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Sida Decentralised Evaluation

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Evaluation of the Swedish support to KA.DER - increasing the number of women in decision making processes in Turkey

Final Report

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**Final Report
December 2015**

**Annika Nilsson
Zeynep Baser Kubiena**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACEV	Mother and Child Education Foundation
AK Party	Justice and Development Party
CEDAW.	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CHP	Republican Peoples' Party
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EOC/KEFEK	Equal Opportunities Committee
EU	European Union
GREVIO	Group of Experts on Action against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Council of Europe)
HDP	Peoples Democratic Party
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KADEM	Women and Democracy Association
KAGIDER	Entrepreneurial Women's Association
KAOS GL	KAOS GL Derneği
KEIG	Women's Labour and Initiative Platform
KSGM	The General Directorate on the Status of Women
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
MoFSP	Ministry of Family and Social Policies
TÜSEV	Turkey Third Sector Foundation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNJP	United nations Joint Programme
WWHR	Women for Women's Human Rights

Preface

This evaluation of the “Swedish support to KA.DER - increasing the number of women in decision making processes in Turkey” was commissioned by the Embassy of Sweden in Turkey, through Sida’s framework agreement for reviews and evaluations. Indevelop (www.indevelop.se) undertook the evaluation from June – November 2015. Field work was carried out in Turkey during October 2015.

The independent evaluation team included Annika Nilsson (Team Leader) and Zeynep Baser Kubiena. At Indevelop, Ian Christoplos provided Quality Assurance while Jessica Rothman was the Project Manager with overall responsibility for managing the implementation of the evaluation process.

This report was circulated in draft form to the Embassy of Sweden in Turkey and KA.DER and their comments have been addressed in this final report.

The evaluation team would like to thank all the respondents who openly shared their experiences and ideas during the evaluation.

Executive Summary

An independent evaluation of the Embassy of Sweden's "Support to Increase the Number of Women with Gender Awareness Who Are Appointed or Elected in All Decision Making Processes Programme" by KA.DER (the Programme) was conducted between June 2015 and November 2015. Fieldwork was carried out in Turkey during October 2015. The evaluation covers the 3-year period between 2013 and 2015, but also makes references to the longer term engagement and results of KA.DER's work.

The aim of the evaluation has been to provide input to the Swedish Embassy and KA.DER for their learning and for decisions about future directions. Since KA.DER has had very few other funding sources during the period of review, the Swedish support has been decisive for the implementation of the entire strategic plan of KA.DER and for covering organisational core costs.

The evaluation has primarily utilised the following data collection techniques: desk review, 49 key informant interviews, telephone surveys and focus group discussions with a sample of KA.DER political school participants (25% of participants), a feed-back workshop with staff and the executive board to validate findings. Three cities were selected as evaluation samples for field visits – Ankara, Adana and Mersin.

CONTEXT

Turkey was one of the first countries in Europe to grant universal suffrage for women in the 1930s, and the current legal framework does not contain any clauses that would restrict women's political rights. Nevertheless, in practice, women's representation in public decision-making has been very limited at both national and local levels. The current situation suggests that additional measures and reforms in relevant social, economic, political and legislative areas (such as affirmative action measures and a gender quota) would be required to ensure equal representation of women. The practices of the political parties, most of whom do not have comprehensive agendas regarding gender equality, also reinforce gender disparity in representation; as do social, cultural and economic challenges that deter women from being equally represented in politics.

Finally, particularly in the last 5 years, the political context has been constraining. Statements by senior government officials that women and men are not equal by nature have been severely criticised by CSOs with a feminist agenda, but nevertheless seem to have shaped policies and actions. It has been in this context of obstacles to gender equality that KA.DER has run the Programme.

Since 2013 the divisions in Turkey along ethnic, sectarian and political lines have started to crystallize. The consequent public polarisation has deepened since then and continues to deepen in the aftermath of the June 7 elections and November 1 re-elections, particularly between being pro-/anti-government and/or Turkish nationalist/pro-Kurdish. The political polarisation has also affected (and is expected to continue to affect) civil society, where political and ideological differences prevent activists, including activists of women's rights, from gathering under the roof of the same organisation.

Establishment of a new wave of women's CSOs with a traditional perspective on gender roles that is close to the current AK Party government's perspective is also part of this context of polarisation. Feminist CSOs, who have worked on women's rights and gender equality for many years, now risk being marginalised and side-lined by the AK Party-influenced government as the latter prefers to work with "like-minded" CSOs and/or directly with UN bodies.

PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

In its strategic plan, KA.DER's vision is described as ensuring "equal representation of women and men in all fields of life and especially equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions." KA.DER's mission is defined as "An increased number of women with gender equality awareness are appointed or elected, and are enabled and motivated to promote gender equality in decision-making processes." Keeping "equal distance to all legally recognised political parties" constitutes one of the key values of KA.DER.

The Programme being evaluated aimed at increasing the number of women in decision-making positions, with a focus on political parties. The idea was that such change would happen through influencing the practices of political parties, empowering women candidates, influencing legislation, making the public more gender aware - and strengthening KA.DER as an influential organisation.

The types of strategic approaches used by KA.DER to achieve these aims include, meetings with women parliamentarians, communication via social media, printed press and TV, political schools (workshops) for women candidates of the biggest four political parties, preparation and publication of quality research and statistical analyses to serve as a basis for advocacy, participation in CSO platforms, and capacity building in results based management and strategic management for staff and executive board members.

In this evaluation, upon agreement with the Embassy and KA.DER, the outcomes of the Programme have been assessed in terms of:

- The achievements and improvements in capacities, behaviour and working methods among KA.DER boundary partners (i.e. the targeted stakeholders).
- The capacities, management, communication, transparency and democracy of KA.DER itself as an organisation.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION-KA.DER CONTRIBUTIONS

KA.DER activities have been formed around the ideas of feminist activists and academics who wanted to create a strong voice for gender equality and women's political participation in Turkey. KA.DER has managed to achieve visibility for its issues through high quality media campaigns and participation in CSO platforms, the public debate and social media. KA.DER is one of the most well-known women's rights organisations in Turkey and the only organisation focussing entirely on women's political participation. Women who have participated in KA.DER political schools generally have increased their self-confidence and their knowledge of election procedures and gender equality issues. Some have managed to become elected or appointed to leadership positions in their parties. The political schools have been one of the few arenas where women from different parties have been able to meet.

However, the number of women in political positions at national and local levels has not increased as hoped for. In the parliament only 14.9% are women, in provincial assemblies 4.8% and in village councils 1.2 %. These ratios did not change much in the 2014 and 2015 elections. Political parties, except for HDP, have not implemented any gender equality measures in practice, despite some promises. There has also been no progress in terms of legislative reforms regarding women's equal representation. Because of the unfavourable contextual developments during the period of review, the focus has rather been on stopping legislations and policies that are detrimental for gender equality. This may also be considered an achievement, given the context. KA.DER has not held a leading role in the legislative area since 2014.

KA.DER'S STRATEGIC APPROACHES

KA.DER's strategic approaches have primarily remained the same over the years and have not been critically reviewed in terms of effectiveness and the changing social and political context. KA.DER has not sufficiently taken into consideration:

- Obstacles to women's political participation and leadership appointments.
- The functioning of each political party and the needs of (potential) candidates and leaders.
- The possibility of supporting cross-party women commissions or caucuses at various levels and the possibilities of strategic partnerships with other women's organisations and programmes to enhance efforts.
- Contextual developments in terms of political polarisation and marginalisation of CSOs, requiring exceptional measures to keep equal distance to all political parties and finding alternative ways of influencing decision makers.
- The need for prioritisation in relation to both what is needed and what is a realistic ambition level for the short- to medium-term.

Because of this lack of attention to core challenges, KA.DER's theory of change and the results framework have failed to lead the organisation in an appropriate direction.

Furthermore, these management instruments have not been used to guide operations. The 2011 evaluation recommendations on political schools and campaigns have only partly been addressed. There was no KA.DER management response and no Embassy comments on the evaluation, and it was unknown to most key officials in KA.DER. KA.DER had identified the contextual risks that materialised (in the risk matrix), but the mitigation measures were not concrete and the risk analysis was not seen as a management tool.

KA.DER ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

It was also found that KA.DER as an organisation has become weaker rather than stronger during the period of review. Initially, being an activist organisation (based on voluntary work of its members) was one of the strengths of KA.DER, and it is still a key element. However, as KA.DER expanded its operations it had to employ staff and establish systems and structures for its governance and operations. This process has not been systematic and is not yet successful. The weaknesses can be summarised as:

- The bylaws are not suitable to govern a complex membership organisation like KA.DER with more than 800 members. For example, in the last General Assembly in 2014, only 16% of the members were able to participate and vote for the next Executive Board, most of them came from the Kadıköy branch.
- Division of responsibilities between the governance and the executive functions is muddled and creates inefficiency. Executive Board members are still carrying out day-to-day management duties, supervision of staff and detailed decision making.
- There is a lack of professional management at the head office and limited understanding and use of existing strategic plans and frameworks.
- Difficulties have been encountered in ensuring equal distance to political parties
- There is a lack of a common vision on the future role and functioning of the organisation, and no membership policy. Presently two branches (Ankara and Kadıköy) make up half of the membership, while some other branches are inactive.

The evaluation carried out in 2012 on KA.DER organisational capacity has only partly been taken into consideration. Currently there is no plan for KA.DER's organisational development, future role and membership strategy. The coordination of planning for results and methods between the Head Office and the branches are weak, and are not systematised to create synergy; with each branch having a different approach. Learning and sharing within KA.DER is limited. The Ankara branch functions like a separate organisation with almost no cooperation with the head office.

Furthermore the board functioning has been hampered by internal conflicts since the March 2014 general assembly elections, which ended up in resignation of almost half the board members. Decision making in KA.DER is severely hampered. In 2013/14 KA.DER was able to use only 53% of its budget and in 2014/15 only 68%. The lack

of control of its e-mail groups has led to resignations of KA.DER members, who take offence of the political accusations and abusive language exposed. The present board is perceived by many KA.DER members to be politically biased (towards CHP) and lacking sufficient experience in the gender equality field. An emergency General Assembly has been called for December 6, 2015.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It can be concluded that KA.DER has reached the expected outcomes to a small extent, and the effectiveness and efficiency of the programme has been limited. In addition to the unfavourable contextual developments that hampered results, the limited results are due to: (a) gaps in its strategic approaches and limited learning and revision of approaches, and (b) management and governance problems.

KA.DER is working in an increasingly difficult context and has not managed to mitigate external risks that have materialised. At the same time the organisation is facing serious problems of governance, management and programming. KA.DER has responsibilities towards its members and donors to ensure that the vision, mission and values are guiding operations and that agreed programmes are implemented effectively and efficiently. This requires professional staff and motivated volunteers that can be held accountable for delivery of agreed outputs and systems that can ensure that guidance, support, communication and monitoring of branches and representations.

KA.DER needs to address its organisational challenges and revise its approaches in light of lessons learnt in this evaluation and in consideration of emerging contextual opportunities, needs of women candidates and potential candidates, obstacles to women's participation and capacities of Kader and its branches and representations.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO KA.DER

We recommend that KA.DER should immediately close its e-mail group (as it creates serious problems) and hire an organisational development expert/coach that can assist the KA.DER board to undertake the following:

1. *Urgently resolve the conflicts in the board and address the weaknesses in its governance systems including:*
 - a) Arrange a general assembly that is representative of all members to elect a board which is politically unbiased and has experience of work with women's rights and gender equality.
 - b) Undertake a consultation process to discuss and agree on the future direction of KA.DER as an organisation.
 - c) Revise the bylaws to suit the agreed direction. A national membership organisation with branches would require a representative democracy system, a professionally run office and a board that focuses on policy level issues and oversight.

2. *Address the existing weaknesses and gaps in strategies and approaches. This includes:*
 - a) More systematically base the programme interventions on an analysis of obstacles to women's political participation (in various political parties and in various groups of women). This includes a stronger focus on men and male domination in parties.
 - b) Develop a theory of change based on this analysis and a results framework to go with it; identifying outcomes in terms of changes in behaviour, practices and policies among clearly identified stakeholders/boundary partners.
 - c) Make references to the CEDAW in vision and mission statements and proactively ensure equal distance to all political parties and make deliberate efforts to include all.
 - d) Work more closely with political party administrations and women branches nationally and in provinces.
 - e) Review and redesign political schools, both in terms of timing but also in terms of methods, organisation, follow up support, multiplication effects etc.
 - f) Establish more contacts with other similar projects and programmes to seek synergies and better outreach.
3. *Strengthen the organisational capacity, especially:*
 - a) Ensure that the organisation has access to a professional management team with a managing director/chief executive and access to key competencies in law, media communication, financial management, results based management and rights based approaches, risk mitigation and resource mobilisation.
 - b) Defining and making clear the roles of staff and volunteer members respectively, ensuring that board members take a policy level responsibility only.
 - c) Develop a membership policy and invest more in institution building (based on the decision made regarding the future structure of KA.DER – as stated in recommendation 1b), especially focussing on developing better cooperation and team work between the Ankara and Istanbul offices.
 - d) Ensure that there are continuous updates of staff and board members in the understanding of and practical use of rights based approaches, theories of change and results frameworks as well as internal and external risk mitigation.
 - e) Ensure transparency and accountability towards both donors and members by translating applications, annual reports and evaluation reports (or summaries) into both Turkish and English (for the donors).

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EMBASSY

1. *The Embassy should support KA.DER to make the necessary changes in its governance, management and programming and make such reforms conditional for continued support and for use of the accumulated Swedish funding already transferred. The Swedish support should specifically be directed to cover the costs of a local expert to coach KA.DER through a reform and reconciliation process. The conditions for continued support should be:*
 - Conflicts that exist in the board are resolved and a board that is representative of all members and political parties (with substantial experience of women's rights and gender equality) is elected at the next general assembly.
 - The future direction for the organisation is agreed on and a convincing theory of change is presented along with a results framework.
 - The bylaws are revised so that they are practical, democratic and adapted to the type of organisation that KA.DER wants to become.
 - A managing director/chief executive is hired and staff competencies are enhanced.
 - A concrete strategy with deliberate measures for keeping equal distance to political parties in the governance of the organisation and in programmes is adopted and implemented.
 - The risk analysis matrix covers both internal and internal risks and has realistic and practical mitigation measures.
2. *The Embassy should also reflect on its role as partner and donor to KA.DER and consider:*
 - always requiring management response from KA.DER on evaluations and follow up on actions.
 - giving more detailed feedback on KA.DER annual financial and narrative reports.
 - facilitating synergies with other Swedish funded programmes e.g. Women Friendly Cities, UN Women programme and providing specific funding for translations of evaluations and annual reports into Turkish (as part of the annual budget allocation).
3. *The Embassy should ensure that this evaluation is translated into Turkish and consider accepting that KA.DER project reports in the future be prepared in Turkish and translated into English for the use by the Embassy and the international community.*

Yönetici Özeti

GİRİŞ

İsveç Büyükelçiliği tarafından desteklenen ve KA.DER tarafından uygulanan “Tüm Karar Alma Süreçlerinde, Gerek Seçimle Gerekse Atamayla İş Başına Gelen, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bilincine Sahip Kadınların Sayısını Arttırmaya Destek Programı”nın (bundan sonra Program diye anılacaktır) bağımsız bir değerlendirmesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Değerlendirme Haziran ve Kasım 2015 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Saha çalışması Türkiye’de Ekim ayı içerisinde yapılmıştır. Değerlendirme 2013’ten başlayan ve 2015’i de kapsayan son 3 yıla odaklanmaktadır; bununla beraber KA.DER’in geçmiş yıllardaki çalışmalarına ve elde etmiş olduğu sonuçlara da referanslar içermektedir.

Değerlendirme, İsveç Büyükelçiliği ile KA.DER’e kurumsal öğrenmelerini destekleyecek ve ileriye dönük çalışmalarıyla ilgili kararlarını dayandırabilecekleri verileri sağlamayı amaçlamıştır. Söz konusu dönem içerisinde KA.DER’in İsveç Büyükelçiliği fonları dışında çok az fon kaynağı olduğu görülmektedir; bu nedenle Elçilikten temin edilen fonların kurumun tüm stratejik planının uygulanması ve kurumsal masraflarının karşılanması konusunda neredeyse yegane kaynak olduğu söylenebilir. Dolayısıyla Programın değerlendirmesi, uygulamada KA.DER’in hem stratejik planının tamamına, hem de kurumun kapasite inşasına verilen desteğin bütüncül değerlendirmesi şeklinde gerçekleşmektedir.

Değerlendirmede büyük ölçüde şu veri toplama yöntemleri kullanılmıştır: ilgili doküman ve raporların incelenmesi, 49 kişiyle yüz yüze görüşme, KA.DER siyaset okulu katılımcıları arasından oluşturulan örneklem ile gerçekleştirilen odak grup görüşmeleri (3 şehirde) ve telefon anketi (tüm katılımcıların %25iyle), çalışanlar ve yönetim kurulu (YK) üyeleri ile bulguları paylaşmak ve doğrulamak üzere gerçekleştirilen atölye çalışması. Saha çalışması, merkez ofisin bulunduğu İstanbul dışında seçilmiş olan üç şehirde gerçekleştirilmiştir: Ankara, Adana, Mersin.

SOSYAL VE SİYASAL BAĞLAM

Türkiye, Avrupa’da kadınlara ilk kez seçme ve seçilme hakkı tanımış olan ülkeler arasında yer almaktadır. Ulusal mevzuatta kadınların siyasi haklarını kısıtlayan herhangi bir madde bulunmamaktadır. Bununla beraber, uygulamaya bakıldığında gerek ulusal, gerekse yerel düzeyde kadınların kamusal karar verme mekanizmalarına katılımının oldukça sınırlı olduğu görülmektedir. Halihazırdaki durum, kadınların siyasette eşit temsiline sağlanması için sosyal, ekonomik, siyasi ve hukuki reformlara ve (pozitif ayrımcılık ve kadın kotası gibi) ek tedbirlere ihtiyaç bulunduğu işaret etmektedir. Ayrıca, kadınların karşı karşıya olduğu sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik zorluklar ile siyasi partilerin uygulamaları da temsildeki

eşitsizliği pekiştirmekte, kadınların siyasete eşit katılımı önünde önemli birer engel teşkil etmektedirler. Mevcut siyasi partilerin büyük çoğunluğunun toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin (parti içinde ve dışında) sağlanmasına ilişkin kapsamlı bir gündemi bulunmaması dikkat çekicidir.

Tüm bunlara ek olarak, son 5 yılda ülkenin gündeminde yaşanan gelişmeler eşit temsiliyet konusunda etkili çalışmalar yapmayı zorlaştırmıştır. Üst düzey siyasi yetkililerin kadın ve erkeğin tabiatı gereği eşit olmadığı yönündeki yakın dönem açıklamaları bu anlamda belirleyici olmuştur. Her ne kadar bu açıklamalar Türkiye’deki feminist kadın hareketinin ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin büyük tepkisini çekmiş olsa da, açıklamaları şekillendiren anlayışın aynı zamanda hükümet politikalarını (ya da tersten bakacak olursak ihtiyaç duyulan politikaların yokluğunu) şekillendirdiği söylenebilir. KA.DER, değerlendirilmekte olan Program’ı böylesi bir toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine ilişkin ortam içerisinde yürütmüştür.

Bunların yanı sıra Türkiye’nin siyasi durumu da belli başlı zorluklar arz etmiştir. Özellikle 2013’ten itibaren ülke içindeki etnik, mezhepsel ve ideolojik ayrımlar derinleşmeye başlamış ve bunun yol açtığı toplumsal kutuplaşma 7 Haziran ve 1 Kasım seçimlerinin ertesinde daha da tırmanmıştır. Mevcut durumda en basit haliyle “hükümet yanlısı”/“hükümet karşıtı” ve “Milliyetçi”/ “Kürtçü” gibi kamplaşmalardan bahsetmek mümkündür. Bu gitgide artan siyasal kutuplaşma doğal olarak sivil toplum alanındaki çalışmaları da etkilemiştir ve etkilemeye devam edecek gibi gözükmektedir. Keza, siyasal ve ideolojik farklılaşmaların sivil toplum aktivistlerini [ki buna kadın hakları alanında çalışanları da dahil edebiliriz] aynı kurumun çatısı altında bir araya gelmekten alıkoyduğu gözlemlenmektedir.

Son dönemde kurulmuş olan ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine dair muhafazakar değerleri benimseyen ve bu anlamda Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AK Parti) hükümetinin çizgisine daha yakın duran bazı kadın örgütleri de bu kutuplaşma ortamı çerçevesinde değerlendirilebilir. AK Parti hükümetinin özellikle son dönemde kendi ideolojisine yakın bulduğu kadın kuruluşlarıyla ya da doğrudan Birleşmiş Milletler kurumlarıyla çalışmayı tercih ettiği gözlemlenmektedir. Bu da yıllardır kadın hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği alanında mücadele vermiş olan feminist kadın örgütlerinin yalnızlaştırılması ve etkisizleştirilmesi riskini beraberinde getirmektedir.

