			-2.6*		-2.1*
			(-2.06)		(-2.13)
Random effect variance	4.1**	13.4+	11.5+	22.2	10.6
Child enrolled in school (%)	47.0%	23.1%	23.1%	27.1%	19.6%
Sample size	11,383	4,357	4,357	2,020	2,325
District fixed effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2017).
Notes: Presented coefficients are marginal effects that represent percentage change in probability of being enrolled in current school year, calculated at global sample means. Estimations also include controls for age. "Standardised" variables refer to variables measured in standard deviations. All models include random effect (mixed model, or HLM) measured at district level.
**Significant at p<0.01 level; *Significant at p<0.05 level; +Significant at p<0.10 level.

Table G4:
Multivariate Analysis: Covariates of Current Enrolment and Absences by Gender for Syrian Children UTP ages 5–17, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2018–2019

Independent Variable:	Student Enrolment=1 (ages 5–17)			Never absent=1	Number of absences
	All (1)	Female (2)	Male (3)	All (4)	All (5)
Female	3.1**			-0.3	0.03
	(4.98)			(-0.35)	(0.50)
Child is disabled	-4.7**	-5.6*	-3.1	-0.5	0.02
	(-3.02)	(-2.43)	(-1.40)	(-0.24)	(0.11)
Number of persons in household:					
Ages 0–4	0.3	-0.6	1.0+	1.5**	-0.10*
	(0.77)	(-1.18)	(1.75)	(2.51)	(-2.03)
Ages 5–17	-3.8**	-4.1**	-3.3**	0.1	0.06
	(-11.44)	(-9.83)	(-7.38)	(0.23)	(1.49)
Adults 18–59	-0.7*	-1.2**	-0.2	-0.8+	0.08*
	(-2.33)	(-2.96)	(-0.37)	(-1.76)	(2.29)
Family income quintile (excluded=Q1):					
Quintile 2	-0.01	-0.4	0.7	-2.0	0.09
	(-0.07)	(-0.27)	(0.49)	(-1.40)	(0.84)
Quintile 3	0.8	0.3	1.4	-9.2**	0.63**
	(0.74)	(0.17)	(0.90)	(-6.48)	(5.73)
Quintile 4	0.7	0.2	1.8	-6.3**	0.37**
	(0.65)	(0.16)	(1.20)	(-4.39)	(3.36)
Quintile 5	-0.2	0.1	0.6	-9.6**	0.57**
	(-0.18)	(0.64)	(0.34)	(-6.05)	(4.61)
Household has debt	-0.5	-0.8	0.01	-5.7**	0.40**
	(-0.69)	(-0.78)	(0.07)	(-5.82)	(5.18)
School access (excluded=Difficult):					
Tolerable	-0.3	1.4	-2.0	-1.1	0.23
	(-0.20)	(0.64)	(-0.83)	(-0.46)	(1.22)
Easy	-0.04	0.4	-1.6	1.8	0.01
	(-0.23)	(0.21)	(-0.71)	(0.78)	(0.08)
Frequency of bullying (excluded=Never):					
Rarely				-2.3	0.04
				(-1.57)	(0.36)
Sometimes				-5.7**	0.45**
				(-4.20)	(4.30)
Very often				-3.9*	0.31*
				(-2.03)	(2.15)
Child has friends (excluded=Has Syrian and Turkish friends):					
Only Syrian friends				-12.0**	0.86**
				(-7.42)	(6.96)
Only Turkish friends				2.3	-0.30*
				(1.10)	(-1.94)

Independent Variable:	Student Enrolment=1 (ages 5–17)			Never absent=1	Number of absences
	All (1)	Female (2)	Male (3)	All (4)	All (5)
Province fixed effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent variable sample average	81.1%	82.3%	79.7%	57.8%	1.1 absences
Sample size	7,007	5,770	5,613	9,067	8,840

Source: UNICEF Monitoring Data (2018–2019).
Notes: For current enrolment/never absent dependent variables the presented coefficients are marginal effects that represent percentage change in probability of being enrolled/never absent in current school year, calculated at global sample means. Total absences are measured as an ordered scale from 1–6, and the estimation incorporates an ordered logit specification. Estimations also include controls for age and survey wave. All models include random effect (mixed model, or HLM) measured at household level.
**Significant at p<0.01 level; *Significant at p<0.05 level; +Significant at p<0.10 level.

Appendix H. Why Are Syrian Children UTP Out of School? The Reasons Provided by Families in the UNICEF Monitoring Data

Syrian families UTP were asked why their children are not in school in each of the nine waves of the UNICEF Monitoring Data conducted between 2016 and 2019. This is a useful departure point for the analysis of barriers because the survey data include over 100,000 study subjects and cover four school years, which makes it possible to assess trends in the reasons the families have provided. However, the barriers information provided through the surveys is somewhat one-dimensional.

Families were free to mention more than one reason for why their children were out of school, but it was not possible to ask follow-up questions or get into additional details. This is why the qualitative data collected specifically for this study are so important. They provide recent information on barriers that is not simply a checklist of reasons, but instead attempts to understand more about the barriers as well as how families have attempted to cope.

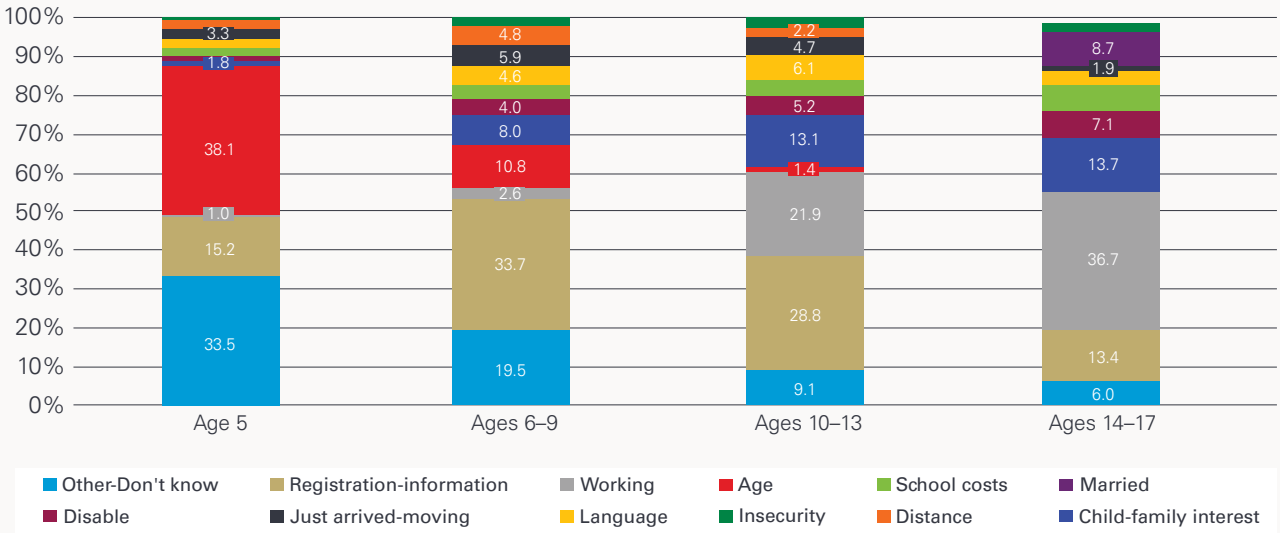
The UNICEF Monitoring Data on reasons for OOSC are extensive, and a complete review of the reasons is beyond the scope of this section. Appendix F provides a summary of this information source, which begins in Table F1 with a review of the OOS reasons that were coded into each of the surveys. As noted in earlier sections, the UNICEF Monitoring Data are based on a common questionnaire template, but across the nine rounds of data collection the barriers are not identical. Some reasons for being out of school are coded into some surveys, but not others. In other cases, different wording is used (see Table F1). This lack of consistency in response coding across surveys does somewhat complicate the analysis of trends and differences in responses over time, although most of the key OOSC barriers do appear to be covered in each survey.