DESTEKLENEN PROGRAM

Stratejik planında KA.DER’in vizyonu “hayatın tüm alanında, özellikle de seçilmiş ve atanmış tüm karar alma mevkilerinde, kadın ve erkeğin eşit temsiliyi sağlamak” olarak tanımlanmıştır. KA.DER’in misyonu “Toplumsal cinsiyet bilincine sahip daha çok kadının karar alma süreçlerinde atama ya da seçilme yoluyla yer alması, ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayacak çalışmalar konusunda şevklendirilmesi” olarak tanımlanmıştır. “Tüm yasal partilere eşit mesafede durmak” KA.DER’in temel ilkelerinden birini oluşturmaktadır.

Değerlendirilmekte olan Program, karar alma mevkilerinde yer alan kadınların sayısını arttırmayı ve bu amacı gerçekleştirmek üzere siyasal partilere odaklanmayı hedefliyordu. Bu bağlamda Programın şu varsayımlardan hareket ettiği söylenebilir: Böylesi bir değişim ancak *siyasal partileri* etkileyerek, *kadın adayları* güçlendirerek, *mevzuatta* gerekli değişiklikleri sağlayarak, *toplumda* cinsiyet farkındalığını arttırarak ve, son olarak, *KA.DER*'in bu alanda çalışan etkili bir kurum olarak güçlendirilmesiyle sağlanabilir.

KA.DER'in bu amaçları gerçekleştirmek için kullanmış olduğu araçlar arasında şunlar yer almaktadır: Kadın milletvekilleriyle görüşmeler, iletişim için sosyal medyanın, yazılı basın ve televizyonların kullanımı, 4 günlük atölye çalışmaları şeklinde gerçekleşen ve mecliste temsil edilen dört siyaset partinin adaylarına yönelik siyaset okulları, savunuculuk çalışmalarına destek sağlayacak kaliteli istatistikler ve araştırmalar, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının oluşturduğu platformlar katılım ve dernek çalışanları ile YK üyelerine yönelik sonuç odaklı yönetim ve stratejik yönetim eğitimleri.

Bu değerlendirmede, Büyükelçiliğin ve KA.DER'in de onayıyla, Programın sonuçları şu açılardan değerlendirilmektedir:

- KA.DER'in Programda hedeflenmiş olan paydaşlarının¹ kapasite, davranış, ve çalışma yöntemleri açısından elde etmiş oldukları sonuçlar ve kat etmiş oldukları ilerlemeler,
- KA.DER'in kendisinin bir kurum olarak kapasitesi, yönetimi, iletişimi, şeffaflığı ve demokratik işleyişi.

KADINLARIN SİYASAL HAYATA KATILIMINA KA.DER'İN KATKISI

KA.DER'in etkinlikleri, başlangıçta, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ve kadının siyasal yaşama eşit katılımı konusunda Türkiye'de güçlü bir ses oluşturmak isteyen feminist aktivist ve akademisyenlerin çalışmaları çerçevesinde şekillendi. Bir yandan bu kişilerin şevki ve adanmışlığı sayesinde, diğer yandan yüksek kalite medya kampanyaları, sivil toplum platformlarına katılım, kamuoyu tartışmaları ve sosyal medya çalışmaları aracılığıyla KA.DER kuruluş amaçlarını oluşturan konuların yıllar içinde görünür olmasını sağladı. Halihazırda KA.DER Türkiye'deki tanınmış kadın örgütlerinin başında gelmektedir ve de halen tamamen kadının siyasete eşit katılımı amacına odaklanan tek kurum olma özelliğini sürdürmektedir. KA.DER'in siyaset okullarına katılmış olan kadınlar genel anlamda özgüvenlerinin, seçim süreçlerine ilişkin bilgilerinin ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusundaki farkındalıklarının bu

¹ İngilizcede yeni kullanılmaya başlanan ve özellikle Sonuç Haritalaması (Outcome Mapping) alanında sıkça kullanılan ifade paydaşlardan "sınır ortakları" olarak bahsetmektedir. İngilizce metinde "boundary partners" olarak yer alan ifade budur.

sayede arttığını bildirmektedirler. Bu kadınlardan bazıları siyaset okullarının ertesinde seçimlerde seçilmiş ya da partilerinde atamayla belli pozisyona gelebilmiş kadınlardır. Aynı zamanda siyaset okulları, farklı partilerden kadınların hâlâ bir araya gelebildikleri Türkiye’deki nadir alanlardan biri olma özelliğini korumaktadır.

Buna karşın, gerek ulusal gerekse yerel düzeyde kadın temsiliyeti umulan artışı gösterememiştir. Şu an itibariyle Meclis’teki milletvekillerinin %14.9’unu kadınlar oluşturmaktadır. Aynı oran yerel meclislerde %4.8 ve köylerdeki ihtiyar heyetlerinde %1.2’dir. Bu oranlar 2014 ve 2015 seçimleri arasında büyük bir değişikliğe uğramamıştır. Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) dışındaki partiler, bazılarının bu konuda kamuoyu önünde vermiş oldukları sözlere karşın, uygulamada toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlayacak herhangi bir tedbire başvurmamışlardır. Kadının siyasete eşit katılımını garanti altına alacak mevzuat değişiklikleri konusunda da değerlendirme döneminde olumlu bir değişiklik sağlanmamıştır. Siyasal ve sosyal alandaki gelişmeler nedeniyle bu alandaki çalışmalar daha çok şu ana dek elde edilmiş kazanımları korumak ve bunları tehdit edecek yasa ve politikaları engellemek ekseninde gerçekleşmiştir. Bağlam değerlendirildiğinde mevzuatta bir değişiklik olmamış olması bir başarı olarak da görülebilir. Ancak 2014 yılından beri KA.DER mevzuata ilişkin çalışmalarda etkin bir rol almamıştır.

KA.DER’İN STRATEJİK YAKLAŞIMLARI

KA.DER’in stratejik yaklaşımları yıllar içerisinde değişiklik göstermemiştir: halihazırdaki yaklaşımların etkili olup olmadığı ve ülkenin sürekli değişen sosyal ve siyasal bağlamında bu yaklaşımların ihtiyaca karşılık gelip gelmediği değerlendirmeleri kurum içinde eleştirel bir gözle yapılmamıştır. KA.DER’in stratejik yaklaşımlarını şekillendirirken yeterince dikkate almadığı konular şöyle sıralanabilir:

- Kadınların siyasal hayata katılım ve liderlik pozisyonlarına atanma konusunda karşılaştıkları engeller,
- Siyasal partilerin işleyiş şekilleri ve bu partilerdeki (potansiyel) aday kadınların farklılaşan ihtiyaçları,
- Sadece kadınlardan oluşan, farklı seviyelerde partiler-arası komisyonların ya da grupların oluşumunu desteklemek; bu alanda diğer kadın örgütleri ya da programlarla stratejik işbirliğine gitmek,
- Siyasal kutuplaşmaya ve kadın örgütlerinin dışlanmasına yol açan gelişmeler; bu gelişmelerin tüm siyasi partilere eşit mesafe ilkesini uygulama konusunda sıra dışı yöntemler gerektiriyor olması; yine bu gelişmeler ışığında siyasi partileri etkileyecek alternatif yollara ilişkin arayışa girilmesi,
- Çalışma alanlarına ve hedeflere ilişkin kısa ve orta vadede hem neye ihtiyaç olduğuna, hem de neyin gerçekçi olduğuna ilişkin önceliklendirme çalışmaları.

Bu temel konu ve zorluklara yeterince dikkat edilmemiş olması nedeniyle KA.DER’in en önemli yönetim enstrümanlarından olması gereken *değişim teorisi*

(theory of change)² ve *sonuç çerçevesi* (results framework) KA.DER'in çalışmalarını doğru yönde ilerletme konusunda başarısız olmuştur.

Üstelik bu yönetim enstrümanlarının faaliyetlere yön vermek üzere kullanılmadığı gözlemlenmektedir. Yine İsveç Büyükelçiliği için gerçekleştirilen ve siyaset okulları ile iletişim kampanyalarına odaklanan 2011 değerlendirmesinde bu alanlara ilişkin çeşitli önerilerde bulunulmuş, ancak uygulamada bu önerilerden çok sınırlı bir kısmı KA.DER tarafından dikkate alınmıştır. Bu değerlendirmedeki önerilere karşılık KA.DER tarafından hazırlanmış bir *yönetim cevabı* (management response) ya da Büyükelçilik tarafından hazırlanmış bir yorum dokümanı bulunmamaktadır.

Değerlendirmenin KA.DER'de kilit konumda bulunun pek çok isim tarafından bilinmediği de ayrıca gözlemlenmiştir. KA.DER Elçilik için program döneminde gerçekleştirilecek ve programa risk teşkil eden unsurların özetlendiği bir risk tablosu hazırlanmış, fakat bu tabloda bu risklerin nasıl giderileceğine dair somut çözümler sunmamış ve tabloyu bir yönetim aracı olarak kullanmamıştır. Tabloda tarif edilen risklerin büyük bir kısmı program dönemi sırasında gerçekleşmiştir.

KA.DER'İN KURUMSAL GELİŞİMİ

Değerlendirilen dönem içerisinde KA.DER'in kurumsal olarak güçlenmesi amaçlanmışken, tersine zayıfladığı görülmektedir. Üyelerinin gönüllü çalışmalarıyla ilerleyen aktivist bir örgüt olmanın, kurumun ilk zamanlarında KA.DER için önemli bir güç kaynağı olduğu açıktır; üyelerin gönüllülüğü hala KA.DER'in kilit unsurlarından birini oluşturmakta. Ancak KA.DER'in çalışmalarını ve çalışma kapsamını genişletmesiyle beraber bir yeniden yapılanma sürecine ihtiyaç duyuldu.

Bu yapılanma bir yandan gerekli insan kaynağı ihtiyacına karşılık verebilmek için profesyonel bir ekiple çalışmayı, diğer yandan da genişleyen etkinliklerin yönetimini ve kurumun yönetişimini (governance) sağlamak için bir takım sistemler oluşturmayı içeriyordu. Bu yeniden yapılanma sürecinin sistematik olmadığı ve henüz başarıya ulaşmadığı görülmektedir. Sürece ilişkin zayıflıklar şöyle özetlenebilir:

- Mevcut tüzük, 800'ün üzerinde üyesi ile çeşitli illerde şube ve temsilcilikleri bulunan KA.DER gibi karmaşık bir üye örgütünün ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaktan uzaktır. Örneğin, 2014'te yapılan son Genel Kurul toplantısında yeni Yönetim Kurulunu seçmek üzere oy kullanan üye sayısı KA.DER'in toplam üyelerinin sadece %16'sını oluşturmaktadır; oy kullanan bu üyelerin de çoğunluğu tek

² Değişim teorisinin Türkçe bir tanımı için bakınız: [Değişim Teorisi ve Mantık Modeli](#). Sonuç Odaklı Yönetim konusunda kapsamlı bir rehber için bakınız: [On Adımda Sonuç Odaklı İzleme ve Değerlendirme Sistemi](#). Ek kaynak, "[Değerlendirme](#)" ve "[Sonuç Odaklı Yönetim](#)"de Anahtar Terimler Sözlüğü

bir şubeden, Kadıköy Şubesi'nden gelmiştir. Bu durum demokratik prensiplerle uyusmamaktadır.

- Kurumun merkez yönetim ve yönetim organları arasındaki iş bölümünün³ net olmadığı ve sıklıkla iç içe geçtiği gözlemlenmektedir. Yönetim Kurulu üyeleri halen günlük yönetim işleriyle ilgilenmekte, mikro-karar verme süreçlerinde yer almakta, çalışanların günlük idaresini yürütmektedirler. Bu durum KA.DER'in verimsiz çalışmasına (etkinliğinin zayıflamasına) yol açmaktadır.
- Merkez ofiste üst-düzey profesyonel yönetici eksikliği bulunmaktadır. Mevcut stratejik planların ve etkili yönetim için oluşturulan çerçevelerin (*sonuç çerçevesi* gibi) yeterince anlaşılmadığı gözlemlenmektedir.
- Tüm siyasal partilere eşit mesafede durma prensibinin uygulanmasında zorluklar yaşandığı gözlemlenmektedir.
- KA.DER'in gelecek süreçte üstleneceği rollere ve işleyiş şekillerine dair ortak bir vizyon bulunmayışı sıkıntılıdır. Halihazırda Merkez Ofis'ten ayrı çalışmalarını sürdüren iki en büyük şubenin (Kadıköy ve Ankara şubeleri) üye sayıları, toplam üye sayısının yarısını oluşturmaktadır; resmin diğer ucunda çok az faaliyet yapan ve üye sayısı çok az olan şubeler bulunmaktadır.

2012 senesinde, KA.DER'in kurumsal kapasitesini değerlendirmek ve önerilerde bulunmak üzere yine Elçilik tarafından desteklenen bir değerlendirme gerçekleştirilmiştir. *KA.DER'in Kurumsal ve Yönetişimsel Değerlendirmesi* adlı değerlendirmenin ancak kısmen dikkate alındığı görülmektedir. An itibarıyla KA.DER'in kurumsal gelişimine, gelecekte üstleneceği rollere ve üyelik stratejisine dair mevcut bir plan bulunmamaktadır. Merkez ofis ve şubeler arasındaki koordinasyonun, özellikle amaçlanan sonuçlara nasıl ulaşılacağını ve hangi yöntemlerin kullanılacağını planlama konusunda zayıf olduğu görülmektedir. Mevcut durumda her bir şubenin farklı bir yaklaşımı olduğu gözlemlenmektedir; merkez ve şubelerin işleyişlerinin birbirini destekleyecek ve toplamda sinerji yaratacak şekilde tasarlanmadığı, böyle bir bakış açısının olmadığı söylenebilir. KA.DER'in kurumsal öğrenme ve paylaşım konusunda da kendi içinde (şubeler arası, şubeler-merkez arası) zayıf olduğu görülmektedir. Ankara şubesi ayrı bir kurummuş gibi çalışmalarını sürdürmektedir; merkez ofis ve Ankara şubesi arasında neredeyse hiç bir işbirliği bulunmamaktadır.

Yönetim Kurulunda Mart 2014 Genel Kurulu'ndan bu yana yaşanan iç çatışmalar ve uyuşmazlıklar da Kurulun çalışmalarını olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir. Bu çatışmaların

³ Yönetim organları profesyonel çalışanlardan oluşan kadroyu, yönetim organları ise Yönetim Kurulu ve diğer Kurulları kapsar.

sonucunda Kasım 2015 itibariyle YK'nın neredeyse yarısı görevlerinden istifa etmiş bulunmaktadır ve yine aynı sebeple KA.DER'deki karar alma süreçleri ciddi oranda aksamaktadır. 2013-2014 döneminde KA.DER, Program bütçesinin ancak %53'ünü, 2014-2015 döneminde ise ancak %68'ini kullanabilmiştir [Bu, bütçe'de yer alan bir çok etkinliğin, gerekli maddi kaynak bulunmasına karşın çeşitli sebeplerden gerçekleştirilmediği anlamına gelmekte ve özellikle Programın etkinliği (efficiency) açısından önemli bir sorun teşkil etmektedir]. KA.DER üyelerini bilgilendirmek amaçlı açılan e-mail grubu, gerekli denetim mekanizmalarından yoksundur; bu durum, yazışmalardaki uygunsuz ifadelerden ve siyasi suçlamalardan rahatsız olan bazı üyelerin son dönemde denetimin tesis edilmemesi üzerine KA.DER'den istifa etmelerine kadar varmıştır. Bir çok KA.DER üyesi, şuan görev başında olan yönetim kurulu üyelerinin siyasi olarak Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi'ne (CHP) yakın durduğunu ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği alanında etkili çalışma yürütmek için de yeterli tecrübeye sahip olmadığını düşünmektedir. KA.DER 6 Aralık 2015'te olağanüstü Genel Kurul gerçekleştirecektir.

SONUÇLAR VE ÖNERİLER

Sonuç olarak, KA.DER'in hedeflenen program sonuçlara ancak sınırlı bir ölçüde ulaşmış olduğu söylenebilir. Programın etkililiği (effectiveness) ve etkinliği (efficiency) de sınırlı kalmıştır. Ülke gündemindeki olumsuz gelişmelerin de sonuçları olumsuz etkilediğini gözden kaçırmadan, bu durumun KA.DER özelinde iki temel sebebi olduğunu söyleyebiliriz:

- (a) stratejik yaklaşımlardaki eksiklikler; bu yaklaşımlara ilişkin kurumsal öğrenme ve revizyon süreçlerinin yetersizliği;
- (b) yönetim ve yönetim süreçlerindeki sorunlar.

KA.DER her geçen gün daha da zorlaşan bir siyasal ve sosyal bağlam içinde çalışmalarını sürdürmeye çalışmakta, ancak bu bağlamın oluşturduğu riskleri yönetmeyi [riskler tahmin edilmiş olmasına rağmen] başaramamaktadır. Kurum aynı zamanda yönetime, yönetime ve planlamaya/programlamaya ilişkin de ciddi sorunlardan mustarıdır. Çalışmalarına kurumun temel aldığı vizyon, misyon ve değerlerinin yön vermesi ve kararlaştırılan programların etkili ve etkin bir şekilde hayata geçirilmesi KA.DER'in hem kendi üyelerine hem de fon sağlayıcı kuruluşlara karşı sorumluluğudur. Bu sorumluluğu layıkıyla gerçekleştirebilmek için KA.DER'in (a) kararlaştırılan program çıktılarının hayata geçirilmesi konusunda tam sorumluluk alabilecek (ve hesap verebilecek) profesyonel çalışanlara ve şevkli, gönüllü üyelere; (b) şubelere ve temsilciliklere gerekli rehberlik ve desteği sağlayacak, onlarla iletişimi yürütecek, ve yaptıkları çalışmaları takip edecek (monitoring) sistemlere ihtiyacı vardır. KA.DER'in, bu değerlendirmeden öğrendiklerini de kullanarak, içinde bulunduğu kurumsal zorlukları aşmasına ve yaklaşımlarını revize etmesine ihtiyaç vardır. Bunu başarabilmek için gelecekte belirecek bağlama ilişkin fırsatları iyi değerlendirmesi, aday ve potansiyel aday olan kadınların ihtiyaçlarını ve kadınların eşit temsiline dair sorunları doğru tespit etmesi ve şube ve temsilciliklerinin kapasitesini iyileştirmesi gerekmektedir.

KA.DER'e Öneriler

Öncelikle KA.DER'in, ciddi sorunlara yol açan e-mail grubunu acilen kapatmasını ve aşağıda sıraladığımız süreçlerin hayata geçirilmesi konusunda KA.DER'e kurumsal destek sağlayacak bir örgütsel gelişim uzmanı/koçu ile anlaşmasını öneriyoruz.

1. Acilen Yönetim Kurulunda yaşanan uyuşmazlıkların çözüme kavuşturulması ve yönetim sistemlerinde mevcut bulunan aşağıdaki sorunların giderilmesi:
 - a. Tüm KA.DER üyelerinin eşit temsil edildiği bir Genel Kurul'un toplanması, bu Genel Kurulda Yönetim Kuruluna, siyasi olarak tüm partilere eşit mesafede durabilen ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda yeterli bilgi ve tecrübeye sahip kişilerin seçilerek iş başına getirilmesi;⁴
 - b. KA.DER'in kurumsal geleceğini tartışmak ve karara bağlamak üzere kurum içinde bir istişare süreci başlatılması (ve sonuçlandırılması);⁵
 - c. KA.DER tüzüğü'nün istişare sürecinden çıkacak sonuca göre revize edilmesi – (Eğer KA.DER ulusal düzeyde bir üye örgütü olmayı sürdürmek ve aynı zamanda etkili çalışmalar yürütmek istiyorsa bunun gerçekleşmesi ancak, *temsili* demokrasiyi temel alan⁶ bir dernek seçim sistemi, çalışmaları profesyonel olarak yürüten bir merkez ofis, ve yetki ve [şu anki durumun aksine] görevleri kurumun genel politikalarına yön vermeye ve yönetimin denetlenmesine odaklanan bir Yönetim Kurulu ile mümkün olabilir)
2. Stratejilerdeki ve yaklaşımlardaki zayıflıkların giderilmesi. Diğer bir deyişle,
 - a. Program müdahalelerinin (intervention)⁷ daha sistematik bir şekilde kadınların siyasal katılımına dair zorlukların (siyasal parti, pozisyon, ulusal/yerel vb. farklılıklarını da göz önüne alarak) bir analizine dayanarak tasarlanması. Bu aynı zamanda erkeklere ve siyasi partilerdeki erkek egemenliğine de daha güçlü bir biçimde odaklanmayı gerektirecektir;
 - b. Bahsi geçen analize dayanarak kapsamlı bir Değişim Teorisi ve bu teoriyi destekleyecek bir Sonuç Çerçevesi hazırlanması; bu araçların programın hedeflenen sonuçlarını hedeflenen paydaşlarda davranış, uygulama ve politika değişiklikleri olarak tanımlaması;
 - c. Vizyon ve misyonda *Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Önlenmesi Uluslararası Sözleşmesi*'ne (CEDAW) referans verilmesi; tüm partilere

⁴ Bu raporun yazıldığı tarihte 6 Aralık 2015'de bir olağanüstü genel kurul yapılacağı bilgisi elimize ulaştı.

⁵ Bu istişare süreci KA.DER şube ve temsilcilikleri, siyasal partileri, diğer kadın örgütlerini ve UN Women, Sida ve AB gibi potansiyel fon sağlayıcılarını kapsayabilir.

⁶ Şu an KA.DER'de uygulanan sistem *doğrudan* demokrasi sistemidir.

⁷ KA.DER'in amaçları doğrultusunda gerçekleştirdiği müdahaleler, amaca yönelik planlanan tüm çalışmaları kapsamaktadır.

eşit mesafe konusunda etkili bir çaba içerisinde olunması ve bilinçli bir şekilde tüm partileri kapsayıcı çalışmalar yürütülmesi;

- d. Siyasal partilerin hem ulusal hem de yerel düzeydeki yönetimleriyle ve kadın kollarıyla daha yakın çalışılması;
 - e. Siyaset okullarının zamanlama, kullanılan yöntemler, organizasyon, katılımcılar eğitim sonrası destek ihtiyaçları ve çabaların nasıl çoğaltılabileceği konuları da göz önüne alınarak değerlendirilmesi ve yeniden tasarlanması;
 - f. Diğer benzer projeler ve programlarla daha yakın irtibat sağlanması, sinerji oluşturulmaya çalışılması.
3. KA.DER'in kurumsal kapasitesinin geliştirilmesi; özellikle:
- a. Yönetimin profesyonelleşmesi; yönetim ekibinde mutlaka profesyonel ve yetkili bir yöneticinin (Genel Direktör) ve de şu konularda bilgi, beceri ya da kaynaklara sahip çalışanların yer alması: hukuk, medya iletişimi, finansal yönetim, sonuç odaklı yönetim, hak temelli yaklaşımlar, risk yönetimi, kaynak yaratma;
 - b. Kurum çalışanlarının ve gönüllü üyelerin her ikisinin de rollerinin net bir şekilde tanımlanması; YK üyelerinin yalnızca kurumsal politikalar (policy) düzeyinde sorumluluk almasının sağlanması;
 - c. Bir üyelik politikası oluşturulması ve kapasite inşasına daha fazla kaynak ayrılması (bu girişimin öneri 1.b'de bahsi geçen KA.DER'in siyasal geleceğine ilişkin istisnadan çıkacak sonuçlara dayandırılması gerekecektir); bu bağlamda özellikle, İstanbul ve Ankara ofisleri arasındaki işbirliği ve ekip çalışmasının geliştirilmesi;
 - d. Hak temelli yaklaşımların, değişim teorilerinin, sonuç çerçevelerinin ve iç/dış risk yönetimi araçlarının anlaşılması ve uygulamada kullanımı ile ilgili olarak çalışanların ve YK üyelerinin düzenli olarak bilgilendirilmesi;
 - e. Hem üyelere hem de fon sağlayıcılara yönelik şeffaflık ve hesap verebilirlik ilkelerinin uygulandığından emin olma; bu bağlamda başvuruların, yıllık raporların ve değerlendirme raporlarının ya da özetlerinin, (fon sağlayıcılar için) İngilizce ve Türkçe olarak yayınlanması.

İsveç Büyükelçiliği'ne Öneriler

1. Elçilik, yönetişim, yönetim ve planlama/programlama konusunda yapması gereken reformlarla ilgili KA.DER'i desteklemelidir. KA.DER'e sağlanan fon desteğinin gelecek dönemlerde sürdürülmesi ile, halihazırda dernek hesaplarında bulunan ve bir sonraki döneme transferi istenen İsveç fonlarının kullanımı, koşul olarak bu reform sürecine bağlanmalıdır. İsveç desteği özellikle KA.DER'e kurumsal reform ve kişisel uyumsuzlukların giderilmesi sürecinde yardımcı olacak yerel bir uzmanın/koçun masraflarının karşılanmasına yönelmelidir. KA.DER'e İsveç desteğinin sürmesi için gerekli koşullar şunlardır:

- a. YK'daki uyuşmazlıkların çözüme kavuşturulması; bir sonraki genel kurulda, üyelerin tamamını ve siyasal partileri temsil eden ve üyeleri kadın hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda donanımlı kişilerden oluşan bir YK'nın seçimle iş başına gelmesi;
 - b. KA.DER'in kurumsal geleceğine ilişkin bir anlaşmaya varılması; ikna edici bir Değişim Teorisi ile Sonuç Çerçevesinin Elçiliğe sunulması;
 - c. Tüzüğün pratik ve demokratik olacak, ve KA.DER'in kurumsal geleceğine ilişkin kararları yansıtacak şekilde revize edilmesi;
 - d. Merkez ofiste yönetim sorumluluklarını devralmak üzere profesyonel bir yöneticinin/direktörün iş başına getirilmesi, çalışanların kapasitelerinin yukarıda bahsedilen gerekli alanlarda güçlendirilmesi;
 - e. KA.DER'in gerek yönetim organlarında, gerekse programlarında siyasal partilere eşit mesafede durmak üzere somut bir strateji geliştirilmesi ve uygulanması;
 - f. Risk analizi matrisinin hem iç hem de dış riskleri içermesi ve gerçekçi ve pratik risk giderme önlemleri içermesi.
2. Elçilik aynı zamanda KA.DER'in partner kuruluşu ve fon sağlayıcısı olarak kendi rolünü de değerlendirmeli ve bunu yaparken şunları göz önüne almalıdır:
 - a. Değerlendirmelerin ardından KA.DER'den daima bir *yönetim cevabı* (management response) almak ve bu doküman üzerinden uygulamaların takibini gerçekleştirmek;
 - b. KA.DER'e yıllık finansal ve yazılı raporlarına ilişkin daha detaylı geri bildirimlerde bulunmak;
 - c. İsveç'in desteklediği diğer programlarla sinerji oluşturulmasına yönelik kolaylaştırıcı girişimlerde bulunmak (Örneğin, Kadın dostu kentler, BM Kadın programı, vs.);
 - d. KA.DER'in yıllık raporlarının (İngilizce-Türkçe) tercümesine yıllık bütçede özel bir kalem ayırmak.
 3. Elçilik bu değerlendirmenin [değerlendirme bulgularının üyeler için de ulaşılabilir olması için] Türkçeye tercüme edilmesini sağlamalıdır. Aynı zamanda Elçilik KA.DER'in gelecekte yıllık raporlarını Türkçe olarak kaleme alması, ve bunların Elçiliğin ve uluslararası toplumun yararlanması amacıyla İngilizceye tercüme edilmesi seçeneğini de değerlendirmeye almalıdır.

1 Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF EVALUATION

The Swedish Embassy in Ankara has supported KA.DER and its work for gender equality and women's political participation since 2010, as part of Swedish efforts to support Turkey's EU accession process. This evaluation focuses on the period 2013-2015 and the programme **“Support to Increase the Number of Women with Gender Awareness Who Are Appointed or Elected in All Decision Making Processes Programme.”**

The aim of this evaluation is to provide input to the Swedish Embassy and KA.DER for their learning and for decisions about future directions. According to the Terms of reference the evaluation is expected to:

- assess the effectiveness (at an outcome level) and efficiency of the programme
- summarise obtained results in relation to the Results Framework and contain an analysis of any deviations.

As KA.DER had very few other funding sources during the period of review, the Swedish support of approximately 370 000 EUR per year has been decisive for the implementation of the entire strategic plan of KA.DER and for covering of organisational core costs. The “programme” being evaluated is therefore the de facto support towards the entire strategic plan KA.DER's organisational capacity. At the start of the programme period, KA.DER also had support from the EU. The Embassy was in agreement of being the main donor, but referred to its contribution as programme support – not core support.

The strategic plan and the results framework give somewhat diverse messages about the direction and priorities of KA.DER. After clarifying some of these discrepancies and developing a revised Theory of Change (Inception Report, Annex 2), the team agreed with the Embassy and KA.DER that the evaluation will assess outcomes in terms of:

- The achievements and improvements in capacities and working methods among KA.DER boundary partners⁸ (i.e. stakeholders, such as women

⁸ Please see for a discussion on the definition of “boundary partners”: <http://www.outcomemapping.ca/download/BP%20discussion%202013.pdf>, also see <http://www.outcomemapping.ca/nuggets/characterising-boundary-partners>

candidates for the 2014 and 2015 elections, mayors, provincial and city council members, Members of the Parliament (MPs), Women Constitutional Platform, other women advocacy platforms, women's CSOs, the trainers pool and the political parties)

- The capacities, management, communication, transparency and democracy of KA.DER itself as an organisation (in this way the sustainability question will be indirectly addressed).

The assessment will then form the basis for recommendations on the way forward.

1.2 CONTEXT OF THE PROGRAMME

1.2.1 Context of the gender equality agenda

Gender equality in general

Turkey became a 'candidate' country for European Union (EU) accession in 1999, and formal negotiations on EU membership began in 2005. These negotiations have been accompanied by democratic and economic reform processes, which also have included attempts to address gender inequality in the country.

In terms of **key legislation**, Turkey has ratified major international human rights conventions including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In 2010, the Constitution was reviewed and amended from a gender and human rights perspective. The principle of equality between women and men is recognised in various laws (such as civil code and penal code), and has been incorporated in regulations, circulars and development plans.⁹

The last **National Action Plan on Gender Equality** (2008-2013), in particular, has focused on mainstreaming gender equality in economic, social, and political realms, including participation of women in power and decision-making processes. The plan identified a comprehensive set of actions and responsible agencies, however it was also criticised for failing to define results to be achieved, and thus making monitoring of results less relevant.

The **two key public institutions** that are responsible for leading Turkey's gender policies are the *Parliamentary Committee for Equality of Opportunity between Women and Men (Equal Opportunities Committee, EOC/KEFEK)* on the legislative side, and the *Ministry of Family and Social Policies* on the executive side.¹⁰ The

⁹ Some of the main documents include Turkey's National Development Strategy (2007-2013), National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008-2013), National Action Plan on Violence against Women (2012-2015).

¹⁰ While these two institutions constitute the main institutions for gender equality, Ministry of Family and Social Policy, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the Ministry of Interior also have important mandates related to gender equality and related poli-

Equal Opportunities Committee was established in 2009. In its website, the areas of responsibility of the commission are described as “protecting and improving women’s rights and promoting equality between women and men.” Its main competencies are explained as debating bills, submitting reports, and considering applications claiming a violation of the equality between women and men and/or discrimination based on gender.¹¹ The Committee also ensures the compatibility of Turkish legislation with Turkey’s international commitments such as CEDAW. Finally, it serves as the main contact point in the Parliament for women’s CSOs, particularly with regards to proposals on legislative changes; it also acts as the main communications channel between women’s platforms and the Parliament.¹² So far no draft legislation has been sent to this Committee for review, which is a sign of marginalisation of its mandate.

In 2011, **the State Ministry Responsible for Women and Family** that used to be responsible for gender affairs, was transformed into and re-established as the *Ministry of Family and Social Policies (MoFSP)*. The Ministry has the main leadership role on gender issues, and more specifically on integrating aspects of the status of women in state policies and programmes. Meanwhile, the transformation has also meant that all matters of social policy, and not only women and family issues, now fall under its auspices.

The General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM), which was previously affiliated with the office of the Prime Minister, is now housed by the MoFSP and has been the focal point for promoting gender equality for more than 20 years.

As will be summarised below, in addition to these public bodies there are several women’s CSOs and platforms which are actively working in the area of gender equality policy, KA.DER being one of those organisations. Moreover some UN agencies (such as UN Women, UNFPA and UNDP) are also running programmes that aim to support gender equality in Turkey.

Despite improvements in the domain of public policy in recent years (with regards to equity in educational and health sectors), significant and persisting gender inequalities are still observed with regards to economic and political participation of women. According to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2014¹³, Turkey ranks 125 out of 142 countries, fifth to the bottom in the category of upper-middle income countries. The 2013 Science Commission Report of UNJP on “*Creating the Suitable Environment for Gender Equality in Turkey*” has underlined

cies and programmes.

¹¹ Parliamentary Committee for Equality of Opportunity between Women and Men [Official Website](#)

¹² Gender Equality in Turkey, 2012. European Parliament’s Committee on Gender Equality <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/studies>

¹³ [World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2014](#); [Global Gender Gap Report 2014 –Turkey Country Profile](#)

the importance of addressing issues gender inequality holistically, with a focus on the links between equal labour force participation, equal participation in economic and social decisions and participation in politics and civil society - since all these processes feed into and reinforce one another.¹⁴

Women's Equal Representation in Decision Making

Turkey has been one of the first countries in Europe to grant universal suffrage for women in the 1930s, and the current legal framework does not contain any clauses that would restrict women's political rights. Nevertheless, despite this legal basis for gender equality, in practice, women's representation in public decision-making has been very limited at both the national and the local levels (also see Section 3.2 below for further data) - suggesting that additional measures and reforms in relevant social, economic, political and legislative areas are required to ensure equal representation and empowerment of women, such as affirmative action measures and a gender quotas.¹⁵

The practices of the political parties also reinforce gender disparity in representation. According to UN Women, "Compared with other countries in region, Turkey has no specific temporary special measures for increasing women's political participation. It is entirely up to the will of the political parties to nominate women candidates."¹⁶ Among the four main political parties that made it to the Parliament in the 2015 elections, only HDP has an actively implemented 50% gender quota in place.¹⁷

Recent studies examining parties' election manifestos for the 2015 elections have also noted that except for HDP, the other main parties do not have comprehensive perspectives regarding a transformation of relations between men and women. The AK Party and MHP in particular are criticised for their emphasis on the place of women in the family, and CHP is criticised for not having a comprehensive gender equality perspective (Please also see Section 3.2).¹⁸

The political parties (and those at influential positions in these parties) have a decisive role in ensuring gender equality in various political bodies as they have the power over a range of key decisions related to representation. Decisions such as who will be candidates in general or local elections (and in which line-up positions), who

¹⁴ [Science Commission Report of UNJP on "Creating the Suitable Environment for Gender Equality in Turkey"](#) (2013)

¹⁵ Women's organizations, including Ka.der, have been advocating for the amendment of the Political Parties and Elections Acts so as to include a gender quota system that would ensure higher political representation.

¹⁶ UN Women, [Elections herald an increase in women MPs in Turkey, but more progress is needed](#)

¹⁷ HDP also uses a "zipper method" which puts women candidates to electable positions in the lists. CHP has adopted a 33 % gender quota, however for the most part the quota is not implemented.

¹⁸ Elçik, Gülnur. ["Seçim Beyannamelerindeki Cinsiyet Eşitliği Yapısal Dönüşüm mü "Etkinlik" mi?"](#) [Bianet](#) May 5, 2015; ["KEİG Raporu: Seçim Beyannamelerinde Kadın Emeği"](#) [Bianet](#) May 22, 2015

will represent the party in the parliamentary commissions,¹⁹ or who will be appointed to provincial and district level party management positions²⁰ are very much dependent on those who are in influential positions in the respective political parties. The 2013 UNJP report mentions that since it is mostly men who are placed in strategically important positions in their parties, and have more resources at their service to mobilise their constituents, it proves very difficult for women to win the pre-elections. The report suggests that CSOs can play a role during the pre-election processes by publicly supporting women candidates.²¹ Moreover, adoption and implementation of policies regarding gender quotas or women's branches are dependent on the political parties' (male leaders') commitment to change the status quo.²²

Women's branches of political parties are particularly problematic, as instead of empowering and strengthening women with respect to political participation and participation in decision-making, they serve to preserve the status quo with regards to gender inequality. The political parties do not view women's branches as organs that would allow women to be introduced to, learn about and rise in politics, but mainly as human resources for party work. Leaders of the women's branches generally do not have the right to participate in decision making in the party organs, and the branches are not asked to work on or develop strategies on issues such as gender equality. It is very rare to see women in leadership positions in the political parties that have got to their positions via the women's branches.²³ Informants interviewed for this evaluation confirmed that it is participation in the provincial and/or district level party management that would enable women to rise in politics, rather than participation in the women's branch. Some of the methods suggested to solve this problem have been to advocate for change in the Election Laws and Law on political parties²⁴.

Social, cultural and economic challenges also deter women from being equally represented in politics. Lack of economic power to run campaigns, traditional gender norms that define women's place with family, childbearing responsibilities and beliefs that these responsibilities are incompatible with politics (politics being a very patriarchal arena), also impact negatively on women's political participation.

In addition to these cultural and structural challenges associated with advancing women's rights and gender equality, the political context seems to be the most restraining, particularly in the last 5 years. Statements by senior government officials

¹⁹ [KEFEK \(Equality Commission\), Needs analysis report 2012](#)

²⁰ Interviews with women political party representatives

²¹ Science Commission Report of UNJP on "Creating the Suitable Environment for Gender Equality in Turkey" (2013)

²² Ibid; also Interviews with women political party representatives.

²³ Ibid, p.79.

²⁴ Ibid, p.80

that women and men are not equal due to biological and social differences, and their emphasis on women's role as mothers, have been severely criticised by women's CSOs with a feminist agenda, but nevertheless seem to have shaped policies and actions. Two cases in point are the formation and naming of the two key public bodies responsible for gender equality mentioned above. Initially the Parliamentary Committee was to be called "Equality Committee," but the name was changed at the outset to "Equal Opportunities Committee" by the ruling party votes;²⁵ while the word "woman" was omitted from the name of the restructured MoFSP.²⁶ Both these developments have drawn intense criticism from the women's CSOs.

In 2010, the Prime Minister of the time, now President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated in a meeting of women's NGOs: *"I do not believe in equality of men and women. Instead, I would prefer to call it equality in opportunity. Men and women are different by nature, and they complement each other."* In his later speeches Erdoğan asked women to have 3 children, strongly argued that abortion should be banned and hailed women as mothers. Most recently, Erdoğan repeated these perspectives in November 2014, at an international conference organized by KADEM.

In the past few years, as will be discussed below, a new wave of more conservative women's CSOs that are ideologically closer to the AK party governments' perspective have appeared on the arena claiming to speak on behalf a majority of Turkish women. This has divided the women's movement and led to the birth of the *gender equality vs. gender justice* debate.

1.2.2 Political context – increased polarisation

The political context in Turkey has become increasingly volatile in the past few years. The divisions along ethnic, sectarian and political lines have continued to deepen, causing significant public polarisation; more so since the Gezi Park protests in June 2013 and allegations of corruption in December 2013 – where the response of the government raised serious concerns regarding the independence of the judiciary, separation of powers, respect for human rights and freedom of expression.²⁷ Meanwhile the worsening of the crisis in Syria resulted in 2 million Syrian refugees in the country and subsequent military strikes against PKK and IS, has further fuelled a nationalistic discourse, instilled fear and pushed people to prioritise "stability and traditional values" over democracy and change.

²⁵ One of the AK Party MPs who advocated for the change is reported to have stated: "This name [Equality Commission] is wrong, a misnomer. In the future it will create legal problems. Today there are approximately 900 public administrators, provincial governors, district governors, etc. And only 18 of them are women. So are we going to appoint women to half of these 900 women tomorrow [all of a sudden]?" <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2009/02/11//haber.1EF4E1A1F2BF43489909889410E52D18.html>

²⁶ Bianet (May 17, 2011). "[Moroğlu: Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Değil Kadın Bakanlığı İstiyoruz](#)"

²⁷ EU progress report 2014

It has been in this context that Turkey has had four elections in the past 18 months - the largest number of elections in the history of the republic. Chronologically these have been:

- March 30, 2014 Local Elections
- August 10, 2014 Presidential Elections²⁸
- June 7, 2015 General Elections
- November 1, 2015 General “Re”-Elections

Turkey had its general elections in June 7, 2015, as a result of which AK Party lost its parliamentary majority, and was left unable to govern alone for the first time since it came to power in 2002. The June 7 elections also witnessed the pro-Kurdish alliance HDP surpassing the 10% threshold that it needed to enter parliament. As a result a record number of women entered the parliament. However, failure of coalition talks led to the a re-election in November 1, 2015 where the AK Party won the majority of the votes and attained the ability to govern alone again.

Meanwhile, the 5 months between June 7 and November 1, 2015 have been very volatile. The period has witnessed suicide bombings in Suruç and Ankara that killed 33 and 102 people respectively, and left many more disabled; re-escalation of the conflict between PKK and the armed forces; mob attacks at more than 100 HDP offices; increased pressure on the opposition media and interference with the judiciary.