Figure H1 begins with a comparison of the reasons the Syrian families UTP cited for not being in school at the time of the 2017 and 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data. Within the four age groups the frequency (% / per cent) that each reason was mentioned is summarised, with each column summing up to 100 per cent. For example, among 5-year olds who were out of school at the time of the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data, 38.1 per cent of the families cited age as the reason for being out of school.

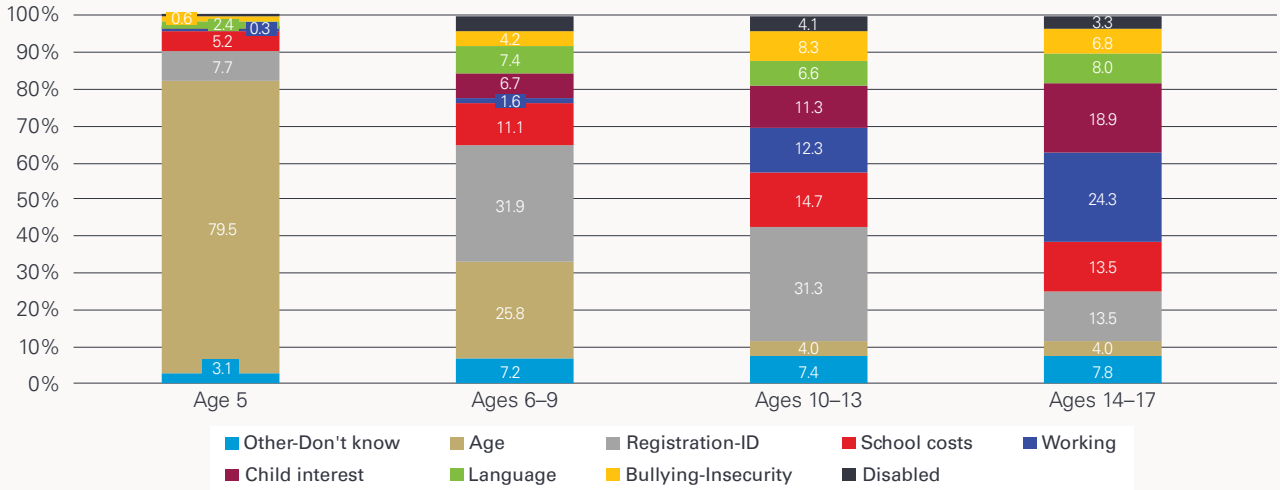
The two monitoring data surveys in Figure H1 correspond to the first (2016–2017) and last (2019–2020) school years that are covered by the UNICEF Monitoring Data. However, a cautious approach is required in comparing these two surveys due to differences in the underlying samples. Appendix F includes survey results on reasons for OOSC from other school years. Taking all of this information together, it is possible to comment on trends in the reasons for OOSC. But again, this needs to be done very carefully, so in the remainder of this section the focus is on the most commonly cited OOSC reasons, with less attention to how these reasons have changed over time.

Figure H1:
Frequency of Reasons Cited by Syrian Families UTP for Child Not Being in School, by Age Categories and Survey

(a) UNICEF Monitoring 2016–2017



(b) UNICEF Monitoring 2019–2020



Data sources: UNICEF Monitoring Data 2017, UNICEF Monitoring Data 2019.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2016–2017 (11,445); 2019–2020 (10,777).

Across both surveys the most frequently cited barrier was related to problems with registration, especially among the 6–9 and 10–13 age cohorts. More specifically, the families cited issues with "Registration" and "Information" in the 2017 survey, and "Inability to register in school" and "Problem with ID" in the 2019 survey; this is how the responses were coded in the survey databases. The fact that these barriers continue to be present, according to Syrian families UTP, is a source of concern, especially since the MoNE and partners have been aware of these problems since the earliest stages of the transition from TECs to TPSs (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

There is also evidence that Syrian children UTP are being pulled out of school (which includes never enrolling) due to pressures from outside of school walls. Children aged 10–17 frequently cited work demands in both surveys. Across all of the monitoring surveys the frequency of work as a reason for being out of school has declined over time (see Appendix F). This may reflect some improvement in the social safety net for Syrians UTP, with programmes such as CCTE.

Some children are also out of school due to marriage. 8.7 per cent of 14–17-year olds cited marriage in the 2017 survey, and almost all of these cases were girls. Overall, 15 per cent of OOS girls aged 14–17 cited marriage in the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data (Figure F2 in Appendix F), compared with 10 per cent of 14–17-year-old girls in the 2017–2018 school year, and 5 per cent in 2018–2019. Unfortunately, marriage was not coded in the 2019 monitoring survey. Nevertheless,

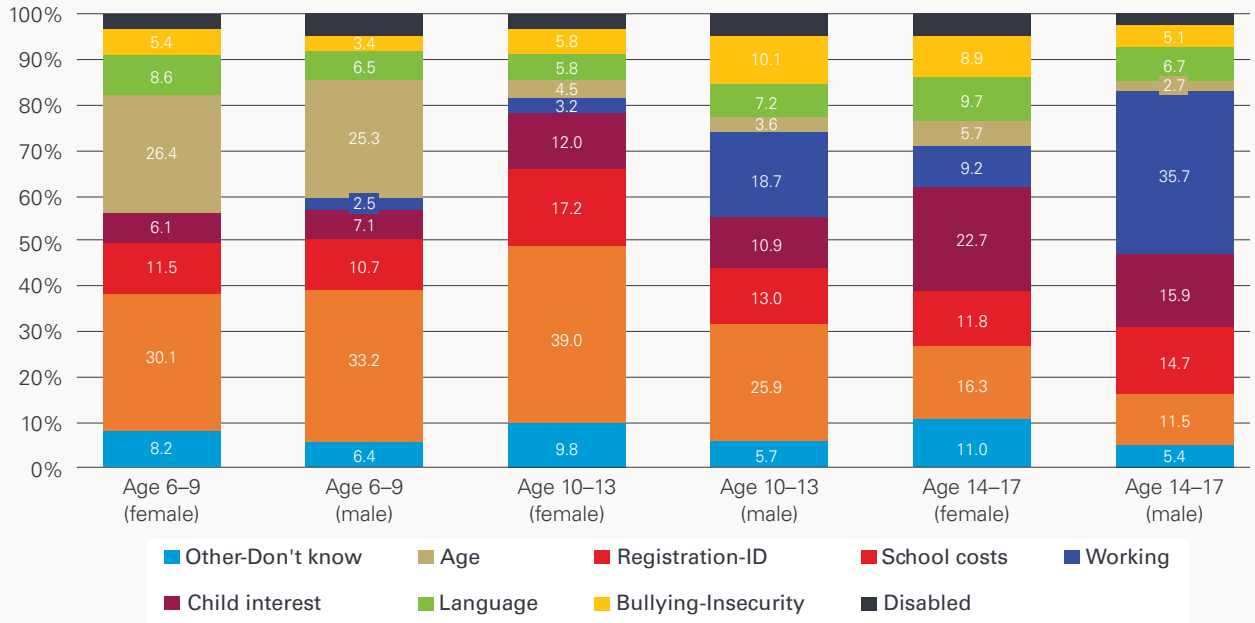
despite some evidence that it may be declining as a reason for OOSC, early marriage has been mentioned enough to justify the additional follow-up (including a case study) in later sections.