In this atmosphere, the already prevailing political polarisation in the country has deteriorated, particularly along the axes of pro-/anti-government and/or Turkish nationalist/pro-Kurdish. The acts and discourses of political party leaders have also contributed to this polarisation.²⁹

The political polarisation has also affected civil society in the recent years, where political and ideological differences prevent activists from gathering under the roof of the same organisation, although the public purposes might be common, and has led people with similar political views to establish their “own” CSOs.³⁰

1.2.3 CSO context and other similar initiatives

There are several women’s CSOs, which are actively working in the area of gender equality policy with a feminist agenda at the national level. Some of the key areas are: violence against women (e.g. KAMER), women’s human rights (e.g. WWHR),

²⁸ This has been the first time the president is elected by the public; previously the president was elected by the parliament (since 1923).

²⁹ One of the clear examples of the polarization has been the refusal of the nationalist MHP to interact with the pro-Kurdish HDP to the extent of denying any support to any initiative supported by HDP, including the refusal to establish a parliamentary research commission on the Suruç suicide bombings.

³⁰ For example see: <http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=224>

women's political participation (KA.DER), female labour force participation (e.g. KEIG) etc. In addition, there are platforms where CSOs join forces to create synergy when needed, and work towards shared goals, particularly with respect to legislative advocacy. Furthermore, there are also local, smaller CSOs that work towards gender equality with thematic focus in their own localities. KA.DER has, until recently, been the only one that is focusing exclusively on women's equal political participation.

Apart from the CSOs and platforms, the UN also has some joint programmes that aim to enhance gender equality. Currently there are two joint programmes:

- UNJP for Promoting the Human Rights of Women
- UNJP on Promoting Gender Equality at Local Level / Women Friendly Cities (Supported by Swedish funding)

Particularly the Women Friendly Cities programme is also relevant in terms of women's equal participation in political processes. The main aims of the programme are defined as follows: *"To create an atmosphere forming a basis for the creation women friendly cities by including gender equality in the planning processes of the local administrations as a result of the local activities carried out with women CSOs, grassroots organizations, governmental institutions both on national and local levels."*³¹

Since 2011, UN Women has also worked on women's political participation and leadership in Turkey together with the EOC/KEFEK in the Turkish Grand National Assembly and in partnership with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). This work resulted in the review of 31 fundamental Turkish legislations and a gender self-assessment of the Assembly, only the fifth such exercise in the world³². The priority actions to be taken to increase women's participation in the parliament, as result of this exercise, included the following:

- To run campaigns in [respective] electorate regions to increase awareness of women with regards to importance of women's participation in politics;
- To become role models for women who are interested in politics via use of the media;
- To advocate in their own parties for an increase in women's candidacy in electable positions (including those in rural areas);
- To demand from political parties to bring into fold more women at the local level;
- To examine the Election Law from the perspective of gender equality;
- To advocate that the government strengthens women at the local level so as to adopt and implement a bottom-up approach to women's empowerment;

³¹ <http://www.kadindostukentler.org/project.php>; Evaluation of UN joint programme on "Women Freindly Cities"

³² UN Women, ["Achievements of UN Joint Programme on "Fostering an Enabling Environment for Gender Equality in Turkey" recognized at the Turkish Grand National Assembly."](#) June 9, 2014; Parliamentary Committee for Equality of Opportunity between Women and Men, [Official Website](#)

- To advocate for a 2013-2023 action plan to reach the goal of gender equality in politics.³³

In 2015, a new partnership programme between UN Women, IPU and EOC/KEFEK was initiated, with funding from Sweden, to advance gender equality and women's leadership and participation in politics in Turkey. The project aims at ensuring that legal frameworks and policies are in place and properly implemented to advance women's participation in decision-making. The project will also establish formal dialogue between the bodies like the Parliamentary Committees and civil society organisations to ensure that gender equality advocates can influence these policies at an early stage. UN Women and the EOC/KEFEK will also organise capacity-building exercises with the women MPs in Parliament. The EOC will lead the project, which will continue for three years.³⁴ Thus, this project is funded by Sweden in parallel to the KA.DER support.

Meanwhile, the women's CSO landscape has taken a new shape from 2013 onwards with the establishment of a new wave of more conservative women's CSOs that are ideologically closer to the AK party governments' perspective. This has led to the birth of the gender equality vs. gender justice debate. This new wave of women's CSOs criticise the women's movement's (feminists') gender equality perspective, arguing that this concept does not take into consideration the differences in "natural" and social roles of men and women (such as respect to motherhood) and therefore are more harmful for women in the longer term.³⁵ Feminists on the other hand criticise the new CSOs for limiting women's rights advocacy to a gender-accommodating sphere and curtailing its progress.³⁶ Furthermore, some of the recent developments also show that the feminist women's CSOs risk being marginalised and side-lined by the AK Party influenced government as they prefer to work with "like-minded" CSOs and/or directly with UN bodies. A recent example of this has been the exclusion of Turkey's feminist women's organisations, from the W-20 summit.³⁷ Such exclusion also affects the funding prospects of feminist CSOs that lose out on government core funding.

The most prominent of these new women's CSOs and an ambitious advocate of gender justice instead of gender equality has been KADEM. President Erdoğan's

³³ Equality Commission, Needs analysis report 2012; the report also touched on how to increase the number of women in parliamentary commissions

³⁴ UN Women, "[Elections herald an increase in women MPs in Turkey, but more progress is needed](#)".

³⁵ Aydın Yılmaz, Sare. A New Momentum: Gender Justice in the Women's Movement, Turkish Policy Quarterly, Winter 2015. Aydın is the head of KADEM.

³⁶ Çağlayan, Handan. "[Eşitlik Adalet Hegemonya](#)". Bianet, April 1, 2015; Aslan, Özlem. "[Equality and Difference: Are They Mutually Exclusive?](#)" Turkish Policy Quarterly. 2015

³⁷ <http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2015/10/30/w-20-and-turkeys-conflicted-gender-policies>. Participants were KAGIDER, KADEM and TIKAD.

daughter Sumeyye Erdogan is the vice president of this CSO. KADEM has undertaken its own campaign on women's political participation³⁸ and is leading a project on women's political participation supported by EU IPA funding³⁹. KA.DER has not been part of this initiative, and it was observed that the network of CSOs participating in the EU project consists mainly of more conservative ones. Indeed, a review of KADEM project documents shows that, while the obstacles identified with respect to women's political participation are similar with those identified by KA.DER and those impressions shared in the field with the evaluation team, the approach of KADEM to these problems is based on a gender justice/equity approach as opposed to equality. This has been another manifestation of how political and ideological polarisation affects women's CSOs and perspectives for partnerships.

1.3 KA.DER ORGANISATION AND PURPOSE

KA.DER was formed in 1997 and has been supported by the Swedish Embassy since 2010.

1.3.1 Vision, mission, strategies and values

	KA.DER Results Framework	KA.DER Strategy
Vision/long term objective	<i>"A country where gender discrimination does not exist and gender equality is experienced in every sphere of life."</i>	<i>"Equal representation of women and men in all fields of life and especially equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions"</i>
Mission/Medium term objective	<i>"Increased number of women with gender equality awareness (in all decision making processes) are appointed or elected."</i>	<i>"An increased number of women with gender equality awareness are appointed or elected, and are enabled and motivated to promote gender equality in decision-making processes."</i>
Expected outcomes and strategic pillars	<i>Increased participation of women in national and local politics.</i>	1. Empowering women (whether they are political candidates or not) and preparing them for their candidature through its political schools⁴⁰. 2. Transforming the male dominated

³⁸ <http://kadem.org.tr/en/campaign-for-supporting-women-candidates/>

³⁹ European Turkish Network for Promoting Women Participation in Politics
<http://civilsocietydialogue.org/project/ab-tr-siyasette-kadin-sivil-agi/>

⁴⁰ The political schools consist of a 4-day training programme for women candidates of political parties. Each "school" reaches around 20 women. 12 schools were organised in 2013 -2015.

		political parties to women friendly parties through direct lobby, advocacy and training. 3. Pressurising political parties to include women candidates on their election lists, as well as to make the public aware of gender equality.
	A more favourable legal and policy framework, including for gender equality and women's perspective is formed in Turkey.	4. Influencing the legislative framework through lobbying and advocacy efforts, submitting proposals and amendments on the constitution, election laws, and other acts through committees, platforms and in direct meetings with politicians and MPs. 5. Influencing the general public through public awareness campaigns, media appearances, and by the extensive press coverage of gender equality in politics during elections.
	KA.DER's organizational structure is strengthened in terms of financial management, communication and reporting by the end of 2015.	
	KA.DER is a more transparent and democratic organisation through its involvement of members and branch offices by end of 2015.	

In the Inception Report we attempted to merge these two approaches and develop a Theory of Change that clearly identified the boundary partners and spelled out the expected behavioural changes in them.

KA.DER's key values also have a bearing on its organisation and functioning. These are as follows:

To be against all forms of discrimination: KA.DER's work is in line with international human rights norms condemning all forms of discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of gender, religion, language, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or preference or political views.

To keep equal distance to all legally recognized political parties: KA.DER is a non-partisan, independent organisation who works across party lines. KA.DER works together with all the women branches and women parliamentarians of political parties

at an equal distance and is not interfering with their internal agenda setting. Focus is instead on the universal and cross-cutting issue of advancing gender equality, and to support and motivate women candidates and policy-makers to bring in this aspect into all decision-making processes.

To ensure that all our activities reflect and advance feminist values and viewpoints:

KA.DER executive boards are elected for 2 years and an executive can only serve for 4 years (2 consecutive terms). This rotation rule is to encourage more women to run for administrative positions. To take all the decisions with consensus, not to act hierarchically in relation with the members, between branches and HQ and promoting solidarity and “sisterhood” in all KA.DER activities and in relations with other women’s organizations are KA.DER’s feminist values.

To work for gender mainstreaming to be implemented in all policies and programmes:

KA.DER aims to work on projects to implement or realize the national and international agreements and acts for ending all kind of discriminations and violence against women, and act as a pressure group and force the government to implement gender mainstreaming in all policies and programmes.

1.3.2 Organisational structure and governance

Kad.er has a head office (head office) with 5 employed staff members and one “supervisor” (on consultancy basis) as follows:

- **Project Supervisor:** The supervisor consults KA.DER on project proposal writing, external relations, organisation of political schools and other activities and reporting. She does not have a formal position, but has remained as an advisor and link between KA.DER and the Swedish Embassy over the years (she wrote the first project application to the Embassy in 2010).
- **KA.DER General Coordinator:** She is responsible for planning, execution, reporting and financial processes of all the KA.DER activities. She coordinates relations between KA.DER executive board and committees, branches, representatives, members and platforms.
- **Sida Project Coordinator:** Within the scope of the programme, she is responsible for all activities, finances, reporting and the contacts with the Swedish Embassy on behalf of KA.DER. Presently KA.DER has no other programme apart from this one.
- **Press Relations and Website Expert (part time position):** She is responsible for conducting all kinds of media and website activities. She prepares press statements, announcements.
- **Office Secretary:** She is responsible of KA.DER communication channels (following e-mails, telephone traffic) and informing the executive board. She is also responsible of office maintenance.
- **Accountant and Financial Reporter:** She is responsible for bookkeeping and KA.DER’s financial processes and preparing related reports. She informs the project team and executive board on project budget and expenditures, monthly.

The head office has a flat organisation and no manager. Instead management is

carried out by the executive board, which meets every week to take decisions on the day to day running, as well as more strategic decisions. The board consists of 9 members (and 9 reserves). The chairwoman is responsible for the overall coordination and for external communication and media contacts. Consensus decision making has been applied in the board - until very recently, when there was a disagreement which could not be overcome. Since the elections in April 2014, eight board members (five members and 3 reserves) have resigned. Because of these resignations, the balance between different fractions in the board has shifted over time. In November 2015, the latest board majority elected a new chairperson, secretary general and treasurer, thus removing the former from their positions. This is the 2nd change and the 3rd chairwoman in this term. As a result of the leadership turbulence, KA.DER has called an early General Assembly on December 6, 2015.

In addition to the executive board, there is an advisory board that consists of 10 elected members, former chairwomen, chairwomen of branches and representatives. It meets every 3 months. There is also a Disciplinary board and an Audit board, which are elected together with the executive board at the general assembly every two years. All paying members are invited to the general assembly and have the right to vote, although in practice predominantly members living nearby the head office in Istanbul have attended.

Apart from the head office, there are six KA.DER “branches” and five KA.DER “representations”. The branches are autonomous and have their own boards and decision making. The Ankara and Kadıköy branches are the biggest in terms of membership. Ankara branch also has its own web-page, one employed staff member and runs four projects, funded by various embassies (UK, USA, Norway and Holland). Branches have freedom to fund raise, undertake projects and conduct media campaigns without consulting the head office. At the same time the head office is responsible for financial control of the branches and for ensuring their adherence to the vision, mission and values of KA.DER. It is a situation where the head office has limited power to influence and direct the branches, but still has responsibility for their actions and finances. The “representations” are not formal entities, but consist of women who have been appointed by the head office to represent the organisation locally. With regards to the “representations”, the head office can do more to influence who is appointed and what is being done in the name of KA.DER.

KA.DER has 898 members (as per December 2014). Members can be attached to one of the 6 branches or directly to the head office. Members of “representations” are therefore attached to the head office. The membership is very unevenly distributed among branches and geographically. There are no branches or representations in the east of Turkey (apart from the Şanlıurfa representation, but it has only one member). Two branches make up almost half of the membership. One of the biggest branches is established in one of Istanbul’s districts (Kadıköy) near the head office. Almost all executive board members of KA.DER head office come from this branch.

By branches & representations	Members
Head office representative (Istanbul)	189

Kadıköy Branch	210
Ankara Branch	213
Bursa Branch	89
İzmir Branch	63
Adana Branch	49
Eskişehir Branch	42
Antalya Representation (head office)	20
Mersin Representation (head office)	16
Trabzon Representation (head office)	4
Şanlıurfa Representation (head office)	1
İstanbul 3rd District Representation (head office)	2
Total Number of KA.DER Members	898

1.4 THE SUPPORTED PROGRAMME

The Programme aimed at increasing the number of women in decision-making positions, with focus on political parties. The idea was that such change would happen through influencing the practices of *political parties*, empowering *women candidates*, influencing *legislation*, making *the public* more gender aware - and strengthening *KA.DER* as an influential actor. (Refer to ToC model in the inception report⁴¹).

The following strategies were used by KA.DER to achieve the desired outcomes:

1. Organising of political schools (4 day workshops) for women candidates of political parties in connection with local and national elections. In the last period schools were organised in Adıyaman, Adana, İzmir, İstanbul and Malatya (for the local level elections) and in Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, İzmir, Kars, Mersin and Eskişehir (for the national level elections). No political schools were held in Southeast Anatolia region (Kurdish region). The timing and location for these schools were decided primarily by the Programme Supervisor, as well as the Chairwoman.
2. Annual meetings with between board members and MPs from the four political parties that are represented in the Parliament.
3. Communication in social media, printed press and TV. Dissemination of national and local media campaigns (TV, billboards), often with support of the media agency Öykü.
4. Preparation and publication of quality research and statistical analyses to serve as a basis for advocacy by women politicians and other CSOs working on gender equality and women's rights.

⁴¹ Annex 2

5. Establishment and leadership of a CSO platform that has been advocating for constitutional and legislative changes for gender equality and women's rights.
6. Making use of volunteering feminist academics and using their personal professional competencies, resources and networks to influence processes and gain access to decision makers and experts (mainly in law and media fields).
7. Training in results based management and strategic planning for KA.DER staff and executive board members.

2 Method

2.1 METHODS USED

The evaluation has used existing data and research on women's political participation to analyse trends in the number of women in decision making positions, policy and legal changes and attitudinal shifts. Given that the contextual developments have been rather dramatic and that some other actors are also involved in gender equality promotion and women's political participation (even with Embassy funding) the attribution of KA.DER's efforts in relation to these trends has been hard to assess. The evaluation has therefore concentrated on assessing

- the contributions of KA.DER's work to the observed outcomes in terms of number of women in decision making and positive behavioural or policy change (if any) among boundary partners,
- the contributions of Kader in terms of stopping negative developments in terms behavioural or policy change and counteracting actions that may hamper women's political participation,
- the effectiveness of selected approaches (political schools, communication, networking and lobbying) and
- the efficiency of the operations e.g. reasonable cost of activities, efficiency of the internal governance and management and ability to adapt work to new challenges and opportunities

To respond to the evaluation questions we used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The steps of the evaluation were as follows:

1. Start-up meetings with the Embassy and KA.DER via video link to agree on the scope and timing of the evaluation.
2. Review of project documents, previous evaluations, statistics from elections etc. complemented by internet research on the topic. Some of this research was presented already in the Inception Report.
3. Telephone survey to reach out with questions to a representative sample of participants in the political school trainings carried out in the past 2 years (2013-2015). A total number of 48 out of 236 participants (20%) were included in the telephone survey. An additional 11 answered the survey in connection with the focussed group discussions. In total 59 out of the 236 participants were surveyed (25%). These 25% represent a sufficient and representative sample, allowing the team to get a general understanding of the experiences of women at various levels and from various political parties (see also paragraph 2.1.2).
4. Key informant interviews with KA.DER staff and executive board, KA.DER branches, and boundary partners such as political parties and their women branches, party administrations at national and provincial levels, women party

- representatives (elected and not elected) and partnering organisations. External observers (e.g. EU, UN Women, CSOs) were also interviewed.
5. Focus group discussions with participants of political schools in Ankara, Adana and Mersin, aiming at 6-8 participants in each group with representation from all four major political parties (CHP, MHP, HDP and AK Party). This step was not possible to implement as expected, as will be explained below.
 6. Email interviews with selected boundary partners and external observers (due to time-restraints). E-mails were sent to 5 CSOs: KAOS GL, KEIG, KAGIDER, WWHR and Rightful Women's Platform. WWHR and KEIG responded.
 7. Feed-back workshop with staff and the executive board to validate findings.
 8. Up-dates on recent developments regarding KA.DER governance have been e-mailed by KA.DER staff and branch leaders after the feedback workshop to keep the evaluation team informed.

2.1.1 Desk review

There is a wealth of statistical information, research and reporting on women's political participation and gender equality in Turkey. It has been used to understand and describe the contextual developments related to KA.DER's work. We have identified relevant documentation through KA.DER, other gender equality advocates and web-research. We have also used KA.DER's reporting to the Embassy, Embassy assessments and previous evaluations to get information on KA.DER's organisational development and its achievements and challenges. The Political School participants' evaluations from 2014 and 2015 have also been used as a source. We have also searched the Internet for relevant studies and information (including social media) to assess the visibility of KA.DER in various media and as contributors to gender equality discussions.

2.1.2 Telephone survey

Respondents (participants of KA.DER political schools) were selected to represent each of the four main political parties and each of the eleven political schools (seven ahead of the national elections and four ahead of the local elections). An excel list was organised for each school and participants listed according to party affiliation. Then participants were randomly picked within the respective categories. Initially 40 participants were selected. We then added focus group discussion participants (11) who responded to the questionnaire. Later we added 8 more respondents as we felt that there was underrepresentation of views from the AK Party and HDP (as they were not fairly represented in the focus group discussions compared to their proportion of women attending the political schools) and also since we had missed respondents from one of the political schools due to incomplete statistics provided by KA.DER. Still, there is over representation of CHP and underrepresentation of the AK Party - compared with the election outcome shares of the votes.

The answers were analysed both quantitatively (number of respondents who agreed to certain statements) and qualitatively (analysing explanations and examples given).

Number of political school participants surveyed

Cities of Political Schools	AK Parti	CHP	HDP-HDK-BDP	MHP	No PP affiliation / Other PP	Grand Total
Adıyaman	2	1	2	1		6
Ankara	1	2	3			6
Antalya	1	1	1	1		4
Bursa		1	1		3	5
İzmir	3	1	2	2	2	10
Kars	2	1	1			4
Malatya	1	3			1	5
Muğla		1				1
Eskişehir	1	2				3
Adana	2	2		1	1	6
Mersin	2	2	2	2	1	9
Grand Total	15	17	12	7	8	59

2.1.3 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were held with a total of 49 respondents as follows:

- KA.DER staff and executive board members nationally and in 2 selected branches (Ankara and Adana) and one representation (Mersin). The branches/representations were selected because they were reported to be the most active and because they represented a big, medium and a small city. Logistical considerations also affected the selection, Adana and Mersin being close.
- Selected boundary partners, which were first and foremost women representatives of the four main political parties and their women branches and administrations at national and provincial level. Furthermore, partner CSOs such as Transparency International, Mother and Child Foundation (ACEV), Women's Labour and Initiative Platform (KEIG) and Women for Women's Rights (WWHR).
- External observers (i.e. UN Women, EU Gender Equality Programme, the Swedish Embassy, Women with Disabilities Association, and Third Sector Foundation (TÜSEV), were also interviewed to get an external view on KA.DER's work/methods and role/importance in its field of interest.