Less than 5 per cent of OOSC cases were attributed to disabilities in the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data and the 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data surveys. In both surveys, the percentage of families who indicated they have a child out of school due to disability is higher in relation to children in older age groups than children in the 5- and 6–9-year-old age groups. One explanation is that learning and other disabilities may be un-diagnosed until children go to school, which would account for a higher proportion of older children reporting these issues.

Syrian families UTP mentioned concerns about problems arising for children on the school premises, in both survey periods. Over 12 per cent of families cited issues including language, bullying and general insecurity at the time of the 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data. This is significantly higher than in the 2017 UNICEF Monitoring Data. Also, the Syrian families UTP in the 2019 survey were much more likely to cite concerns about school costs as a reason for not enrolling children. And finally, significant numbers of families cited the lack of interest among the child (or family) as the reason for OOSC in both surveys, although this is not necessarily related to what is happening inside schools.

There is some important variation in the reasons for OOSC by gender, mainly in the 10–13 and 14–17 age cohorts (Figure H2). Girls are more likely than boys to be out of school due to registration problems, or because of a lack of interest on the children's part. But boys are much more likely to be out of school due to work pressures. For boys aged 14–17 the need for work was cited in just over 35 per cent of cases, which is by far the most frequent reason for being out of school.

Figure H2:
Frequency of Reasons Cited by Syrian Families UTP for Child Not Being in School by Age and Gender, 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data



Source: 2019 UNICEF Monitoring Data.
Notes: Sample sizes by UNICEF Monitoring Data year: 2019–2020 (10,777).

The summaries in Figures H1 and H2 provide the general overview of barriers according to Syrian families UTP, with variations by school level, gender and survey year. Additional summaries are provided in Appendix F, including comparisons of OOSC reasons between dropouts and never enrolled (Figure F2, Table F2), and a summary of OOSC reasons by outreach survey year for the 2017–2018, 2018–2019, and 2019–2020 school years (Figures F3, F4 and F5).

Appendix I. Approved Safeguarding Procedures

Objective

This document describes how to implement safeguarding procedures during the In-depth Interviews (IDIs) for the OOSC study. Initially, the planned modality of having Focus Group Discussions with children, was transformed to IDIs to comply with social distancing measures due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This guidance includes the roles that members of the research team should perform, and the tools and procedures to report child protection concerns detected during the IDIs that will be conducted through phone calls.

The objectives are twofold:

a. To ensure the safety of children and prevent physical, sexual and emotional abuse, neglect and maltreatment of children by any parties involved in this study whose actions UNICEF is responsible for: including volunteers, translators, researchers, etc.

b. To establish guidelines to ensure an appropriate response to potential child protection concerns that may arise during the implementation of the IDIs.

This guidance follows UNICEF guidelines on how to conduct research and studies with children considering ethical considerations to guarantee the best interests of the children involved in the study[89,90].

What is Child Safeguarding?

All children, independently of where they live and what are their circumstances, have the right to be protected, nurtured and be free from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect, maltreatment and exploitation as set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Respecting and supporting this right are the essence of child safeguarding.

For the IDIs, 'child safeguarding' refers to all actions that UNICEF and partners take to keep safe all children and beneficiaries that are reached during the implementation of the OOSC study. It also includes proactive measures put in place to ensure children and beneficiaries are not harmed as a result of any direct or indirect contact with the staff implementing the study.

Child safeguarding encompasses the prevention of physical, sexual and emotional abuse, neglect and maltreatment of children by any of the parties involved in the study and for whom UNICEF is responsible for, including volunteers, translators, researchers, etc. If and when a child safeguarding concern arises, researchers should be provided with guidance on how to respond appropriately, and what the procedure to inform relevant authorities is (where required), ensuring that the best interests of the child are considered first and foremost.

Key Principles of Child Safeguarding:

- **Best interest of the child[91]:** is a child rights principle, which derives from Article 3 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which says that "in all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child should be a primary consideration".
- **Confidentiality:** taking all measures needed to guarantee that all information regarding children is kept safe and only accessible to relevant authorities and only under specific circumstances while ensuring the best interest of the child.
- **Do no harm:** avoid exposing children to additional risks or injury through our action or inaction. This principle means taking a step back from an intervention to look at the broader context and mitigate potential negative effects.
- **Empowerment:** children are supported and encouraged to make their own decisions and provide informed consent, for example: "I am asked what I want as the outcomes from the safeguarding process, and this directly informs what happens".
- **Prevention:** ensure all necessary actions are undertaken before harm occurs, for example: "I receive clear and simple information about what abuse is. I know how to recognize the signs, and I know what I can do to seek help".
- **Proportionality:** the least intrusive response appropriate to the risk presented, for example: "I am sure that the professionals will work in my interest, and they will only get involved as much as is necessary".

89 UNICEF, procedure for ethical standards in research, evaluation, data collection and analysis.

90 Ethical research involving children (Innocenti, 2013).

91 The Child Protection Law (5395) identifies children as "individuals below 18 years of age" (Article 3). Article 11 of the Turkish Civil Code also states that the "age of majority is 18" ("anyone who completed the age of 18").

- **Protection:** ensure support and response mechanisms are in place for children in need of care, for example: "I get help and support to report abuse and neglect. I get help so that I am able to take part in the safeguarding process to the extent to which I want".
- **Partnership:** offer local solutions through working closely with local authorities, civil society organizations and communities.
- **Accountability:** ensure accountability and transparency in delivering safeguarding by ensuring clear communication and information sharing.

In-depth Interviews (IDIs) – Do's and Don'ts Before the IDIs (UNICEF staff):

1. Ensure all relevant parties understand that UNICEF has zero tolerance for child abuse and that all of us share collective and individual responsibilities to identify, mitigate actual and potential safeguarding risks.
2. Review the questions, methodology and approach that will be used for and during the IDIs, make sure that the consultancy team and translators are aware and understand child safeguarding and ensure that the IDIs take place in a safe and child-friendly tone and in a language that is age and culturally appropriate and sensitive.
3. Assess and map the available response services that are available in the interviewee's location and make sure that respective focal points for referral are clearly identified and trusted.
4. Develop a reporting structure including a reporting template for incidents of self-reporting or reporting of child concerns by a third party.
5. Ensure that a 'Safe Person' is identified and that her/his role is clearly communicated to the interviewee in a manner that will make them feel that they will receive the help and support they need[92]. Access to this person can be ensured by sharing an email or phone number to ensure that concerns can be raised also after the IDIs. This person will be the focal point for reporting.
6. Assignment of the Safe Person:
   - 6.1 For **Interviews with children at risk of dropping out**: The Safe Person will be appointed by UNICEF among UNICEF staff;
   - 6.2 For **Interviews with OOSC**: The Safe Person will be appointed by ASAM[93] among the ASAM staff;
   - 6.3 For **Interviews with the children in conflict with the law**: The Safe Person will be appointed by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) among the MoJ staff after the dates of the interviews are set.
7. In case of the absence of a Safe Person in the interviews, the interview will be conducted by the Data Collectors who have a background in psychology and childcare.
   - 7.1 **If the parent and the child give their consents for the voice recording before the interview,** the voice record will be shared with UNICEF, ASAM or the MoJ staff based on the classification of the interviews mentioned in point #6. The links for the interview voice records will be shared only with the Safe Person assigned by UNICEF, ASAM or the MoJ taking the data protection procedures into consideration[94].
   - 7.2 **If the parent and the child do not give their consents for the voice recording before the interview or during the interview,** two Data Collectors will be involved in the interview. While the Data Collector will be conducting the interview with the child, the other Data Collector, who is a psychologist, will be observing the interview in terms of the safeguarding procedures.

During the IDIs (for the Data Collector)[95]:

1. At the beginning, be sure that all children have the consent form to participate in the IDI authorized by his/her parent or caregiver.
2. Communicate in clear terms and terminology that is child-friendly for the names and roles of everyone involved and the role of the Safe Person.

92 To see roles of the Safe Person, look at the section: ***After the IDIs (Roles of the Safe Person)***.

93 The Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) is an independent, impartial and non-profit association to assist refugees and asylum-seekers living in Türkiye.

94 MM applies GDPR information security standards globally. In accordance with GDPR data protection rules, the personal data should be stored with limited access. Therefore, the voice record will not be downloaded by the Safe Person, and it will be listened through the Microsoft OneDrive which is managed by MM and TANDANS in line with the data protection standards. The voice record will be deleted in 1 month after sharing with the Safe Person.

95 The current guidance focuses only on the implementation of the safeguarding procedures while conducting In-depth Interviews (IDIs). For other aspects related to the implementation of IDIs, refer to existent MM guidelines. In case of violation or misconduct by a MM staff, MM internal procedures should be implemented, and the UNICEF focal point should be informed.

3. Confirm with the child before starting the interview whether she/he is in a safe place or alone.
4. Monitor the reactions through intonation of the children.
5. **In case of the Safe Person is appointed:**
   5.1 Ensure that the Safe Person is on the line and within approach in case of an intervention is required. The Data Collector and the Safe Person will be ready 15 minutes before the interview's scheduled time.
   5.2 In case of an issue related to an imminent danger arises, do not abruptly interrupt the IDIs or point out the situation in explicit terms, rather have the Safe Person intervene and leave the moderation of the conversation to the Safe Person.
6. **In case of the absence of the Safe Person:**
   6.1 In case of an issue related to an imminent danger arises, do not abruptly interrupt the IDIs or point out the situation in explicit terms. Take a note regarding the safeguarding issues and end the interview smoothly. Then inform UNICEF immediately.
   6.2 If there is a voice recording of the interview, share the record immediately with UNICEF.
7. Ensure the confidentiality of the child.

After the IDIs (Roles of the Safe Person):

1. When a child concern arises, the Safe Person will be the focal point as communicated at the outset of the IDIs. The person will carefully listen to the child/and or adult and treat the concern with confidentiality, in a call that is safe and trusted. (*Safe Person List is provided as Annex 1.*)
2. It is important that the Safe Person:
   - remains calm and does not show shock or disbelief;
   - listens carefully to what is being said and offers comfort statements, particularly when a child discloses sexual abuse, for example, "I am sorry this happened to you", or "It is not your fault";
   - does not ask detailed, probing or leading questions;
   - tells the child that they will take what is said seriously;
3. The Safe Person will explain to the child/adult the next steps[96] and confirm the response. Depending on the child's age, this step would include asking what type of help is wanted, and who the child feels comfortable with the people involved. Make sure the child understands that the Safe Person will keep the information confidential to keep her/him safe.
4. The Safe Person will document the incident and make sure the child/adult is referred to local services and ensure follow up until care/appropriate response is received.
5. **In the case of UNICEF staff being the Safe Person:** To start the referral to local services, the Safe Person will contact the authorized person in the location of the interviewee/in the phone or video call where the IDIs are conducted and will inform about the case according to the guidance of the school, youth centre, community centre, etc.
6. **In the case of ASAM staff being the Safe Person:**
   6.1. **For Syrian Children:** To start the referral to local services, the Safe Person will contact the authorized person in the location of the interviewee/in the phone or video call where the IDIs are conducted and will inform about the case according to the guidance of the school, youth centre, community centre, etc.
   6.2. **For Turkish Children:** To start the referral to UNICEF, the Safe Person will directly contact UNICEF staff. UNICEF staff will contact the authorized person in the location of the interviewee/in the phone or video call where the IDIs are conducted and will inform about the case according to the guidance of the school, youth centre, community centre, etc.
7. In cases where the child is in immediate danger, the Safe Person must contact emergency services, which are identified as part of the risk mitigation preparations (referral pathways).

96 See section: "Reporting child protection concerns" below.

REMEMBER: SAFEGUARDING IS EVERYONE'S RESPONSIBILITY!

- **Everyone** who works with children has a responsibility for keeping them safe.
- If children and families are to receive the right help at the right time, **everyone who comes into contact with them** has a role to play in identifying concerns, sharing information and taking prompt action.

Who is the Safe Person?

The Safe Person is an individual designated by UNICEF to guarantee the implementation of the current safeguarding procedures. His/her roles are described above. This person can be either a staff member or an experienced person from a designated partner (i.e., ASAM (the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants), the MoJ (Ministry of Justice)). The list with the designated Safe Persons is included in the table of Annex 1.

The Safe Person should be present during the implementation of the IDIs. Only in exceptional cases in which the originally designated Safe Person cannot participate in the IDIs, another suitable Safe Person will be appointed to fulfil that role in their place. In cases where the Safe Person is not available at the time of the interview, the voice record of the interview will be shared with the Safe Person[97]. If there is no voice recording, the Data Collector will conduct the interviews together with another Data Collector, who is a psychologist and whose role is as an observer. UNICEF will be informed about the safeguarding issues occurring during the interview.

Identifying child protection concerns[98]

All parties involved in the IDIs need to know what are considered to be high-risk child protection cases. The global child protection risk assessment guide[99] provides an easy-to-use reference to the types of harm and vulnerabilities that signal child protection risks. While there is no single universally-accepted definition for each type of harm or vulnerability, and a considerable degree of overlap between some terms (e.g. 'abuse' and 'exploitation'), the following list of definitions will help individuals to get a basic understanding of the kinds of harm that children may face[100].

The Safe Person should conduct the initial screening[101]; however, it should not be analysed or determined the type of risk presented to the children. This requires in-depth assessment by a specialist. It is of paramount importance, however, that all those implementing the IDIs[102] know what kinds of child protection risks exist, and that they note and report any to the Safe Person.

Types of Harm

Abuse: A deliberate act of ill-treatment or an omission that can or is likely to harm a child's safety, well-being, dignity and/or development. Somebody may abuse a child directly (by inflicting harm) or indirectly (by failing to prevent harm). Children may be abused in person, in a family, community, in an institutional setting or via online tools/social media/traditional media. They can be abused by those known to them, or more rarely, by a stranger. They may be abused by an adult or adults, or another child or other children.

Emotional Abuse: The persistent emotional maltreatment of a child that causes severe adverse effects on the child's emotional development. This can take place in the shape of invoking to children that they are worthless or unloved, inadequate, or valued only insofar as they meet the needs of another person. Some level of emotional abuse is involved in all types of maltreatment of a child.

Sexual Abuse: This involves forcing or enticing a child to take part in sexual activities (regardless of whether or not the child is aware of what is happening). The activities may involve physical contact including both penetrative or non-penetrative acts, or they may include non-contact activities, such as involving children in watching or producing pornographic material or encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways.

97 MM applies GDPR information security standards globally. In accordance with GDPR data protection rules, the personal data should be stored with limited access. Therefore, the voice record will not be downloaded by the Safe Person, and it will be listened through the OneDrive which is managed by MM and TNADANS in line with the data protection standards. The voice record will be deleted in 1 month after it has been shared with the Safe Person.