The key informant interviews were the main source of information (evidence) in the assessment of KA.DER's influence on policy processes and on boundary partners' behaviour and capacities.

2.1.4 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions with political school participants were carried out in Ankara,

Number of FGD Participants

Political Party	Ankara	Adana	Mersin	TOTAL
Ak Party	0	1	0	1
CHP	1	3	1	5
HDP	1	0	0	1
MHP	0	2	2	4
Other	0	1	1	2
TOTAL	2	7	4	13

Adana and Mersin. In total we managed to speak to 13 participants (in three group discussions), of which 9 represented the parties CHP and MHP. We had only one representative from the AK Party (in Adana)⁴² and only one from HDP (in Ankara). It was observed that one of the reasons for the low attendance at the focus group discussions was the limited communication between the KA.DER head office and the branches/representations; which in turn contributed to the poor organisation of the focus group discussions. The head office had not involved the branches/representation in the organising of the discussions, or did so to a limited extent, as in Adana. Other possible reasons for the low attendance in the discussions might be: busy schedules of some women due to the approaching elections and/or the funerals of those who were killed in the Ankara suicide bombings (for HDP in particular); the rising political polarisation which makes it difficult for women from different parties to sit down at the same table; and perceptions by some participants that KA.DER is politically biased in favour of CHP (or sometimes HDP or MHP).

As a result of the limited number of participants from the AK Party and HDP in the focus group discussions we decided to make telephone interviews with political school participants from these parties. We used the survey format as a basis, but probed more around the questions of KA.DER's equal distance to political parties.

2.2 LIMITATIONS

The evaluation was carried out during a tense period between two elections (June and November 2015). Political polarisation was at its peak. In addition, the report covers a period when KA.DER was faced with a deep crisis in its top leadership.

As our main respondents were representatives of political parties, we had some difficulties in reaching some of them. The Ankara bombings also affected the schedules of CHP and HDP women politicians, as members of these parties were among the dead and wounded. The obstacles encountered were:

- The polarised political context and the engagement of potential respondents in pre-election activities made it difficult to secure appointments with high level political leaders.
- At the start of the field visit, KA.DER had managed to secure only one appointment with the national political party representatives (CHP). KA.DER was not able to give us personal contact details of women holding key positions in their respective political parties, women branches or party administrations (indicating that such contacts were not frequent). The evaluators had to set aside a full day to secure appointments with political

⁴² But it was understood that she had not participated in the Ka.der political school although she signed up for it, and so she did not fill in the survey.

- party representatives in Ankara.
- KA.DER had not sufficiently involved the Ankara branch and the Mersin representation regarding the preparations of the focus group discussions. This led to a situation where they could not assist in the follow up of invitations or the identification of respondents representing various political parties. The Adana branch had however been involved in the planning and managed to secure a diverse group of a good number of respondents.

While being obstacles to the evaluation process, these were also findings regarding context, relevance and effectiveness of the evaluated programme and the capacity of KA.DER. To overcome some of the obstacles the evaluators:

- Organised our own appointments with politicians in Ankara and Istanbul and made a range of follow up telephone interviews after the field mission.
- Made special efforts to get the views of the AK Party and HDP women through additional telephone surveys, follow up interviews with some key informants and capturing the input from KADEM (a CSO close to the AK Party working on women's issues).

Eventually we managed to talk to representatives of all four major parties at national as well as local levels. We are confident that the evaluation has been able to compensate for the methodological limitations and also use the limitations as findings in their own right.

Another limitation is that the branches (Adana and Ankara) and representation (Mersin) selected for the field visits are not representative of all KA.DER's local work. They were deliberately selected because they were seen as the most successful. There was openness about the fact that many branches and representations were not active and going there would not provide the evaluation with any valuable information. Furthermore, the visited places are not representative of the entire country. KA.DER is only active in some of the bigger cities, mainly in the western part of Turkey and in a handful of the 89 provinces. Opinions from other parts of the country have not been gathered. The findings of the evaluation should be seen in this light.

3 Findings

3.1 WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

3.1.1 Number of women in political decision making

The desk review shows that the number of women in decision making positions has increased somewhat over time, but not much.

National level parliament developments are as follows (preliminary figures for 2015 re-election November 1):

Election Year	Number of MPs in Parliament	Number of Women MPs	Percentage of Women (%)
1935	395	18	4.6
1943	435	16	3.7
1950	487	3	0.6
1957	610	8	1.3
1965	450	8	1.8
1973	450	6	1.3
1991	450	8	1.8
1999	550	22	4.2
2002	550	24	4.4
2007	550	50	9.1
2011	550	79	14.3
Jun. 7, 2015	550	98	17.8
Nov. 1, 2015	550	82	14.9

The 2015 ratio of women MPs in the Parliament is still far below parity, or even the global average of 22 percent. It is also below the 33 percent critical level for representation that women's civil society organisations have been advocating for in the country.⁴³ On June 7, 2015 general elections, among all parties, only 8, 8 percent of the women were nominated as 1st in-line candidates and 14, 4 percent were nominated as 2nd in-line candidates.⁴⁴ Furthermore, no women MPs entered the Parliament from 37 of the 81 provinces.⁴⁵

⁴³ UN Women Turkey web-site, 2015

⁴⁴ "[Kadın Adayların Sadece Yüzde 9'u Birinci Sırada.](#)" Bianet, May 20, 2015

⁴⁵ "[Mecliste Kadın Oranı Yüzde 23 Arttı, 37 İlde Kadın Vekil Yok.](#)" Bianet, June 8, 2015

When analysing the statistics from the June 2015 election, it can be seen that the increase of women MPs was solely due to the efforts of the HDP, which upheld a 50% quota for women candidates during elections. When HDP lost votes in the November re-election, the ratio of women MPs dropped significantly. The drop was also due to the AK Party significantly reducing the number of women on its candidacy lists. Despite gaining more seats compared to June, the AK Party reduced the number of women MPs from 41 (16% of AK Party seats) to 34 (11% of AK Party seats). The November 2015 election resulted in the following numbers:

Party	Number of women	% of MPs
AK Party	34	11%
CHP	22	16%
HDP	23	39%
MHP	3	0,8%

The ratio of women ministers has remained at 4 percent over the past 10 years⁴⁶ and the ratio of high level women government officials has remained at around 8 percent.

At the local level there has been very little progress over the past years, except for the city councillors and mayors. In 2014 there were 40 women mayors and 2198 women city councillors. An initial analysis of the cities/regions where KA.DER has branches and political schools shows that these cities do not have a higher ratio of women than other cities (except in Izmir)⁴⁷. It is worth mentioning however that there are individual success stories such as political school participant Elif Doğan Türkmen who was elected MP from the CHP in the November elections and the newly appointed AK Party minister for Family and Social Policies Sema Ramazanoğlu who is a KA.DER member since 2002.

Position	Proportion women %			
	1999	2004	2009	2014
Mayors	0,6	0,6	0,9	2,9
City Councillor	1,6	2,4	4,2	10,7
Member of Provincial Assembly	1,4	1,8	3,3	4,8
Head of Village			0,2	0,3
Member of Village Council			0,2	1,2
Head of Quarter			2,3	0,1
Member of Quarter Council			1,9	2,5

⁴⁶ This ratio represents a single woman minister in the cabinet, who is in charge of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy (previously called Ministry of State; Responsible for Women and Family Affairs).

⁴⁷ Average of women in regional assemblies is 8%. Izmir has 16%, Kars has 4% and Mersin has 5% women.

The extremely low number of women participating in the lower levels of government, which is presumably a stepping stone for a political career, is especially notable.

At the same time statistics show that women are quite active as academics and government employees. 43% of professors and teachers at universities are women – but women constitute only 8% of the Deans. 37 % of government employees are women, but only 8% are appointed for leadership positions in government administrations. This reflects the untapped capacity of women and demonstrates that women are available and have competency for leadership positions. Even when the ratio of women is relatively high, this is not reflected in managerial roles.

3.1.2 Increased awareness and capacities of boundary partners

Overall assessment: The work of KA.DER has not affected the practices of political parties (there was no strategy for this) or the legislators (despite some efforts), but it has indeed led to some increased awareness and enhanced capacities of individual women. KA.DER has also managed to put women's political participation on the agenda in Turkey. It is now discussed as an important issue by women in all political parties and in other women's rights organisations. KA.DER had an important role in the foundation of KEFEK through intensive lobbying in the Parliament.

Influencing political party practices: Apart from HDP, political parties have not promoted women candidates systematically and wholeheartedly. HDP also has a 10% quota for LGBT persons. CHP has adopted a 33% gender quota system⁴⁸ for women and men, and 10% quota for youth, but has not implemented these. Some efforts have been undertaken by women in CHP (without support of KA.DER) to complain about this neglect to the High Election Board, but were told that it is an internal party matter. MHP has the lowest percentage of women representatives of all parties and no strategy seems to be in place in the party to address this. Women representatives of MHP met by the evaluators advocate that the main obstacles lie in the lack of education and economic freedom of women. By investing in these areas, women will eventually take more prominent places in politics. Women in MHP have little power to question the leadership and demand a quota. The AK Party has demonstrated some efforts to include women, but in the recent years more outspoken women who promote gender equality have been side-lined (such as the former minister Fatma Şahin). The party leaders' discourse determine the agenda within the party, and in the past two years they have officially spoken out against gender equality and expressed very traditional views on gender norms. The AK Party women try to find ways to work for women's rights within these parameters. In all parties (except perhaps HDP), the preparation of candidacy lists are generally done in closed circles of men.

KA.DER head office reports show that meetings with women MPs from the political

⁴⁸ The 33% quota was achieved hard work by KA.DER members in the CHP party.

parties have been organised once a year (although in 2015 the AK Party did not participate). Also, KA.DER Ankara has offered advisory services to MPs who are interested. MPs confirm that such support has been valuable for them individually. Apart from this, KA.DER has not made any systematic efforts to address the obstacles of male domination and internal practices of parties, and there has been no organised cooperation with women's branches of parties nationally and in provinces to address the particular obstacles facing women in each party.

Influencing MPs to undertake legislative reforms: KA.DER has participated in, and even taken the lead to prepare submissions on a number of laws affecting women, including drafting suggestions on the draft Constitution to the Parliamentary committee. However, disagreements among political parties have led to the failure of the constitution talks, making KA.DER's performance in this area difficult to measure. Furthermore KA.DER's reporting to Sida does not include any references to changes in other laws and legislation. Since 2014, KA.DER has not been actively working on legislative reforms and there is no longer legal expertise in the KA.DER executive board.

The lack of progress is related to both contextual factors and the approaches taken by KA.DER. Contextual obstacles have been lack of political interest in gender equality issues among (male) politicians and exclusion of CSOs from dialogue with government on legal reforms (shrinking space). KA.DER has focussed mainly on dialogue with women MPs and women in the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Commission (KEFEK). However, focusing only on women MPs is not likely to lead to results when they only make up 14% of the parliament. One external observer criticised the women's movement in general and KA.DER in particular for not being sufficiently active and effective in their campaigns and in their strategic alliances with the right decision makers (who are often male).

Although the women's platform on constitutional and legal reforms is no longer active, the women's movement and KA.DER have still joined forces under the Women's Coalition and managed to influence the parliament on certain key policy issues. Through joint advocacy they managed to stop the closing of the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Commission (KEFEK) and to influence the appointment of the Turkish representative to GREVIO (Council of Europe). The attribution of KA.DER in these processes cannot be ascertained, but some of the KA.DER leaders were among the most active in the advocacy campaigns and have contributed to the process. In the last two years, UN Women has taken the lead in legal reforms in the area of women's rights and gender equality (partly with Swedish funding). In cooperation with the various parliamentary commissions, UN Women has examined 31 laws and proposed how they can become more gender sensitive. Detailed proposals have been submitted. Due to the increasing polarisation it has been difficult to bring together CSOs and the government in this to work. For this project, UN Women has strategised to work directly with the parliamentary commissions. Civil society has not been involved in this work and seems to be largely unaware of it.

Strengthening networks and the capacity of CSOs and MPs to advocate for and monitor women's participation in decision making: KA.DER has also carried out

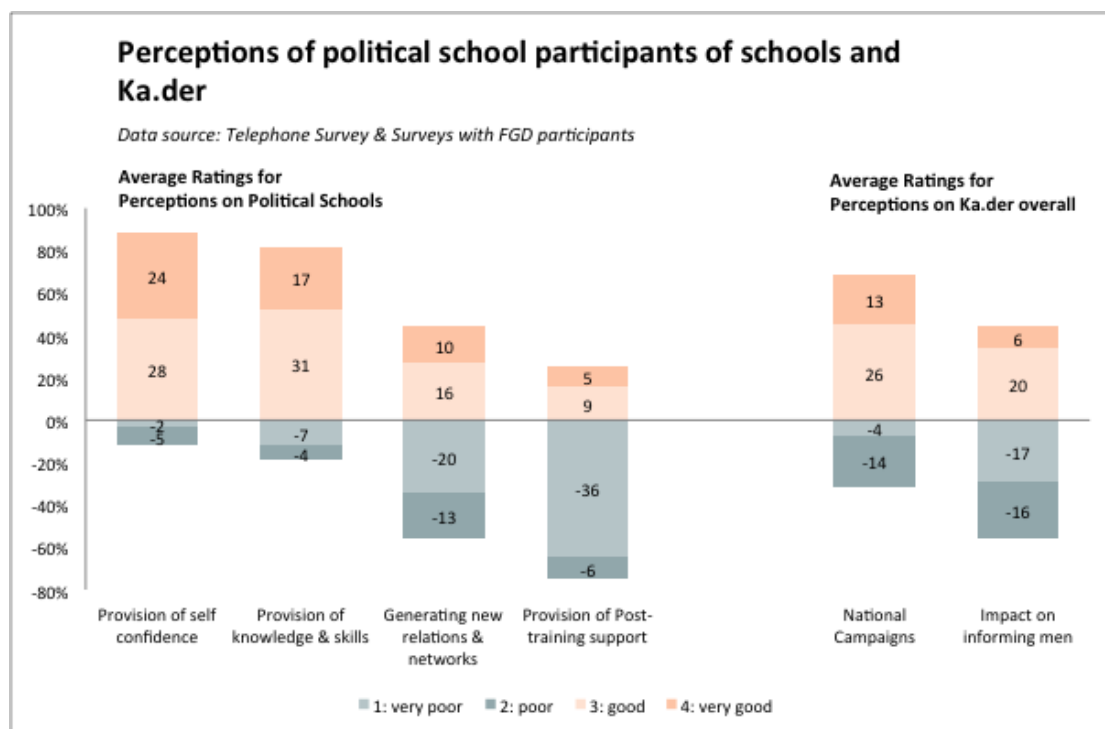
research and collated statistics to underpin advocacy which has assisted women politicians and other women's rights CSOs in their work. These tools and statistics are seen by MPs and other CSOs as extremely helpful in their advocacy and monitoring work. The bulk of such research and statistics has been prepared by KA.DER Ankara branch and is transparently posted on its own web-page.

KA.DER has also cooperated with national women's organisations such as the Women's Coalition, ACEV, WWHR, KEIG and Transparency International (Turkey) to develop advocacy tools and awareness raising trainings around women's political participation. These partners have appreciated the cooperation as very valuable and of high quality.

Apart from these partnerships, KA.DER has very limited networking with other organisations to further its vision and mission. There are many local and provincial women CSOs that could have been used to reach out and multiply the effects. KA.DER has yet to develop its strategic thinking regarding the lower levels of administration and around increasing the coverage of its programme.

During the period of review, the organisation KADEM (Women and Democracy Association) has also embarked on a project to enhance women's political participation – with EU IPA funding. KADEM has strong linkages with the government and the AK party. So far there is no cooperation between KA.DER and KADEM and there is mutual distrust.

Empowerment of women candidates: Through the KA.DER political schools, women from political parties have enhanced their self-confidence, developed skills and established new relationships. Our survey showed that the participating women graded the benefits of the political schools highly in terms of these aspects. They did however have rather significant concerns regarding lack of post-training support and the timing of the training (too close to election time). There was no significant difference in answers among women from different political parties regarding these four aspects.



The respondents also found the KA.DER national media campaigns helpful, but confirmed that KA.DER had not done much to reach men in their parties to inform them about gender equality issues. HDP women were more likely to appreciate the national media campaigns than women from other parties.

Furthermore, the training only reaches a small number of women who have already decided to become candidates and rarely the women working in parties at administrative levels or women at the grassroots level who have not yet decided to run for candidacy. Many respondents were of the opinion that KA.DER activities focus on an “elite”.

Despite the individual empowerment verified by participants in KA.DER activities, obstacles are still big for women who want to reach decision making positions and candidacy. Regulations on quotas for gender are not followed, decisions on candidacy lists are often taken by men without transparency and proper processes, and gossip is spread about women to discredit them. *“In order to become a candidate, women have to be well educated, rich, hardworking, committed, loyal, have social and communication skills, have a supportive partner and endure all kinds of hardships - whereas men only have to be breathing.”* (Woman in Focus Group discussion Adana)

The obstacles mentioned by the political schools participants are illustrated in the figure below (word cloud illustrating the most common word used). It is clear that the attitudes of men and male pressure (at home and in political parties), social gender norms, lack of financial independence and family commitments are the major obstacles for women.

The most important challenges for women's political participation

Data Source: Telephone Surveys and Surveys with FGD Participants



The general public (the voters):

As manifested by the votes in November 2015, women's rights and gender equality were not at the forefront for most voters. "Traditional values" and "security" seemed

to have been the most prominent arguments for voters this time. KA.DER did not launch any campaign or undertake any advocacy activities with political parties between the June and November elections. Time was very short and the executive board could not agree on messages and strategy. However, ahead of the June 2015 elections KA.DER carried out a broad media campaign, mainly using social media, to disseminate messages (joking about party leaders not listening to women). The media campaigns do not seem to have not contributed to changed attitudes or voting behaviours (as proven by the election results and the political party lists), but they have enhanced the visibility of KA.DER and put the issue of women's political participation on the agenda (as verified by external observer key respondents).

3.1.3 Findings in relation to KA.DER results framework

Outcome 1: Increased participation of women in national and local politics	Yes, a small increase – but not due to KA.DER's work
Outputs	
Potential and enlisted women candidates have access to information, materials and support and are encouraged to participate in local/national elections	The programme has reached 236 women who participated in the political schools, mainly enlisted candidates. These women have access to materials and tools (which have not been updated for a long time) provided at the training. The outreach to “potential” candidates is very limited. There is no involvement of political parties’ women branches in design and implementation of the programme. Apart from the political schools there has been limited support to women candidates. Women candidates in Adana appreciated the “speaker’s corner” activity for women candidates. But this was not replicated elsewhere.
KA.DER national and local election campaigns promoting women candidates and gender equality conducted during election periods (2014+2015)	Well-designed media campaigns have been conducted (using social media, and billboards) ahead of the local and national elections – with support of a media agency that provides its services pro bono. The most appreciated was the “moustaches campaign” of 2007. ⁴⁹ Some branches also have run their own campaigns, again by utilizing pro-bono services.
Women are trained in political schools in cooperation with KA.DER branches before 2014 local elections and 2015 national elections	236 women have participated in the political schools. They increased their self-confidence and received access to information, tools and networks.

⁴⁹ <http://www.ka-der.org.tr/tr-TR/Page/News/29/12-haziran-2011-genel-secim-kampanyasi.html?bid=410>; <http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/article/no-moustache-no-place-in-politics.html>

Trainers pool is expanded with cooperation of local KA.DER branches	There is no KA.DER trainer's pool. Some branch leaders and board members are engaged as trainers in their personal capacity. However, mostly branches recruit trainers from nearby universities or research institutes (based on personal relationships). As branches do not have a budget they need to look for those who provide trainings pro-bono. There are no formalised lists of these trainers, showing their strengths or the participant's feedback regarding their performance.
Develop closer relations (networks) with women in local administrations (mayors, provincial and city council members)	This has not been done.
Outcome 2: A more favourable framework including gender equality and women's perspective is formed in Turkey	No, legislation and policy is not advancing – on the contrary, Most of the focus of the women's movement has been on stopping negative developments
Outputs	
An effective communication and lobbying network is maintained and expanded with women MPs	The KA.DER head office has ad hoc and personal relationships with women MPs, but there is no systematic communication or network. KA.DER Ankara has a support programme for MPs – not financed by Sida.
Proposals amendments and demands on the new draft constitution are presented through the existing Women's Constitution Platform	Proposals were submitted, but the constitutional process is stalled and the platform is not presently active. This is mainly due to contextual developments.
Advocacy and lobbying on amending the Laws on Election and Political Parties and Parity Law	Proposals were submitted, but have not been accepted. The advocacy and lobbying has been limited since 2014.
National legislative procedures (especially re: draft constitution) are monitored in cooperation with other women CSOs and through platforms on a continuous basis and public opinion is formed around the issues	The KA.DER head office is not actively working on monitoring legal issues since 2014 when its legal commission stopped working. A monitoring project in four selected provinces is planned (but not yet financed) by KA.DER Ankara.