98 Southeast Türkiye Child Protection Sub-Working Group (SE CPSWG); Child Protection Identification Guidance for Frontline Humanitarian Workers.

99 The risk assessment guide is part of the Inter-Agency Guidelines for Case Management & Child Protection. It is available here: http://www.cpcnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/CM_guidelines_ENG_.pdf.

100 A glossary of all protection sector terms and acronyms is available here: https://docs.google.com/document/d/195XhH5hu_LxX-FixUqkeIK4_akNChvqxIPQD-WDY3Ck/edit?usp=sharing.

101 Initial screening refers to the initial enquiries regarding the child and his/her family data and the nature of the concern reported.

102 Supervisors, Data Collectors and Safe Person.

Physical Abuse: This may involve hitting, shaking, throwing, burning or scalding, drowning, suffocating, or otherwise causing actual or possible physical injury or suffering to a child, or failing to protect a child from that harm[103].

Exploitation: This involves the abuse of a child where some form of remuneration is involved or whereby the perpetrators benefit in some way, (e.g. monetarily, socially, politically). Exploitation constitutes of a form of coercion and violence, detrimental to the child's physical and mental health, development, and education. Two main types of child exploitation are economic and sexual. Child labour and recruitment of children for armed forces or groups are examples of child exploitation.

Neglect: This is the persistent and deliberate failure to meet a child's basic physical and/or psychological and/or emotional needs. Neglect may involve a parent or caregiver failing to provide adequate food and clothing, shelter, including exclusion from home or abandonment, failing to protect a child from physical and emotional harm or danger, failure to ensure adequate supervision including the use of inadequate caretakers, or the failure to ensure access to appropriate medical care or treatment. It may also include neglect of, or unresponsiveness to, a child's basic emotional needs.

Violence: There are various definitions of violence depending on the focus and approach (legal, medical, sociological, etc.). The UN Study on Violence Against Children (2006) draws on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and therefore defines violence as "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury and abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse". By this definition, the term 'violence' encompasses many of the other harms listed in this document. Similarly, WHO defines violence against children in the World Report on Violence and Health (2002) as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a child, by an individual or group, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child's health, survival, development or dignity".

Domestic Violence: Any physical, sexual, psychological and economical violence between the victim of violence and the perpetrator of violence, or between the family members and the people who are considered as a family member (whether they live or do not live in the same house). Children can suffer significantly if they witness domestic violence and/or if a parent suffers from domestic violence.

Worst Forms of Child Labour: This is a term defined in ILO Convention No. 182. It must be prohibited for all people under the age of 18 years and includes the following:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children
- using, procuring or offering a child for prostitution, to produce pornography or for pornographic performances
- using, procuring or offering a child for illicit activities, for the production/trafficking of drugs
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (commonly referred to as "hazardous work"). Hazardous work is work which, by its nature or by the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety and morals of children, and which must be prohibited for children under the age of 18 years. ILO's Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No. 190 gives some indications as to what work should be prohibited:
    - Work that exposes children to physical, emotional or sexual abuse
    - Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads
    - Work in an unhealthy environment, which may expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations detrimental to their health
    - Work under particularly difficult conditions, such as working for long hours during the night, or work that does not allow for the possibility of returning home each day.

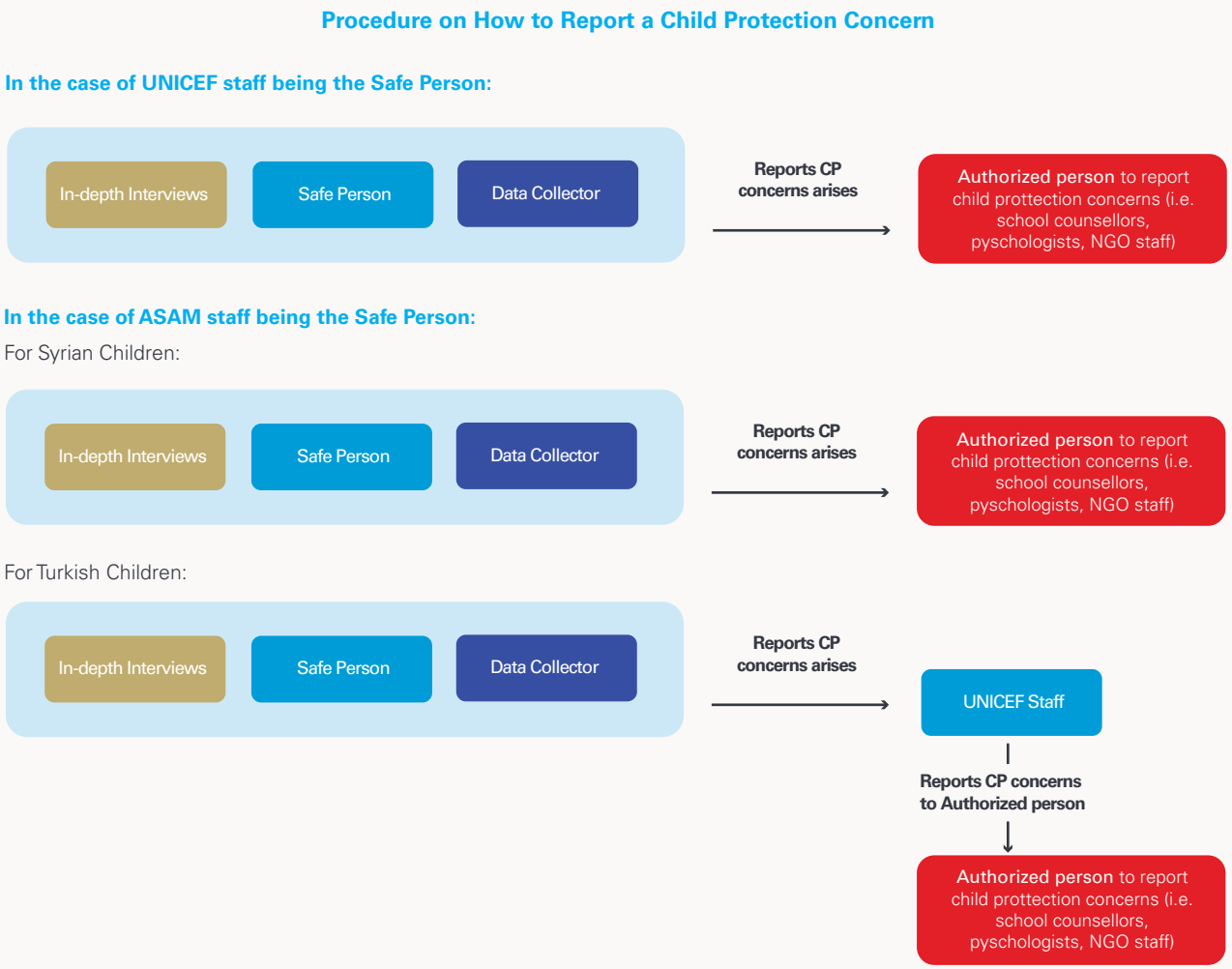
103 The definitions of the types of abuse draws heavily from the Save the Children child protection definitions, available here: https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/7586/pdf/sc_child_protection_definition_20071.pdf, SE Türkiye CPSWG – Task Force for Review and Harmonization of Identification Tools – October 2017.

REPORTING CHILD PROTECTION CONCERNS (only for the Safe Person)

When a potential child protection concern is recognized, the member of the research team (i.e., supervisor or Data Collector) who recognizes this concern should inform the Safe Person. This can be done during the implementation of the IDIs or at the end of it, depending on the circumstances[104].

The Safe Person will inform the authorized person[105] of the partner in the province for that specific IDI, who is in charge of reporting any child protection concerns. The authorized person will implement the formal procedure to report a case to the relevant authorities specific for each case.

The authorized person is the responsible person to start any formal process she/he thinks is necessary. In certain cases, when needed, the Safe Person can provide information to the authorized person about the different ways on how to report child protection concerns to the relevant authorities (see the below section: How to report a child protection concern?).



In Table 1, you can see the detail of the persons who are responsible for reporting and following up the cases.

104 For the IDIs which a Safe Person is not assigned, the Supervisor of the research team will also inform UNICEF's focal point about the number of cases reported to the Safe Person in a specific IDI at the end of the IDI. However, no personal information will be shared during this communication. For the IDIs conducting with a Safe Person, please follow the instructions under *"In-depth Interviews (IDIs) – Do's and Don'ts."*

105 The authorized person in charge of reporting child protection concerns will vary according to the type of children and the location where the IDIs are conducted. For instance, school counsellors are the authorized persons in schools. See Table 1 for more details.

How to Report a Child Protection Concern?

The responsibility to report a case to the relevant authorities lies with the authorized person where the IDIs is conducted, as described in previous sections (e.g., school counsellor in schools). However, this section can be used by anybody to provide information to the authorized person about ways to report a case, if needed.

In Türkiye, under the Child Protection Law, specific agencies and individuals have a statutory obligation to notify CP cases, namely: judicial and administrative authorities, law enforcement officers, health and education institutions, non-governmental organizations, officers in other public institutions and agencies, *Mukhtars*, those who are informed that a child needs protection, local public administrators, and law enforcement offices.

In addition, children themselves or the person(s) who have responsibility for the care of the child can apply to the Social Services and Child Protection Agency for the child to be taken under protection.

Notification should be done through the following agencies:

- Provincial Directorates of the Ministry of Family, Labour, and Social Services (MoFSS)
- ALO-183 Help Line
- Social Service Centres of the MoFSS
- Child Judge/ Prosecutor's Office
- Police or Gendarmerie

Special Considerations for Notification:

- Notification can be done either via ALO-183, a phone call to the Provincial Directorate of the Ministry or Police/ Gendarmerie, and an in-person application.
- The applicants need to provide basic information regarding the situation of the child/children (who is the child (if it is known), where the incident happened (if known), when did it happen. Depending on the current risk level to the child/ children, an on-site visit can be planned.
- If individual prefers to apply directly to the Ministry, the applicant should go directly to the Social Services Centres of the Ministry at the local level (please do check the address information of the centres via https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/iletisim/bakanlik-iletisim-bilgileri/merkez-teskilati/).
- After receiving the applications to the centre, Social Workers classify the applications according to their reasons and record them to the database.
- Social Workers inform the ***Response and Assessment Units***; the process is now initiated.

Response to the Notifications:

- Upon notification of a Child Protection concern, Social Services are to immediately carry out the necessary enquiry regarding the notification received[106].
- Based upon the social inquiry carried out by Social Services, specific protective and supportive measures can be taken, as per article 5 of the Child Protection Law.
- Protective and supportive measures are measures to be taken in terms of consulting, education, care, health and shelter, for the purpose of protecting the child. Such measures can be taken by the juvenile court judge either of his/her own accord or upon the request of the child's father, mother, guardian, the person responsible for the care and supervision of the juvenile, the Social Services and Child Protection Agency or the Public Prosecutor[107].

106 Child Protection Law, article 6 (2).

107 Ibid, article 7.

Table I1:
Reporting child protection concerns arising in the IDIs

Partner for the IDIs	Tools	Safe Person	Authorized Person	Where to report (for informative purposes)
MoNE	See Annex 1	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Provincial Focal Points	Authorized person will know the formal procedures to report a case. However, for some cases, if required, you can also provide information about the content of this section "How to report a child protection concern".
MoJ	See Annex 1	MoJ Staff	Detention Centre Psychologist	
NGOs – For Syrian Children	See Annex 1	ASAM Staff	ASAM Staff	
NGOs – For Syrian Children	See Annex 1	ASAM Staff	UNICEF Staff	

ANNEX 1
ASAM FOCAL POINTS – Managers and Deputy Managers of ASAM Centres

- ASAM Deputy General Coordinator: aysegul.eris@sgdd-asam.org
- ASAM Deputy General Coordinator: buket.divrak@sgdd-asam.org
- ASAM Programme Coordinator: ilker.guney@sgdd-asam.org

IDIs SAFE PERSONS/FOCAL POINTS				
Province	Institution	Group	Safe Person	Focal Point
İzmir	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İstanbul	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Gaziantep	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Adana	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Bursa	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Muş	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Kars	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Trabzon	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Samsun	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Van	MoNE – DG Basic	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İzmir	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İstanbul	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Adana	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Muş	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Kars	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Trabzon	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Konya	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Van	MoNE – DG Secondary	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Adana	MoNE – DG TVET	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Bursa	MoNE – DG TVET	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff

IDIs SAFE PERSONS/FOCAL POINTS				
Province	Institution	Group	Safe Person	Focal Point
Samsun	MoNE – DG TVET	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İzmir	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İstanbul	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Gaziantep	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Konya	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 10–13	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
Şanlıurfa	MoNE – DG Religious	Children 10–13 and 14–17	UNICEF Staff	MoNE Staff
İzmir	MoJ	Children 14–17	Detention Centre Psychologist	The MoJ staff in the face-to-face interviews to be identified by MoJ
İstanbul	MoJ	Children 14–17	Detention Centre Psychologist	The MoJ staff in the face-to-face interviews to be identified by MoJ
İstanbul	NGOs	Children 10–13	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff
İstanbul	NGOs	Children 14–17	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff
Muş	NGOs	Children 14–17	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff
Samsun	NGOs	Children 14–17	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff
Gaziantep	NGOs	Children 10–13 and 14–17	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff
Adana	NGOs	Children 10–13 and 14–17	ASAM Staff	For Syrian Children: ASAM Staff For Turkish Children: UNICEF Staff

ANNEX 2
REFERRAL FORM TO THE AUTHORIZED PERSON

This form will be filled in by the Safe Person.

Section A – Basic referral details (to be completed in all cases)			
Date of Referral			
Do you consider the child to be at risk of significant harm?		☐ Yes ☐ No	
If a child or young person is at immediate risk of significant harm, an immediate telephone referral to SSCs through the AOL-183 help line should be made.			
Family Name:		**First name:**	
D.O.B.:		**Gender:** ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Unborn	
Home Address			
Postcode:		**Telephone:**	
NHS Number:			
Child/young person's ethnicity:			
If other, please specify:			
Child/young person's first language or preferred means of communication?		**Is an interpreter or signer required?**	☐ Yes ☐ No
What is the child/young person's nationality?		**What is the child/young person's religion?**	
Immigration Status (only for non-Turkish):			
Is the child/young person disabled?	☐ Yes ☐ No	**Details:**	
Are you aware of any of the following difficulties being experienced by the child/young person and family?			
Domestic Abuse	☐	Parental Substance Misuse	☐
Parental Mental Illness	☐	(Risk of Child) Sexual Exploitation	☐
(Risk of) Female Genital Mutilation	☐	(Risk of) Radicalisation	☐
No Recourse to Public Funds	☐	Other:	

Section B – Referrer details	
Name of Referrer	
Designation/ Title	
Department & Agency	
Telephone	
Email address	

Section C – Reason for referral
What are you worried about?