3.2 ORGANISATIONAL CAPACITY

3.2.1 Overall findings

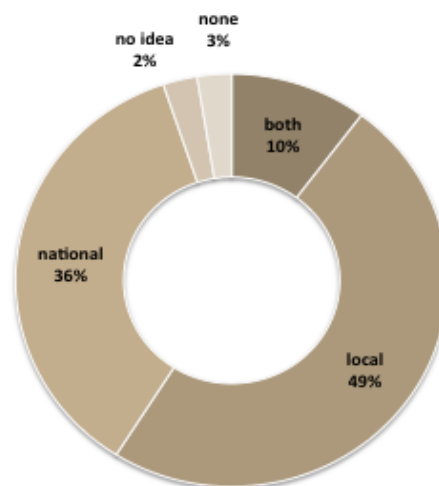
Thanks to individual capacities of strong feminist activists and the effective use of media starting already in 1997, KA.DER has become an important and respected voice for gender equality and the main advocate for women's political participation in Turkey. These capacities were not institutionalised and have gradually been lost in the past two years. KA.DER has not managed to move from being a small activist organisation to a national membership organisation. Its present capacity, systems and structures are not fit to meet the requirements of a national membership based organisation with substantial programmes to implement.

There is presently no common vision on KA.DER's future as an organisation. Some leaders want a small advocacy organisation without branches and some want a nation-wide movement with coverage in every province.

The participants of political schools feel that the contributions at the local level have been the strongest part of KA.DER's work so far (see figure). This view is not shared by national level stakeholders and observers, who consider KA.DER's national level advocacy to be the most important contribution. It shows that KA.DER has potential to work with both a top-down and a bottom up approach.

"At which level do you think Ka.der contributes the most to women's equal participation agenda? Local or National?"

Data source: Telephone Survey & Surveys with FGD participants



3.2.2 Governance and management

KA.DER's functioning is severely hampered by its bylaws that are not adapted to the requirements of a national membership organisation or to general good CSO governance practice⁵⁰. This is not a new problem in KA.DER. Past attempts to change the bylaws have not been successful enough as constitutional reform has been stymied by a lack of willingness and cooperation of the executive board members, whose own powers and authority would also be affected, and maybe limited, by the

⁵⁰Please see the following studies as a reference on good NGO governance: [Principles and Guidelines for Good NGO Governance / A Handbook on NGO Governance](#) (2004), [Non-Governmental Organizations, Management and Development](#) (2014)

adjustments. Large membership organisations with decentralised branches are not common in Turkey and there are few models to learn from. Weak bylaws are not uncommon in Turkish CSOs, but for KA.DER, which has an institutional structure with more than 800 members in branches and representations, this weakness becomes even more problematic⁵¹.

The functioning of KA.DER is also hampered by personal conflicts between board members occurring after the 2014 general assembly and difficulties of some leaders to keep equal distance to political parties. Due to conflicts within the board, 8 of the board members (active and reserve) have resigned during the last year, and the current board therefore consists of 9 members, with no reserves. The current executive board is dominated by women who are actively involved in the CHP and almost all of them come from one branch (Kadıköy). This seriously affects the ability to keep equal distance to political parties and to represent the broader membership of KA.DER.

The absence of a professional director /chief executive of the head office is problematic. The practice of having an executive board of volunteers that manages day to day activities and takes all decisions at weekly meetings is inefficient in an organisation that has employed staff and manages substantial programmes. It is also blurring the distinction between governance and executive roles. Some of the specific problems noted at the head office level at present were:

- Lack of management of the e-mail group, leading to misuse of it for party political debates and personal arguments (visible for all to read) and members missing important announcements because of other irrelevant e-mails; Several key members of KA.DER have resigned due to this.
- Low motivation of staff, loss of energy and time in operations due to the ongoing conflicts in the board, stalled decision making and the management vacuum;
- No respect for the values of the organisation leading to bullying, aggression and shouting;

⁵¹ TÜSEV interview

- Lack of communication between different organs and members of KA.DER and no conflict resolution mechanisms.

The main value of a board is that it's a collective leadership body (representing the interests of multiple stakeholders), which helps the NGO stay focused on its values and mission - and resist the special agenda of particular individuals or groups. **In this sense, the board complements the leadership of the chief executive**, who brings the benefits of a particular individual's talents, vision, charisma, and control (page 9a). **"The chair** is mainly responsible for coordinating the work of the board and serving as the liaison with staff, particularly the chief executive" (page 11a).

A basic tenet of good governance is that management and governance are separate. The underlying assumption is that this separation makes possible the checks and balances that ensure the NGO is well run and important decisions are made with the public interest in mind. **The potential for abuse in this situation suggests that a board that isn't separate from management functions in a perpetual state of real or perceived conflict of interest**, because oversight and executive functions are mixed (page 11b).

The board discharges its duties by delegating authority to the chief executive. In doing so the board doesn't give up any of its own responsibility for setting policy, providing strategic direction, or exercising oversight. It remains the principal decision-making authority, and the chief executive is answerable to the board for his/her actions. However, within the restraints on chief executive authority set by the board, the head of management is free to run the organization as he or she sees fit, making nearly all decisions on a day-to-day basis.

The board both preserves its own authority and protects the chief executive by ensuring that the basic documents clearly reflect its delegation of powers to the chief executive. The clarification of the hierarchical relationship between the board and the chief executive helps smooth cooperation between them and ease the tensions that inevitably arise, even in the best of relationships. It also keeps the board from relinquishing too much responsibility to the chief executive or, at the other extreme, from seeking to micro-manage things (page 15a, 15b).

Excerpts from *A Handbook on NGO Governance* (2004)

Another difficulty is the lack of cooperation between head office and the Ankara Branch, both situated strategically for national level advocacy work. The limited cooperation has historical roots; due to personal and political differences and priorities between past and present leaders of the two offices, the İstanbul and Ankara Branches have worked independently of one another, without cooperation and with an unofficial division of labour. Having established and de-facto institutionalised such a relationship, there seems to be much respect for one another, but no motivation or initiative on either side to establish closer links. KA.DER Ankara focuses more on the rights of women from minority groups, especially Kurdish women and LBT women and it attracts young women activists from universities. KA.DER Ankara is presently operating as an independent CSO with its own web-page, twitter and Facebook. KA.DER Ankara is producing most of the research and statistical analyses in the name of KA.DER, but these are not posted on the head office web-site. KA.DER Ankara has one staff member and has a national programme of its own, funded by a number of Embassies in Ankara (Norway, Holland, US, UK etc.), for example:

- Political schools for youth
- Advisory services for the MPs on mainstreaming gender equality
- Promotion of women candidates – in cooperation with women branches of political parties
- Local governance monitoring in four major cities (not yet financed, despite being in the KA.DER budget for 2014/15)

3.2.3 Planning, monitoring and evaluation

The previous evaluations carried out on KA.DER organisational capacity (2012) and on the KA.DER political schools and communication strategies (2011) remain unused and unknown by board members and staff, despite being available in Turkish. Most recommendations are still relevant today. The consultancies on results based management and theories of change (provided after the 2012 evaluation) have resulted in production of a results framework and a Strategy (which includes a ToC). These documents are not compatible and have not been used for planning and monitoring. The 2015 annual report makes an effort to reflect on the outcomes and outputs (in an annex), but it is obvious that the framework is not practical and not well understood. The changes in leadership have negatively affected the awareness and ownership of these documents.

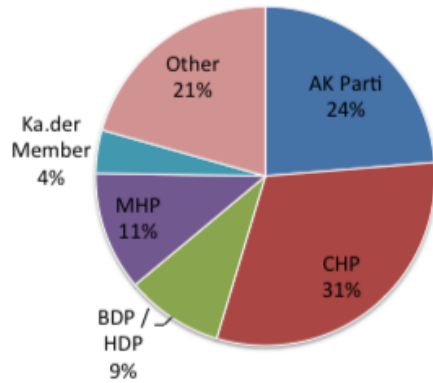
3.2.4 Equal distance to all parties

The issue of equal distance to political parties has been of specific importance in our analysis as it is a key value of KA.DER and a precondition for the Swedish support. One of the strengths of KA.DER has been the ability to bring women from different political parties together to discuss, develop strategies, and fight for common goals, i.e. women's rights and gender equality (as outlined in CEDAW and the Istanbul convention). Equal distance requires transparent and strong governance structures with mechanisms to maintain this as well as deliberate measures and constant efforts to maintain relationships with all parties. We have seen a few such efforts in branches and representations visited (e.g. the “speakers corner” for women candidates in Adana), but efforts are not sufficient and systematic. We have not seen any deliberate efforts by the head office.

The political schools have been an arena where women from different political parties have been able to meet and work together for a common goal (increased participation in decision making). When analysing the party affiliation of participants it was found that on a general level all parties have participated, although not in proportion to their size in the parliament (see figures).

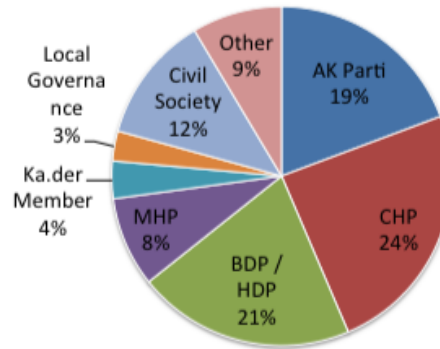
Ka.der Political Schools for Local Elections

% of participants per political party



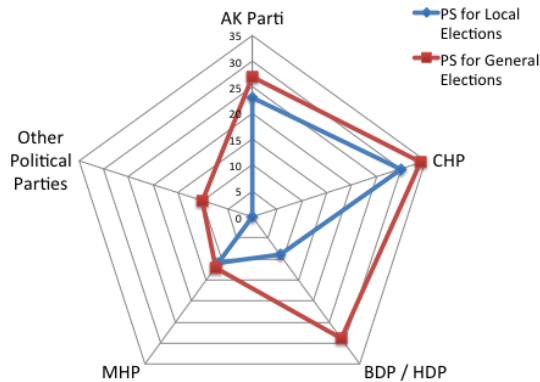
Ka.der Political Schools for General Elections

% of participants per political party



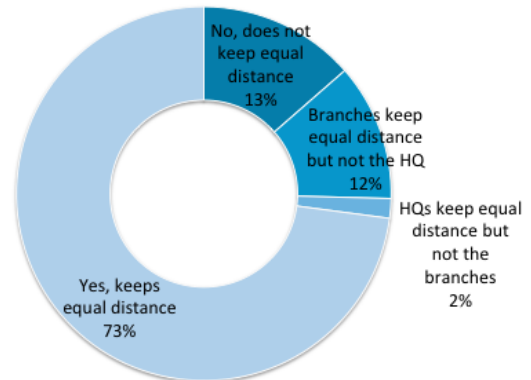
Number of Ka.der PS participants for local and general elections

(Including only members of 4 political parties)



Perceptions of Ka.der's Implementation of Equal Distance Principle

Data source: Telephone Survey & Surveys with FGD participants



When analysing each and every political school it can however be concluded that participation of political parties varies greatly, and not all of the schools had representatives from all four parties. Out of 12 schools, six had all four main parties. HDP was not part of four and MHP was not part of two schools.

Our survey among political school participants showed that 73% of them found KA.DER to keep equal distance in the trainings. Among those who did not feel so, a majority were AK Party members and a few were MHP members.

Among KA.DER respondents (staff, board members, leaders of branches and representations) almost all of them felt that KA.DER had a major problem with equal distance both at head office and in branches/representations. Similar views were expressed by AK Party and MHP party respondents, who rated impartiality low in our survey. Respondents accused KA.DER of favouring HDP, CHP (mostly) and MHP, but never the AK Party.

The major problems observed in terms of keeping equal distance to political parties were:

- The increasing political polarisation between the opposition and the ruling party and between nationalists and supporters of the rights of Kurds and other minorities has also affected the women who participated in political schools and engaged as members and leaders of KA.DER.
- The leadership of the AK Party has declared that gender equality is not the goal and that “traditional family values” should be in focus. As KA.DER aims to challenge traditional gender norms and inequalities, some AK Party women have felt uncomfortable in participating in KA.DER activities, although they too are fighting for women’s political participation and women’s rights within the party parameters.
- KA.DER branches and representations have often developed around a personality and her political affiliation. The political affiliations of the chairwomen attract others with the same views and influence the perceptions of the organisation. The Mersin representation is thus perceived as MHP affiliated, the Adana branch as CHP affiliated (although both the chairwoman and the representative have made extraordinary efforts to reach all political parties), the Ankara branch is perceived by some as “only focusing on minorities and the Kurdish women” (HDP).
- The present executive board members are mostly members of the CHP. It is indeed problematic when a board is completely dominated by representatives from one political party. Previously KA.DER had board representatives from many parties. In 2007 KA.DER had a chairwoman who was supporting the AK Party and later became active in this party.

3.2.5 Findings in relation to KA.DER results framework

Outcome 3: KA.DER's organizational structure is strengthened in terms of financial management, communication and reporting by the end of 2014	Financial management is acceptable, but governance, organisational structure and management are very poor
Outputs	
KA.DER's resource network is expanded and its financial base broader by end of 2015	No progress at all. KA.DER has been unable to spend the Swedish contribution. Only 53 % in 2013 and 68% in 2014.
Communication strategy (including key messages, media, social media, web and other communication channels) is developed and applied	No. There is a draft developed by the previous board members in cooperation with the media agency Öykü (providing in kind services). Because of disagreements in the Board (some new board members preferring another agency called Leo Burnette) the communication strategy is pending.
Outcome 4: KA.DER is a more transparent and democratic organisation through its involvement of members and branch offices by end of 2015	No progress. KA.DER has no clear membership policy and the branches are extremely autonomous (with both positive and negative implications). Some board members have called for closing the branches as they cannot be controlled. The membership base is very uneven, with Ankara and a local branch in a district of Istanbul making up half of the membership.
Outputs	
KA.DER's board is working more efficiently and effectively	No. It has deteriorated. Eight board members have resigned since 2014. The thematic commissions are no longer in place.
Membership policy and strategy is designed and adopted	No. There is no agreement on the future direction. Some board members want to close the branches, others do not. Branches and representations have been told not to enrol new members.
Participation and interaction between branches and headquarters has increased	An advisory board was established to improve communications. It meets quarterly, but since 2014 it has mainly focused on the conflicts in the board. One staff member is responsible for communication with the branches and representations, but she has no mandate to act without instructions from the board. An e-mail group was established to improve communication, but it is misused and it is creating a bad reputation for KA.DER, in addition to negatively affecting the effectiveness of communication.

3.3 EFFECTIVENESS

3.3.1 Overall effectiveness

The expected outcomes related to women's political participation and gender sensitive legal and attitudinal frameworks have not been achieved. The unfavourable contextual developments have contributed to this, but also the choice of strategies and methods by KA.DER. Some of the expected outputs have however been achieved to a certain extent as outlined in the chapter 3.1.3. The main problem with the approaches taken by KA.DER is that they have not been sufficiently based on an analysis of the obstacles to women's political participation.

The expected outcomes and outputs related to KA.DER's organisational development have not been achieved. The inefficient bylaws of KA.DER and the limited adherence to it, the dependence on individual activists and their networks, lack of professionalised management, poor democratic practices in branches, limited use of knowledge gained in previous evaluations, and the political polarisation within and outside KA.DER have contributed to this lack of progress – along with limited follow up from the Swedish Embassy.

3.3.2 Effectiveness of methods used

Political schools have been one of the most prominent methods of KA.DER. These have been successful in terms of strengthening women candidates at the individual level (see chapter 3.1.2). But the method has not been critically evaluated and revised since it first started – the changes have been mostly limited to some minor adaptations of the curriculum and content. The 2011 evaluation findings and recommendations remain unknown and unused in the organisation. KA.DER's own learning process from the political schools and how they can be made more effective have been limited. This is also due to lack of a clear theory of change regarding political schools.

Some findings about the political schools:

- At the individual level participants are very happy about the training, although they also have a range of suggestions for improvements.
- The political schools reach few women and mainly an elite group of already empowered candidates. Political schools strengthen their skills to run better campaigns, but do not motivate or empower women to start imagining becoming candidates. A large majority of respondents suggested that a bottom up approach to women's political participation (using lower levels as a stepping stone) was a better way to go – while recognising the continued need for centralised approaches to underpin these efforts (including changes in legislation and introduction of quota systems).
- Political parties' women's branches are not consulted in in the design and implementation of the political schools. Some of them have their own political schools. KA.DER has yet to investigate how synergies can be created to enhance effectiveness and to reach out to more women (and also men).
- There has been limited follow up and learning from the political schools. Evaluations remain un-used. Respondents call for a proper needs assessment and

more tailor-made support to women at various levels.

- There is no stability and no multiplying effect as the training is ad-hoc and commissioned on an individual level, mainly through personal contacts of board members. The idea of a trainer's pool has not been realised. This affects both effectiveness and sustainability of the method. Potential for cooperation with activists and experts in other CSOs and universities in various parts of Turkey has not been explored.
- Follow-up support to participants is poor or non-existent. The political school method has yet to include systematic coaching of candidates and support to women networks initiated at the trainings. Networks have been formed at the trainings, but few have survived due to lack of moral and technical support. With a different organisation of the training, engaging local role models, local resource persons, local universities and CSOs, such local networks could have been maintained with small support from the head office.
- The timing of the schools weakens the effectiveness of the method. Participants cannot give their full concentration or time since it is election period and many are unable to attend. In fact some of the political schools could not attract a sufficient number of women.
- Solidarity is stated as an aim, but is limited to the interaction at one political school. KA.DER does not have the supporting methods (such as follow up of candidates, or follow up workshops, or common projects etc.) to create real solidarity. Establishment of cross-party women networks in the provinces and municipalities have been discussed but not realised. Again, with a deliberate approach involving local resources more, local networks could have been sustained.
- The political schools presently do not manage to attract all political parties. The issue of equal distance to political parties has increasingly become an issue. When the political schools are conducted where there are branches and representations, the commitment and attitudes of the branch presidents/representatives also significantly influence ensuring attendance from all political parties.
- The planning of the political schools is not efficient – the management roles are not clear (especially the role of the programme supervisor), branches and staff are not utilized to the full capacity.
- Political schools have not sufficiently included CSOs, which could have played an important role in support of women's political participation.

Interestingly, the KA.DER political schools are not mentioned in the UNJP report (2013) in its section on projects that empower women for political participation, giving an indication of the limited reach of these schools. Only 2 projects are mentioned in the UNJP report:

- 2009 UNDP project – working with women candidates and women and men representatives of political parties – done in several cities.
- 2006 EU funded project that includes working with 16-25 year old women to motivate them to participate in politics.

Media communication has been a method used to influence both policy makers and the general public. The national campaigns have worked well to raise awareness of women's exclusion in politics and decision making and to "put the issue on the agenda" of CSOs and political parties (according to informants). The campaigns are also very important and motivating for women candidates and KA.DER members. The KA.DER media campaigns are mentioned as examples of good practices in the UNJP report (2013).

The effectiveness of the media campaigns depends however on the individuals who are running the campaigns and their skills and connections; both at the level of branches and headquarters. Until two years ago, executive board members had such competencies and connections which they volunteered, but this is no longer the case. Presently there is no media commission in KA.DER and the part time communication officer does not have the mandate or the media background to be able to interact with media agencies alone. Also the use of social media is increasingly a needed skill to reach young people and decision makers (currently held by the Ankara office).

The media campaigns have not had a specific target group or explicit aim apart from "public awareness raising". It is rather unclear how the public awareness created will be transformed into results at the policy level – again a manifestation of the lack of a clear theory of change. Campaigns have not been supported by structured and targeted lobbying at the level of the political parties and the parliament.

Research is another important and very much appreciated method used by KA.DER to underpin arguments, and forms the basis for advocacy and monitoring. The research and statistics are timely and of high quality. It is used by MPs and CSOs and academics, but it can be further strengthened. Although one of the most important methods of KA.DER, it lacks resources and strategic direction. The research is presently prepared by KA.DER Ankara, mainly by volunteer academics who take an interest in the subject. Like the media campaigns, the research does not follow any deliberate strategy or theory of change. It is also not systematically linked to lobbying and KA.DER's overall aims.