Actions taken:
(indicate what actions, if any, have been taken so far)

Section D – Household details

Please list below the names and details of all children and adults who are currently residing with the child/ young person.

Family name	First name	Date of Birth (DD/MM/YY)	Ethnicity	Relationship to child/ young person	Tick if you are also referring this child
					☐
					☐

Section E – Parent/ Carer details

Name	Date of Birth (DD/MM/YY)	Relationship to child/ young person	Ethnicity	First Language	Parental Responsibility
					☐ Yes ☐ No

Is an interpreter/ signer required?	**Mother**	☐ Yes ☐ No
	Father	☐ Yes ☐ No
	Other main carers	☐ Yes ☐ No
Are any of the main carers disabled?	**Mother**	☐ Yes ☐ No
	Father	☐ Yes ☐ No
	Other main carers	☐ Yes ☐ No

Section F – Consent to make a referral to the Children's Social Care/Disabled Children Services

If the professional believes a child is at risk of significant harm, they have a duty to make a referral to Social Services. These referrals do not require consent, but it is good practice to inform an adult with parental responsibility that the referral is being made, UNLESS doing so would place the child at risk of significant harm or may lead to the loss of evidence, for example, destroying evidence of a crime or influencing a child about a disclosure made. For all other referrals consent should always be sought from an adult with parental responsibility for the child/young person (or from the young person themselves if they are competent) before making the referral.

Wishes and Feelings of the Child:

Is the child aware of the referral: yes/no?

How does the child feel about the referral?

What are the wishes and feelings of the child?

Wishes and Feelings of the Family:

Is the family aware of the referral: yes/no?

How does the family feel about the referral?

What are the wishes and feelings of the family?

Section G – Services working with this family

Please list below the details of other professionals/ agencies currently or recently involved with the child/ young person (please include names and contact telephone numbers if possible).

School	Name	Address	Phone No.

ANNEX 3
CHILD PROTECTION

The Concept of Child Protection

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), ratified by the Government of Türkiye, recognizes the right of every child to protection.

Child Protection is defined as:

Child Protection Working Group (CPWG): the global level forum for coordination on child protection in humanitarian settings, as "the prevention of and response to abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence against children".

UNICEF: the prevention and response "(…) to violence, exploitation and abuse against children – including commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking, child labour and harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation/cutting and child marriage." UNICEF's approach to child protection aims at creating an "(…) environment, where girls and boys are free from violence, exploitation, and unnecessary separation from family; and where laws, services, behaviours and practices minimize children's vulnerability, address known risk factors, and strengthen children's own resilience". It is a human rights-based approach and recognizes the importance of prevention. UNICEF emphasises governments' accountability and focus on supporting national capacities. It also recognizes the role of children in order for them to enhance their own protection[108].

108 UNICEF, Child Protection Strategy, article 2.

Child Protection National Legal Framework

Child Protection in Türkiye is mainly regulated by the Child Protection Law (Law No. 5395) and the Social Services Law (Law No. 2828).

The objective of the Child Protection Law is to regulate the procedures and principles regarding the protection of children who need protection or who commit crimes and ensure their rights and wellbeing. The Law includes:

- measures to be taken with regard to children in need of protection
- principles and procedures of security measures to be taken when children commit crimes
- clauses regarding the establishment, duties and capacities of Juvenile Courts

The Child Protection Law (Law No. 5395) defines children in need of protection as *"any children whose physical, mental, moral, social or emotional development and personal safety is in danger, who are neglected or abused, or who are victims of crime"*[109].

The Social Services Law (Law No. 2828), in its Article 3, uses a similar definition but adds the following: *"children (…) who have only one parent or have no parent; whose mother or father or both cannot be identified; who have been abandoned by their parents or any one of them; who have been neglected by any one of their parents and have no guidance hence being exposed to all kinds of social risks and addictions such as prostitution, beggary, alcoholic drinks, or narcotic substances"*[110].

In addition to these two important pieces of legislation, child protection decisions are also regulated by other laws, as follows:

- Civil Law,
- Civil code, Articles 42, 50, 56
- Constitution, Articles 58, 60, 62
- Penal Law No. 5237
- Fundamental Law of National Education No. 1739
- Primary Education Law No. 222
- Labour Law
- Fundamental Law of Health
- Law on Population Planning
- Public Health Law
- Law of Police Powers
- Law on Protecting Minors from Obscene Publications

109 Child Protection Law (Law No. 5395), article 3.

110 Social Services Law (Law No. 2828), article 3.

Appendix J. The Breakdown of All Interviews Based on Province and Target Groups

Phase I – Syrian

Province	Type	Dimension	Dimension details	Original Plan		Remote Interview Methodology			Actual		Remaining	%	
				# of FGD	# of kill	Method	# of FGD	# of ID	# of FGD	# of ID			
İzmir	Children	Dimension 5	OOSC 14–17 yo	1		Phone call		4		3	1	75%	95%
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		4	0	100%	
		Children in Conflict with Law		1		Face–to–face		4		1	3	25%	
	Parents	Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		7	–3	175%	
	SVEP	Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1		Online FGD	1		1		0	100%	
	Teachers	Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo				1		1		0	100%	
	KIIs	KII			2	Video call		2		2	0	100%	
		Children in Conflict with Law			2			2		2	0	100%	
İstanbul	Children	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		7	–3	175%	117%
		Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		6	–2	150%	
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		4	0	100%	
		Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		4	0	100%	
		Children in Conflict with Law		1		Face–to–face		4			4	0%	
	Parents	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		4	0	100%	
		Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		4	0	100%	
		CwD		1				4		8	–4	200%	
	SVEP	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Online FGD	1		1		0	100%	
	Teachers	N/A		0			0		0		0	N/A	
	KIIs	KII			3	Video call		3		4	–1	133%	
		Children in Conflict with Law			2			2		3	–1	150%	
		CwD			3			3		3	0	100%	
Gaziantep	Children	Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		5	–1	125%	170%
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
		Child Labour		1				4		12	–8	300%	
	Parents	Dimension 4	At–risk 6–9 yo	1				4		4	0	100%	
		Dimension 5	OOSC 10–13 yo	1				4		5	–1	125%	
		Child Labour		1				4		14	–10	350%	
	SVEP	N/A		0		Online FGD	0				0	N/A	
	Teachers	Dimension 4		1		Phone call	1				0	100%	
	KIIs	KII	At–risk 6–9 yo		2	Video call		2	1	2	0	100%	
		Child Labour			1			1		1	0	100%	
Adana	Chidren	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		5	–1	125%	107%
		Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
		Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		5	–1	125%	
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
	Parents	Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		7	–3	175%	
	SVEP	Dimension3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Online FGD	1		1		0	100%	
	Teachers	Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1			1		1		0	100%	
	KIIs	KII			3	Video call		3		3	0	100%	

Phase I – Syrian

Province	Type	Dimension	Dimension details	Original Plan		Remote Interview Methodology			Actual		Remaining	%	
				# of FGD	# of kill	Method	# of FGD	# of ID	# of FGD	# of ID			
Bursa	Children	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		4	0	100%	114%
		Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		8	–4	200%	
	Parents	Dimension 4	At–risk 6–9 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1				4		3	1	75%	
	SVEP	N/A		0		Online FGD	0				0	N/A	
	Teachers	Dimension 4	At–risk 6–9 yo	11			1		1		0	100%	
		Dimension 7	At–risk 10–13 yo	1			1		1		0	100%	
	KIIs	KII			3	Video call		3		4	–1	133%	
Hatay	Children	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1		Phone call		4		6	–2	150%	123%
		Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1				4		5	–1	125%	
		Child Marriage		1				4		6	–2	150%	
	Parents	Dimension 3	OOSC 10–13 yo	1				4		5	–1	125%	
		Child Marriage		1				4		4	0	100%	
	SVEP	Dimension 6	OOSC 14–17 yo	1		Online FGD	1		1		0	100%	
	Teachers	Dimension 5	At–risk 10–13 yo	1			1		1		0	100%	
	KIIs	KII			3	Video call		3		3	0	100%	
		Child Marriage			1			1		1	0	100%	
Ankara	Central KII	KII			7	Video call		7		7	0	100%	100%
		CwD			1			1		1	0	100%	
		Child Labour			2			2		2	0	100%	
		Child Marriage			1			1		1	0	100%	
Trabzon	KIIs	Other refugees			0	Video call		0		1	–1	100%	100%
Samsun	KIIs	Other refugees			0	Video call		0		1	–1	100%	100%
TOTAL				43	36		10	168	10	206	–36	121%	

Summary

Planned	Type	Dimension 3	Dimension 4	Dimension 5	Dimension 6	Dimension 7	KII
	FGD	2	2	2	2	2	
	IDI	24	8	24	24	24	23

Actual	Type	Dimension 3	Dimension 4	Dimension 5	Dimension 6	Dimension 7	KII
	FGD	2	2	2	2	2	
	IDI	31	7	29	29	24	25
		129%	88%	121%	121%	100%	109%

	Child Labour	Children in Conflict with the Law	Child Marriage	CwD
Planned	11	12	10	8
Actual	29	6	12	12
	264%	50%	120%	150%

	Children	Parents	SVEP	Teachers	KII
Planned	80	52	4	6	*36*
Actual	94	71	4	6	41
	118%	137%	100%	100%	114%

Appendix K. Summary of the Barriers

The barriers defined based on the quantitative and qualitative data are presented below. The asterisks in the boxes aim to show the relevance of that particular barrier to children at a particular dimension. The number of asterisks for each barrier shows the severity/weight of the impact of that barrier for the education prospects of the Syrian children UTP under different dimensions of exclusion. One star refers to a low level of impact, two stars refers to a medium level of impact, and three stars refers to a high level of impact of the barrier on children in a particular dimension.

Domain	Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
		D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Gender-based Norms-related Barriers	Family expectations from the children shaped by gender norms	*		*	***	**
	Children's domestic responsibilities	**	*	*	***	**
	Early and forced marriages	*		*	***	**
Human Capital-related Barriers	Not valuing education	*			**	*
	Lack of language skills	***	*	**	***	**
	Low academic performance	***	*	**	***	**
	Prior Syrian education norms/experiences	**		*	**	*
Health-related Barriers	Disability of the children	***	**	**	***	**
	Illness of the children	**	**	***	**	***
	Psycho-social effects: stigma of poverty	**	*	**	***	**
	Traumatic effects: war and migration experiences	**	*	**	**	**
	Traumatic effects: domestic violence (mostly for girls)	**	**	**	**	**
	Pregnancy (for girls only)	*			***	**
Social Cohesion-related Barriers	Lack of friends/social isolation	***	*	**	***	**
	Integration with local communities	***	*	**	***	**
	Security concerns	***	**	**	***	*
	Peer bullying	***	*	**	***	**
Economic Barriers: Lack of Resources and Poverty	High cost of living	***	*	**	***	**
	School-related expenses	***	**	***	***	***
	Child labour	***	*	**	***	**
Economic Barriers: Migration and Family Mobility	High levels of household mobility	**	***	***	**	***

Domain	Observed Barriers	Dimensions of Exclusion				
		D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
School Enrolment-related Barriers	Lack of information given by the families	***	**	*	***	*
	Lack of registration and ID cards	***			***	
	Lack of certificate of residence	**	**	**	**	***
	Inability to register in school	**	*	*	**	*
	Overage enrolment	**	*	***	**	
	Maximum age of enrolment	***		***	***	**
Non-attendance Regulations-related Barriers	Non-attendance regulations	**		***	**	***
Grade Transition Regulations-related Barriers	Grade transition regulations	**		***	**	***
School Supply-related Barriers	Commuting time/distance to school	**	*	**	**	**
	Lack of transportation to school		*	**		***
	Lack of awareness /information about different schooling options (open schools, VET, VECs)	***		*	***	*
	Lack of awareness about other educational activities	***	*	*	***	*
School Resources-related Barriers	Limited communication between school/teacher and the parents	**	***	***	**	***
	Insufficient physical conditions of the schools					
	Big class size	*	*	*	*	*
	Existence of mixed-gender classes	**		*	**	**
	Learning materials/curriculum	**	*	**	**	**
Teacher Characteristics-related Barriers	Limited communication between teacher and the children	**	*	**	***	**
	Teacher's negative attitude	***	*	**	***	**
	Teacher's lack of educational experience	*	*	*	*	*
Barriers Related to Security in School and on the Way to School	Bullying/school environment	***	***	***	***	***
	Bullying/on the way to school	**	*	**	**	**

COVID-19 Pandemic and Demand-side Barriers						
Domain	**Observed Barriers**	**Dimensions of Exclusion**				
		D3	D4	D5	D6	D7
Economic barriers	Lack of equipment and access to the internet		***	***		***
	Loss of income	**	**	***	**	***
	Child labour	**		***	**	***
Socio-cultural barriers	Increasing domestic responsibilities	**	**	***	**	***
Social cohesion	Socio-emotional stress	**	***	***	**	***
Human capital	Lack of Turkish language skills		**	***		**
	Lack of support from parents		**	**		**
COVID-19 Pandemic and Supply-side Barriers						
School supply	Difficulties in accessing to the EBA		**	**		**
	Lack of technical support for distance education		**	**		**
	Lack of information about EBA Support Centres		***	***		***
	Interruption of apprenticeship opportunities in VECs			***		**
School resources	Learning materials		*	*		*

Appendix L. Details of the Study Team from Cambridge Education/Mott MacDonald

Team Leader: Jeffrey H. Marshall	• Review of data sources and documentation; • Analysis of quantitative data (disaggregated data table, trends and profiles); • Report writing.
Principal Advisor: Ahmet Özırmak	• Review of data sources and documentation; • Supporting preparation of questionnaires particularly for policy sections; • Support to report writing; • Supporting policy analysis.
Qualitative Specialist I: Asuman Göksel	• Data collectors and supervisors training and pre-test of tools in schools; • Preparation of question sets; • Cleaning, coding and analysis of the qualitative data; • Report writing.
Qualitative Specialist II: Oğuzhan Akyıldırım	• Data collectors and supervisors training and pre-test of tools in schools; • Coordination of the data collection; • Support to report writing; • Cleaning and analysis of the qualitative data.
Supervisors: Eda Tüzemen, Sevilay Biçici, Gökhan Savaş, Sinem Sefa	• Data collectors training and pre-test of tools; • Data collection (FGDs, interviews, literature review, etc.); • Supervising the data collection in the provinces including primary survey, key informant interviews and focus group discussions; • Transcriptions and quality control of data; • Support to report writing; • Cleaning and analysis of the qualitative data.
Project Principle: Sevilay Biçici	• Research Team coordination; • Supporting the content of the report; • Quality assurance of the report; • Applying and monitoring safeguarding and data protection procedures.
Project Manager: İrem Savran	• Field work coordination; • Applying and monitoring safeguarding and data protection procedures; • Supporting report preparation.