Networking and joint CSO Platforms have been used as a method to enhance advocacy efforts. Initially KA.DER played an important role to establish and lead one of these (Women's Constitutional and Legal Reform Platform) and the platform managed to make submissions on a number of laws, including the Constitution. The failure of the Constitutional Process in Turkey (due to disagreements among political parties) and the political marginalisation of the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Commission (leading to stalled legal reform processes in the area of women's rights), make it difficult to assess to what extent these efforts were effective. However one informant from the CSOs interviewed has suggested the weaknesses (and internal differences) of the women's movement (in combination with the unfavourable political context and marginalisation of CSOs) have made these efforts less effective than desired. Presently, it is mainly the Women's Coalition that is still active as a women's platform. Due to the marginalisation of CSOs (shrinking space), the issue-based platforms have lost their importance. Other pragmatic strategies are needed to influence the government.

One challenge confronting KA.DER is that the majority of the current executive board members are not aware of the platforms or informed about their work, and they have not secured the legal expertise required to engage in legislation issues. If the Constitutional Platform is reborn in the coming days, there is no capacity or preparedness.

3.3.3 Alliances and synergies

KA.DER has been a member of many CSO platforms that have worked to produce quality inputs on political and legal processes. These CSO platforms have now lost their influence, due to political marginalisation and the establishment of women's organisations that are close to the ruling party KA.DER has also cooperated with other CSOs to enhance its agenda such as Transparency International (on encouraging MPs to declare their assets) and with ACEV (in adult education programmes).

KA.DER has not established enough purposeful contacts with political parties at national and provincial levels, which has affected effectiveness. Relations with the women MPs do not appear to be systematic and based on specific targets.

There has been a lack of synergy and information exchange (and coordination of efforts) with regards to other similar/related projects: such as UN Women, support to the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Commission, Women friendly cities etc. The lack of synergy is not only the responsibility of KA.DER. The other partners could have reached out to KA.DER and also the Swedish Embassy could have done more to facilitate and encourage cooperation and information sharing between programmes funded within the same thematic area. In the next phase of the UN Women programme, cooperation with CSOs (such as KA.DER) will be essential to the success of certain components of the project.

At the local level building synergies and alliances depends on the presidents' and representatives' capacity and networks. There are some good examples of how this was done in Adana and Mersin. However, these are not sustainable or institutionalised practices.

3.3.4 Theory of Change and the results framework

The ToC is weak and not systematically linked to the results framework. Different elements of the ToC are not linked to one another to feed a common goal. The stakeholders/boundary partners are not clearly identified and the expected changes in these are not explicit. Also, the roles of branches and representations are invisible.

One of the main problems is that regardless of whether the strategies and methods used by KA.DER work well individually or not, they are not connected in a way to support each other for better outcomes. The boundary partners are not identified and the desired changes are phrased in general terms (e.g. improved framework). This means that methods are not designed to effectively influence a particular institution, group or process. Methods and activities are supply driven (what KA.DER activists want/can offer) rather than demand driven (what political parties and women candidates need to be able to address exclusion and discrimination of women). Some of the main obstacles to women's political participation have not been addressed at all – despite being mentioned in KA.DER analyses and strategy (for example the male

domination and patriarchal structures in the political parties - manifested in different ways in each party). The obstacles to women political participation have also been assessed in quite detail in the UNJP report from 2013, and could have been a very good input for KA.DER strategizing. While recognising that KA.DER cannot do everything itself, more could have been achieved with a clearer ToC and with more strategic networking with other organisations and institutions.

The ToC and the results framework developed with the help of consultants (with Swedish support) did not help KA.DER to improve its effectiveness as was hoped for. Planning and reporting continued as before, with limited use of these instruments as tools. Previous evaluations have not been used for learning.

There was also limited understanding among board members and staff of the ToC and the results framework as operational tools for KA.DER. They were seen more as formal Sida requirements. Therefore they were not used as intended.

3.4 EFFICIENCY

The efficiency of KA.DER has been severely affected by the conflicts in the executive board after the 2014 general assembly. This has led to resignations, loss of competency and hampered decision making. Some of the board members had been members of KA.DER a very short time (only a few weeks) before being elected in 2014 and still have limited knowledge about KA.DER history and purpose, the operations of branches and representations and the conditions for the Swedish

An organisation with many members needs to organise these members in branches or sections where everybody's voice can be heard and where a fixed number of representatives are elected to represent their views at a general assembly. If not, only the voices of the rich or nearby members (who can afford to come) will be heard at the general assembly. Also if there are no restrictions on representation, members with certain views may decide to send a large delegation to manipulate the assembly in their favour.

Furthermore, management of a big and complex organisation, with employed staff and a substantial budget, cannot be managed by volunteers/members. This is because members who are volunteering are offering their services at the best of their abilities, but there is no guarantee that they have sufficient qualifications, commitment or time. Volunteers may even need to be managed, so that their services are in line with the vision and mission of the organisation.

support. Disagreements in the board have negatively affected external contacts as it takes a long time to agree on press statements (and compromises become less clear and sharp), and staff has to engage in damage control when board members sometimes act without sufficient preparation and knowledge. The conflicts have made planning, management and follow up difficult and discouraged both staff and members. Staff motivation is presently low. The efficiency is also affected by the lack of professional management of the office (no head or director exists). Presently there is micro management by board members who get involved in day-to-day staff management, even very minor issues such as the off-days of the personnel. They also give conflicting information and assignments to staff. Apart from the management problems, as noted above there are also a lack of key competencies in the area of

media communications and law. KA.DER has continued to count on contributions from volunteering activists in these areas – which were not as forthcoming in the recent period as before. KA.DER needs to secure the appropriate competencies by having sufficiently qualified staff in these areas and perhaps by introducing some minimum requirements on board members (e.g. a board member must bring a particular competency or connections to networks relevant to KA.DER mission). KA.DER's bylaws are not appropriate for a large national membership organisation, which can no longer work with principles of direct democracy (inviting 900 members for general assemblies) or be managed by the volunteers in its executive board. These two vital issues do not seem to be understood by either the present or the past executive board members in KA.DER (refer to explanatory box).

Inefficiency of the organisation has been further exacerbated by the fact that the planning tools (ToC and results framework) have weaknesses and were not used for guidance. There has been limited opportunity for participatory planning, learning and sharing and development of new ideas within KA.DER. Trainings for staff have been ad hoc and only in 2015, two staff members were able to attend RBM training (funded by the Embassy). This was not followed by on the job support to put the new knowledge into practice. This is particularly problematic when board members keep changing and staff have no mandates to take own initiatives.

The fact that the competencies and programmes of the Ankara branch have not benefitted others is clearly inefficient. The non-communication between Ankara and the head office is seriously affecting efficiency. While Ankara branch is struggling to find funding for important projects (e.g. monitoring of local governments) funding from the Swedish Embassy has remained unspent in the bank account. Adana's successful initiatives to ensure equal distance and Mersin's work with women friendly cities were also not shared with other branches purposefully as good examples that could be replicated.⁵²

Many activities have not been implemented as planned. Only 53% of the budget was spent in 2013/14 and only 68% of budget 2014/15. Even before 2013, Sida funds were not spent as budgeted. KA.DER now has substantial balance in its bank account. At the beginning of 2015 the Sida Balance was almost 1.2 million TL (approx. 388,600 EUR).

We conclude that much more could have been achieved with a functional governance structure, a more efficient organisation and a clear and commonly agreed ToC.

⁵² We understand that KA.DER reports on the activities of branches within the organization in news bulletins, which is then shared with the branches and members. However "sharing" here has been used to suggest more than just a communication activity but a purposeful sharing activity in a way that promotes learning in the organization and multiplication of good examples, one that is undertaken in the context of management and planning.

3.5 RELEVANCE

The programme is highly relevant to the situation of women in Turkey. There is lack of women's influence in decision-making at all levels. The programme is also relevant to Turkish, EU and Swedish policy on gender equality and commitments to international conventions (e.g. CEDAW, Istanbul convention). It is relevant to the CSO context in Turkey: few women's organisations focus on political participation and few CSOs are active at the national level.

The needs assessment undertaken by UN Women/KEFEK summarised the most important support areas expressed by women political candidates as follows:

- To run campaigns in [respective] electorate regions to increase awareness of women with regards to importance of women's participation in politics;
- To become role models for women who are interested in politics via use of the media;
- To advocate in their own parties for an increase in women's candidacy in electable positions (including those in rural areas);
- To demand from political parties to bring into fold more women at the local level;
- To examine the Election Law from the perspective of gender equality;
- To advocate that the government strengthens women at the local level so as to adopt and implement a bottom-up approach to women's empowerment;
- To advocate for a 2013-2023 action plan to reach the goal of gender equality in politics.

The KA.DER programme has attempted to address some of these areas, but the needs assessment has not been used to inform strategies and methods in a systematic manner, which has reduced both relevance and effectiveness of the programme.

KA.DER has also missed some of the most obvious obstacles to women's political participation, such as male dominated practices in political parties, in government administrations and in families. KA.DER is not targeting men, government administrations and political parties with any deliberate strategies. Also the methods do not consider that different political parties and women have different needs and challenges when it comes to enhancing participation of women (which could differ even across geographic areas). The approaches mostly focus on candidates to political positions and are not so relevant to women at grassroots levels who have not yet considered candidacy. There is for example no "training of trainers" component and political schools have a standard format.

Furthermore, the CHP dominance in the KA.DER executive board makes the organisation less relevant, as members of other political parties may feel alienated. AK Party representatives have already opted out of many meetings at national and local levels.

KA.DER has not managed to mitigate the risks and adjust to contextual challenges. The risk analysis matrix has not been used (it seems to be produced mainly for Sida). KA.DER did not have a clear risk strategy in place for responding to the

marginalization of CSOs by government and the creation of competing organisations initiated by persons close to the ruling party, although these risks were identified in the risk analysis. Furthermore, internal risks (overdependence on volunteering activists and poor institutionalisation of capacity) have also materialised and these were not mitigated.

We conclude that the KA.DER programme is highly relevant in the Turkish democratisation process and the EU accession perspective, but it could be even more relevant if the strategic approaches were reviewed and the external and internal risks mitigated.

3.6 SUSTAINABILITY

The sustainability of some programme outcomes is verified. The issue of women's political participation is on the agenda to stay. Other organisations are now working with this issue from various angles, (including KADEM). Women who have participated in the political schools continue to be empowered and pursue their careers.

There are also some encouraging elements of financial sustainability such as:

- In-kind contributions from private companies (mainly for the media campaign) are contributing to sustainability. However, the current board members as of November 2015 have decided to opt for a media agency that does not provide services pro bono, a contract of around 30,000 EUR.
- Contributions of skills and time by members nationally and locally (volunteering) are contributing to sustainability.
- Some branches have successfully raised funds for their programmes, especially the Ankara branch. There is potential to support and coordinate such efforts.
- Some branches have successful mobilisation of personal and municipal networks for in-kind contributions to sustain programmes, such as in Adana.
- Membership fees also contribute to the finances. However, only around 50% of members pay their fees and there is no consensus on a membership policy. Presently new members are not systematically recruited.

KA.DER continues to depend on the Swedish Embassy as the only donor (which covers almost all costs of the operations and programmes) and has not secured any new funding sources during the period of review. Meanwhile, it has not been able to spend the already disbursed funding from the Embassy.

We conclude that there is potential for financial sustainability if the existing foundation is developed and more systematically used and managed. However, the recent developments with internal leadership problems and difficulties with equal distance to political parties reduce the credibility of the organisation. This might lead to a situation where in-kind support and financial contributions may no longer be forthcoming (including Swedish funding). The major challenges for KA.DER are:

- The limited institutional capacity and the dependence on a few

activists/volunteers both nationally and in branches. This makes KA.DER vulnerable and puts the sustainability of the organisation at high risk.

- Due to the present governance crisis (and misuse of the e-mail group), the organisational credibility is at risk. The good reputation may be lost, leading to reduced funding.
- The leaders of KA.DER do not have a common vision for the future of the organisation and its role, and lack a convincing theory of change.

3.7 CROSS CUTTING ISSUES

In terms of **non-discrimination** KA.DER has not made any deliberate efforts to include marginalised women such as rural women, Kurdish women, young women, women with disabilities and LBT women. There is no analysis or discourse around exclusion or discrimination in any documents or in actions taken (except in the Ankara branch where Kurdish and LBT women seem to be targeted). There might also be a fear to take deliberate efforts to reach minority groups (especially ethnic minorities) as this could be seen as a too risky political move.

It is not recognised that marginalised groups need extra support to become included and empowered. KA.DER national programmes are mostly targeting already well-established Turkish women in urban settings in the Western part of the country. As can be seen in the statistical analyses, participation of women at the lower levels of administration and in rural areas is almost non-existent. There are no statistical analyses or research that reflects the situation of women from marginalised groups in decision making.

In terms of **democratic principles**, KA.DER has not managed to ensure proper procedures and mitigate misuse of its institutional system. Elections in branches are not monitored, and in some places they are not undertaken (Ankara). Elections at national level are open to all 898 members (out of which 446 were eligible to vote having paid their membership fees), but for practical reasons mainly the members who are based in Istanbul are able to attend. In the latest election more than 50% of the delegates came from one branch and they elected their own representatives into the executive board. These members represented only around 16% of the total members. There are no clauses in the KA.DER bylaws to prevent such undemocratic interventions by branches from being repeated again in the future.

Decision making is not **participatory**, but centralised to a few individuals in the executive board. The establishment of an advisory board has provided opportunities for branch presidents and representatives to inform and to be informed, but not to influence and participate in the actual decision-making. Also at the level of branches and representations, participation is often limited to the president and her circle of friends.

KA.DER has been **accountable and transparent** to the Swedish Embassy and provided timely financial and narrative reports as agreed. The reports have been activity based rather than results based, but this is also due to the limitations of the results framework. There has been limited feedback on the reports by the Embassy,

making these documents less useful as tools for learning and development. The reports to donors have however not been translated into Turkish, which limits the accessibility for members. In general, members and leaders in KA.DER do not know the conditions and purpose of the Swedish support.

The KA.DER web-pages (both the one administrated by Ankara and the one administrated by the head office)⁵³ are transparently providing information on reports and press statements, both in Turkish and in English.

We conclude that KA.DER has worked well in terms of upward accountability, but less so in terms of downward accountability. Non-discrimination and participation are areas that need attention.

⁵³ Ka.der head office website: <http://www.ka-der.org.tr/tr-TR>, Ka.der Ankara Branch website: <http://www.kaderankara.org.tr>

4 Conclusions and lessons learnt

4.1 CONCLUSIONS

4.1.1 General

KA.DER activities have been formed around the ideas of feminist activists and academics who wanted to create a strong voice for gender equality and women's political participation in Turkey. KA.DER has managed to achieve visibility for its issues through high quality media campaigns and participation in CSO platforms, the public debate and social media. KA.DER is one of the most well-known women's rights organisations in Turkey and the only organisation focussing entirely on women's political participation. Women who have participated in KA.DER political schools generally have increased their self-confidence and their knowledge of election procedures and gender equality issues. Some have managed to become elected or appointed to leadership positions in their parties. The political schools have been one of the few arenas where women from different parties have been able to meet.

However, the number of women in political positions at national and local levels has not increased as hoped for. Nationally it has increased from 14.3% to 14.9% but this is mainly due to the entrance of HDP into the parliament. In local government political bodies, the situation remains bleak with less than 2 % women. Only women city councillors have seen an increase from 4% to around 11%. Political parties, except for HDP, have not implemented any gender equality measures in practice, despite some promises. Also, there has been no progress in terms of legislative reforms. During the period of review, focus has rather been on stopping legislations and policies that are detrimental for gender equality. KA.DER has not held a leading role in these efforts since 2014.

It can be concluded that Kader only reached the expected outcomes to a small extent. The effectiveness and efficiency of the programme has been limited. This was mainly due to:

1. Unfavourable contextual developments
2. Gaps in its strategic approaches and limited learning and revision of approaches
3. Management and governance problems

Approaches need to be revised in light of lessons learnt in this evaluation. There is a need to consider emerging contextual opportunities, needs of women candidates and potential candidates, obstacles to women's participation and capacities of Kader and its branches and representations.

4.1.2 Strategic approaches

The approaches used to increase the number of women in political decision making and to change the legislative framework have remained the same over the years and have not been critically reviewed in terms of effectiveness and in terms of the changing context. The focus has remained on:

- Political schools (format unchanged)
- Research to provide monitoring information and to support advocacy
- Participation in national women platforms for joint advocacy and making submissions to the Parliamentary Equal Opportunities Commissions
- Media campaigns

When planning its approaches KA.DER has not sufficiently taken into consideration:

- Obstacles to women's political participation and leadership appointments
- The functioning of each political party and the needs of candidates, potential candidates and leaders in these parties at various levels
- The possibility of supporting cross party women commissions or caucuses at various levels and the possibilities of strategic partnerships with other women's organisations and programmes to enhance efforts
- Contextual developments in terms of political polarisation and marginalisation of CSOs, requiring exceptional measures to keep equal distance to all political parties and finding alternative ways of influencing decision makers.
- The need for prioritisation in relation to both what is needed and what is a realistic ambition level for the short- to medium-term

Because of this lack of consideration, the KA.DER ToC and the results framework have limitations. Furthermore, these instruments have not been used to guide operations and there is no ownership of these instruments. The 2011 evaluation recommendations on political schools and campaigns have only partly been addressed. There was no KA.DER management response and no Embassy comments on the evaluation. It was unknown to most key officials in KA.DER.

It was noted that many of the negative contextual developments were in fact included in KA.DERs risk analysis matrix, but the mitigation measures were not concrete and the risk analysis was not seen as a management tool.

4.1.3 Governance and management

The evaluation also concludes that KA.DER has not managed to organise efficiently. KA.DER was formed as an activist organisation based on voluntary work of its members. This has been one of the strengths of KA.DER and is still a key element. As KA.DER expanded its operations it had to institutionalise, employ staff and establish systems and structures for its governance and operations. This process has not been systematic and is not yet successful. The evaluation carried out in 2011 on KA.DER organisational capacity has only partly been taken into consideration. The Embassy support to capacity building which was provided after the evaluation focussed on strategic planning and RBM, but not on underlying governance and institutionalisation issues.

Board members are still carrying out day to day management duties, supervision of staff and detailed decision making (in weekly meetings). There is presently no professional management of the head office. Staff report to a variety of officials with different but overlapping responsibilities. Staff members are underutilised and dis-empowered. Furthermore the board functioning has been hampered by internal conflicts since the March 2014 elections. Eight board members have resigned. In 2013/14 KA.DER was able to use only 53% of its budget and in 2014/15 only 68%.

Furthermore, there is no plan for KA.DER organisational development and future role. Presently two branches make up almost 50% of the membership. Each of the visited branches/representations had developed different approaches and a one party domination (different party in each place) often influenced by the party affiliation of the chairwomen. The KA.DER Ankara branch presently operates as a separate CSO with a self-appointed board consisting of a group of friends and good colleagues (it has not been elected at a general assembly). It is strategically placed and does excellent work, but without communication with the head office. Learning and sharing within KA.DER is limited.

The governance problems have led to blurred responsibilities between the board and the staff, conflicts within the board and to difficulties in keeping equal distance to political parties. Decision making in KA.DER is severely hampered. The lack of control of its e-mail groups has led to resignations of members. The present board is perceived by many KA.DER members to be politically biased (towards CHP) and lacking sufficient experience in the gender equality field. An emergency General Assembly has been called for December 6, 2015.

The weaknesses in organisational capacity can be summarised as

- Bylaws that are not suitable to govern a complex membership organisation like KA.DER (please refer to the Efficiency chapter for more details)
- Division of responsibilities between the governance and the executive functions is muddled and creates inefficiency
- Lack of professional management and limited understanding of existing strategic plans and frameworks
- Difficulties to ensure equal distance to political parties
- Lack of a common vision on the future role and functioning of the organisation, no membership policy

It can be concluded that governance and management systems of KA.DER needs substantial revision and development to become effective in implementing the vision, mission and principles of the organisation. KA.DER needs to be clear if it wants to expand its membership and its branches to reach out to women and political party administrations all provinces (or at least have a better geographic coverage) or to be a centrally placed advocacy organisation in support of MPs and national level party structures.

4.2 LESSONS LEARNT

Lessons learnt are findings that have a bearing beyond the evaluated programme and may be of interest to others. This evaluation provides some important general lessons:

Institutionalisation of activist organisations

CSOs that are started by committed activists who contribute their knowledge, skills, networks and time to fight for change often struggle to transform the organisations into an institution with formalised structures and systems. Such structures and systems are required when organisations want to administrate big donor funded programmes and/or lead complex and big democratic organisations with a membership. At the same time the formalisations brings a risk of loss of the initial energy and commitment, which the founding members brought. Democratic membership organisations need continuous management and communication with the constituency to keep them on board as active participants. Democracy can be misused by people who have power (using their knowledge, networks or money to get privileges).

An appropriate division of responsibilities between governance and executive functions is crucial for the functioning of a CSO that aspires to manage larger programmes. Division of responsibilities between these functions are needed also in feminist organisations where hierarchies are often seen as male constructions that should be avoided. It is possible to have clear roles and responsibilities of various functions and positions and still organise work in groups that share tasks according to the abilities and time available of each individual.

Risk management and shrinking space for civil society

Risk management is not only about analysing risks and filling in a risk matrix. It requires that the organisation has ability to reflect and learn, flexibility to change approaches (not completely locked in by results frameworks and donor agreements) and quick and brave decision making. Risk management should be part of the annual dialogue between donors and grantees.

Some risks are really significant for the possibility to achieve change (e.g. exclusion of CSOs from dialogue and repressive governments), but there are often alternative approaches that can be taken to mitigate these risks (e.g. working through other agents that may have influence and using non-confrontational methods). The balance between idealism and pragmatism is however difficult for CSOs, especially if decision makers are considered oppressive, un-democratic or representing an opposite political viewpoint. To what extent should CSOs cooperate with such governments, refrain from advocacy and instead support them to take some steps ahead in terms of important reforms? When is cooperation right and when is it wrong?

The role of donors in enhancing change

Democracy and gender equality are part of a value base that affects practices from family level to national political levels. Sustainable changes in such values cannot be achieved unless there is both a bottom-up process (focussing on norms, practices and relationships in daily life between women and men and girls and boys) and top-down

process (conducive legislation and affirmative policy action). While it may not be realistic for one organisation to manage both approaches, it is important for actors to link up with partners and processes that can work from the other angle. Donors could facilitate such holistic approaches by combining support to various actors strategically and by facilitating synergies.

Donors have an important role to play to support organisational development of emerging civil society movements and to facilitate synergies between various initiatives (donors often have a sectorial overview or portfolio). Donors need to ensure that there is feedback on reports and evaluations as this is an essential part of learning for grantees. Donors often support thematic or sector programmes where various grantees play a role (sometimes overlapping). Facilitation of networking and synergies between these would enhance effectiveness.

5 Recommendations

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS TO KA.DER

KA.DER is working in an increasingly difficult context and has not managed to mitigate external risks that have materialised. At the same time the organisation is facing serious problems of governance, management and programming. KA.DER has responsibilities towards its members and donors to ensure that the vision, mission and values are guiding operations and that agreed programmes are implemented effectively and efficiently. This requires professional staff and motivated volunteers that can be held accountable for delivery of agreed outputs and systems that can ensure that guidance, support, communication and monitoring of branches and representations (refer to the Handbook on NGO governance cited above).

We recommend that KA.DER should immediately close its e-mail group (as it creates serious problems) and hire an organisational development expert/coach that can assist the KA.DER board to undertake the following process:

1. *Urgently resolve the conflicts in the board and address the weaknesses in its governance systems including:*
 - a) Arrange a general assembly that is representative of all members to elect a board which is politically unbiased and has experience of work with women's rights and gender equality.⁵⁴
 - b) Undertake a consultation process⁵⁵ to discuss and agree on the future direction of KA.DER as an organisation. Should it expand the number of branches to cover more provinces, actively seek to recruit more members and reaching women at the lower administrative levels? Should it be a smaller advocacy organisation with offices in only Istanbul and Ankara? Could there be a way to combine these two alternatives?
 - c) Revise the bylaws to suit the agreed direction. A national membership organisation with branches would require a representative democracy system, a professionally run office and a board that focuses on policy level

⁵⁴ We are informed during the writing of this report that such an assembly is called for December 6, 2015.

⁵⁵ The consultations could involve the KA.DER branches and representations, political parties, other women organisations, potential donors such as UN Women, EU and Sida.

issues and oversight. The revised bylaws also need to ensure commitment to international agreements (in particular to CEDAW), equal distance to political parties and functional internal communication and cooperation systems.

2. *Address the existing weaknesses and gaps in strategies and approaches. This includes:*

- a) More systematically base the programme interventions on an analysis of obstacles to women's political participation (in various political parties and in various groups of women), existing needs assessments and use evaluations to learn and adjust approaches. This includes a stronger focus on men and male domination in parties.
- b) Develop a Theory of Change based on this analysis and a results framework to go with it; identifying outcomes in terms of changes in behaviour, practices policies of clearly identified stakeholders/boundary partners.
- c) Make references to the CEDAW in vision and mission statements and proactively ensure equal distance to all political parties and make deliberate efforts to include all.
- d) Work more closely with political party administrations and women branches nationally and in provinces. Having contact details to women in key positions in each party is a precondition for such close relationships.
- e) Review and redesign political schools, both in terms of timing but also in terms of methods, organisation, follow up support, multiplication effects etc. This may include undertaking a participatory needs assessment that would involve and integrate the views and needs of all relevant stakeholders.
- f) Establish more contacts with other similar projects and programmes to seek synergies and better outreach.

3. *Strengthen the organisational capacity, especially:*

- a) Ensure that the organisation has access to a professional management team with a managing director/chief executive and access to key competencies in law, media communication, financial management, results based management and rights based approach, risk mitigation and resource mobilisation. Thematic commissions could be established (with a staff member as the coordinator) to engage volunteers in the work, especially in the areas of media communication and legal reform.
- b) Defining and making clear the roles of staff and volunteer members respectively, ensuring that board members take a policy level responsibility only. When involved in commissions or actual work board members and other volunteers should be given Terms of Reference in writing.
- c) Develop a membership policy and invest more in institution building (based on the decision made regarding the future structure of KA.DER – as stated in recommendation 1b), especially focussing on developing better cooperation and team work between Ankara and Istanbul offices.

- d) Ensure that there are continuous updates of staff and board members in the understanding of and practical use of rights based approaches, ToC and results frameworks as well as internal and external risk mitigation.
- e) Ensure transparency and accountability towards both donors and members by translating applications, annual reports and evaluation reports (or summaries) into Turkish so as to make findings accessible to members and partners. Alternately the reports can be prepared in Turkish, the working language of KA.DER, and then translated into English for the donors.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE EMBASSY

4. *The Embassy should support KA.DER to make the necessary changes in its governance, management and programming and make such reforms conditional for continued support and for use of the accumulated Swedish funding presently sitting in the bank. The Swedish support should specifically be directed to cover the costs of a local expert to coach KA.DER through a reform and reconciliation process. The conditions for continued support should be:*
 - Conflicts that exist in the board are resolved and a board that is representative of all members and political parties (with substantial experience of women's rights and gender equality) is elected at the next general assembly.
 - The future direction for the organisation is agreed on and a convincing theory of change is presented along with a results framework (the results framework must be specific in identifying the boundary partners and the expected changes in these).
 - Revised bylaws are adopted that are practical, democratic and adapted to the type of organisation that KA.DER wants to become.
 - A professional management team with a managing director/chief executive are hired. Key competencies of the team should include law, media communication, financial management and results based management.
 - A concrete strategy with deliberate measures for keeping equal distance to political parties in the governance of the organisation and in programmes is adopted and implemented.
 - The risk analysis matrix covers both internal and internal risks and has realistic and practical mitigation measures that are understood by KA.DER and reflected in operational plans.
5. *The Embassy should also reflect on its role as partner and donor to KA.DER and consider the following for the future relationship:*
 - Require management response from KA.DER on evaluations and follow up actions.
 - Give more detailed feedback on KA.DER annual financial and narrative

reports.

- Facilitate synergies with other Swedish funded programmes e.g. Women Friendly Cities, UN Women programme.
 - Provide specific funding for translations of evaluations and annual reports into Turkish (as part of the annual budget allocation).
6. *The Embassy should ensure that this evaluation is translated into Turkish for all KA.DER members to understand. Also, the Embassy could consider accepting that KA.DER project reports in the future be prepared in Turkish (also for efficiency purposes, considering that Turkish is the working language of the office and not all staff are equally fluent in English) and translated into English for the use by the Embassy and the international community.*

6 Annexes

ANNEX 1 - LIST OF PERSONS/ORGANISATIONS MET

#	NAME	POSITION	INSTITUTION	CITY
SWEDISH EMBASSY				
1	Annika Paolo	Former Head of Section	Embassy of Sweden	Ankara (now Stockholm)
2	Selin Yaşamış	National Programme Officer	Embassy of Sweden	Ankara
KA.DER MEMBERS & STAFF				
3	Gönül Karahanoğlu	Chairwoman/President (2014 -)	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
4	Sirma Evcan	Programme Supervisor	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
5	Çiğdem Aydın	Former Chairwoman (2010-2014)	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
6	Ezgi Emre	Project Coordinator	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
7	Tulin Semayis	General Coordinator	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
8	Hande Akkaş	PR & Social Media	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
9	Ayşen Akgül	Office Administration	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
10	İnci Yalçın	Finance Coordinator	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
11	Saadet Garan	Executive Board Member	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
12	Ayşe Kansak	Executive Board Member	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
13	Semiha Öztürk	Former Executive Board Member	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul
14	Yasemin Bektaş	Former (Reserve) Executive Board Member	KA.DER, Istanbul Headquarters	İstanbul, phone interview
15	Hatice Kapusuz	Head of Ankara Branch	KA.DER, Ankara Branch	Ankara
16	Nilay Sey	Member of Ankara Branch Executive Board	KA.DER, Ankara Branch	Ankara
17	Ebru Cerit	Staff	KA.DER, Ankara Branch	Ankara
18	Hanife Küçükylmaz	Head of Adana Branch	KA.DER, Adana Branch	Adana
19	Elife Müftüoğlu	Member of Adana Branch Executive Board	KA.DER, Adana Branch	Adana
20	İlksen Dinçer	Former Mersin Representative	KA.DER, Mersin Representation	Mersin
ISTANBUL NGOS AND PARTNERS				

21	Oya Eraslan	Chairwoman	Transparency Turkey / Open Coalition Platform	İstanbul
22	Damla Cihangir Tetik	Project Coordinator	Transparency Turkey / Open Coalition Platform	İstanbul
23	Özlem Zıngıl	General Coordinator	Transparency Turkey / Open Coalition Platform	İstanbul
24	Hilal Özüygun Kuşçul	Deputy General Manager	Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV)	İstanbul
25	Sare Aydın Yılmaz	Chairwoman	KADEM	İstanbul
26	Sezen Güngör	Executive Board Member	KADEM	İstanbul
27	İdil Seda Ak	Chairwoman	Disabled Women Association	İstanbul
28	Didem Tekeli	Project Coordinator	Human Rights in Mental Health Initiative	İstanbul
29	Serap Güre		Women's Labor and Initiative Platform (KEIG)	e-mail interview
30	Zelal Ayman	Coordinator	WWHR	e-mail interview
31	Mehtap Tatar	Programme Specialist	UN Women	Skype
32	Tevfik Başak Ersen	Secretary General (KA.DER Member)	TUSEV	İstanbul, phone interview
33	Handan Çağlayan	Academic, Trainer at KA.DER Political Schools	Independent	Ankara
ANKARA PARTNERS & POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTATIVES				
34	Sema Kılıçer	Political Officer for Human Rights	Delegation of European Union to Turkey	Ankara
35	Nalan Özdemir	Gender Focal Point	Delegation of European Union to Turkey	Ankara
36	Eser Canalıoğlu Çınar	Sector Manager for Democratisation and Civil Society	Delegation of European Union to Turkey	Ankara
37	Zühal Sirkecioğlu Dönmez	President of Ankara Women's Branch	CHP	Ankara
38	Gülsun Yelken	Secretary of Education of Ankara Women's Branch	CHP	Ankara
39	Aylin Nazlıaka	Ankara MP	CHP	Ankara
40	Çınar Özer	Advisor to Aylin Nazlıaka	CHP	Ankara
41	Ruhsar Demirel	Eskişehir MP, Deputy President (Women & Family affairs)	MHP	
ADANA PARTY REPRESENTATIVES				
42	Elif Doğan Türkmen	Adana MP	CHP	Adana
43	Ayla Gül Emrahoğlu	MP Candidate for Adana; Former President of Adana Women's Branch	MHP	Adana
44	Dudu Yaşar	President of Adana Women's	MHP	Adana

		Branch		
45	Sevil Can	President of Adana Women's Branch	AK Party	Adana
46	Burcu Şevkin Yüksekbaş	President of Adana Women's Branch	CHP	Adana
47	Gülseren Turan	Co-president of Adana Provincial Party Administration	HDP	Adana
MERSIN PARTY REPRESENTATIVES				
48	Yüksel Mutlu	Co-mayor of Akdeniz District Municipality	HDP	Mersin
49	Pakize Güler	President of Mersin Women's Branch	CHP	Mersin

ANNEX 2 - INCEPTION REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

This Inception Report aims to further elaborate on the approach set out in Indevelop's proposal for the “the “Evaluation of support to increase the number of women with gender awareness who are appointed or elected in all decision making processes programme” implemented by Ka.der. The purpose of this document is to reflect on the evaluation questions and scope provided in the Terms of Reference (ToR), elaborate the methodology, devise a realistic work plan and serve as a tool for the future management of the evaluation process.

The report has been prepared based on a preliminary review of documents – in particular the project documents, annual reports, baselines, strategies, reviews and previous evaluation. It has also taken into account the suggestions and advice provided in the dialogue with Ka.der and the Embassy of Sweden during the inception phase. During these deliberations it was also agreed to postpone the evaluation by one month. A revised time table is attached in annex 5. The report consists of 6 chapters. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the assignment at hand. Chapter 3 summarises the preliminary desk review. Chapter 4 proposes the focus and a set of revised evaluation questions. Chapter 5 elaborates on the methodological approach and discusses evaluation techniques that the Team intends to employ. The final chapter contains the team's work plan.

Annex 1 contains the evaluation matrix tool to be applied by the Team.

2. THE ASSIGNMENT

The objectives of the evaluation as defined by the ToR are

- to assess the effectiveness (at an outcome level) and efficiency of the project
- to summarize obtained results in relation to the Results Framework and contain an analysis of any deviations

We have understood that the “programme” or “project” referred to is in fact the Swedish support towards the strategic plan of Ka.der. As Ka.der had very few other

funding sources during the period of review (only membership fees and some small donations) the Swedish support became decisive for the priorities and strategies taken. This means that the evaluation needs to look at the entire strategic plan and its theory of change and as well as the results framework (annex 2).

The Results Framework of Ka.der has the following long-term objective:

“A country where gender discrimination does not exist and gender equality is experienced in every sphere of life.”

To achieve this objective, Ka.der focuses on the medium term objective:

“Increased number of women with gender equality awareness (in all decision making processes) are appointed or elected.”

The following four outcomes are expected to contribute to this situation:

1. Increased participation of women in national and local politics.
2. A more favourable legal and policy framework, including for gender equality and women’s perspective is formed in Turkey.
3. KA.DER’s organizational structure is strengthened in terms of financial management, communication and reporting by the end of 2015.
4. KA.DER is a more transparent and democratic organisation through its involvement of members and branch offices by end of 2015.

On the other hand, Ka.der’s Theory of Change, which is defined in the Strategic Plan, introduces a differently formulated overall aim and mission. In the Theory of Change the aim of Ka.der is defined as:

“Equal representation of women and men in all fields of life and especially equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions.”

The mission, which is similar to the medium term objective in the results framework, is defined as:

“An increased number of women with gender equality awareness are appointed or elected, and are enabled and motivated to promote gender equality in decision-making processes.”

The Theory Of Change specifies five strategic pillars that must be built to achieve this mission (different from the four outcomes in the results framework), namely:

1. Empowering women (whether they are political candidates or not) and preparing them for their candidature through its political schools .
2. Transforming the male dominated political parties to women friendly parties through direct lobby, advocacy and training.
3. Pressurising political parties to include women candidates on their election lists, as well as to make the public aware of gender equality.
4. Influencing the legislative framework through lobbying and advocacy efforts, submitting proposals and amendments on the constitution, election laws, and other acts through committees, platforms and in

- direct meetings with politicians and MPs.
5. Influencing the general public through public awareness campaigns, media appearances, and by the extensive press coverage of gender equality in politics during elections.

In the section Understanding the Theory of Change below, we have attempted to merge and structure the two approaches into a logical Theory of Change that we can use as a basis for the evaluation. On a general level we expect to measure outcomes in terms of:

- The achievements and improvements in capacities and working methods among Ka.der boundary partners (such as women candidates for the 2014 and 2015 elections, mayors, provincial and city council members, Members of the Parliament (MPs), Women Constitutional Platform, other women advocacy platforms, women's NGOs, the trainers pool and the political parties)
- The capacities, management, communication, transparency and democracy of Ka.der itself as an organisation (in this way the sustainability question will be indirectly addressed).

3. INITIAL DESK REVIEW

3.1 CONTEXT TRENDS

Turkey became a “candidate” country for European Union (EU) accession in 1999, and formal negotiations on EU membership began in 2005. These negotiations have been accompanied by democratic and economic reform processes, which also have included attempts to address gender inequality in the country.

In terms of key legislation, Turkey has ratified major international human rights conventions including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In 2010, the Constitution was reviewed and amended from a gender and human rights perspective. The principle of equality between women and men is recognised in various laws (such as civil code and penal code), and has been incorporated in regulations, circulars and development plans.

The last National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008-2013) in particular, has focused on mainstreaming gender equality in economic, social, and political realms, including participation of women in the power and decision-making processes. The plan identified a comprehensive set of actions and responsible agencies, however it was also criticized for failing to define results to be achieved, and thus making monitoring of results less powerful.

The two key public institutions that are responsible for leading Turkey's gender policies are the Parliamentary Committee for Equality of Opportunity between Women and Men (Equal Opportunities Committee, EOC/KEFEK) on the legislative side, and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies on the executive side. The Equal Opportunities Committee was established in 2009. In its website, the areas of responsibility of the commission are described as “protecting and improving women's rights and

promoting equality between women and men.” Its main competencies are explained as debating bills, submitting reports, and considering applications claiming a violation of the equality between women and men and/or a discrimination based on gender. The Committee also ensures the compatibility of Turkish legislation with Turkey’s international commitments such as CEDAW. Finally, it serves as the main contact body in the Parliament for women’s NGOs, particularly with regards to proposals on legislative changes; it also acts as the main communications channel between the women’s platforms and the Parliament.

In 2011, the State Ministry Responsible for Women and Family that used to be responsible for gender affairs, was transformed into and re-established as the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (MoFSP). The Ministry has the leadership on gender issues, and more specifically on integrating aspects on the status of women in state policies and programs. Meanwhile, the transformation has also meant that all matters of social policy, and not only women and family issues, now fall under its auspices.

The General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM), which was previously affiliated with Prime Ministry, is now housed by the MoFSP and continues to be the focal point for promoting gender equality for more than 20 years.

In addition to these public bodies there are several women’s NGOs and platforms, which are actively working in the area of gender equality policy.

Since 2011, UN Women has also worked on women’s political participation and leadership in Turkey together with the EOC/KEFEK in the Turkish Grand National Assembly and in partnership with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). This work resulted in the review of 31 fundamental Turkish legislations and a gender self-assessment of the Assembly, only the fifth such exercise in the world. In 2015, a new partnership programme between UN Women, IPU and EOC/KEFEK was initiated, with funding from Sweden, to advance gender equality and women’s leadership and participation in politics in Turkey. The project aims at ensuring that legal frameworks and policies are in place and properly implemented to advance women’s participation in decision-making. The project will also establish formal dialogue between the bodies like the Parliamentary Committee and civil society organizations to ensure that gender equality advocates can influence these policies at an early stage. UN Women and the EOC/KEFEK will also organize capacity-building exercises with the women MPs in Parliament. The EOC will lead the project, which will continue for three years. Thus, this project is funded in parallel to the Ka.der support.

Despite positive developments and improvements, actual progress toward gender equality seems to have been slow. According to the World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Turkey ranks 125 out of 142 countries, fifth to the bottom in the category of upper-middle income countries. It is understood that notwithstanding the improvements in the domain of public policy in the recent years (with regards to equity in educational and health sectors), significant and persisting gender inequalities are still observed with regards to economic participation and political empower-

ment of women.

Turkey has been one of the first countries in Europe to grant universal suffrage for women in the 1930s, and the current legal framework does not contain any clauses that would restrict women's political rights. Nevertheless, despite legal basis for gender equality, in practice, women's representation in public decision-making has been very limited at both the national and the local levels (also see Section 3.2 below for statistics) - suggesting that additional measures and reforms in relevant social, economic, political and legislative areas are required to ensure equal representation and empowerment of women. For example, while the legislation on political rights do not contain any discriminatory clauses, they also do not introduce positive discriminatory measures and affirmative action to ensure gender equality, such as gender quota.

Similarly, the practices of the political parties also reinforce gender disparity in representation. According to UN Women, "Compared with other countries in region, Turkey has no specific temporary special measures for increasing women's political participation. It is entirely up to the will of the political parties to nominate women candidates." Among the four main political parties that made it to the Parliament in the 2015 elections, only HDP has an actively implemented gender quota in place.

Recent studies examining parties' election manifestos for 2015 elections have also noted that except for HDP, the other main parties do not have comprehensive perspectives regarding a transformation of relations between men and women. The AK Party and MHP in particular are criticized for their emphasis on the place of women in the family, and CHP is criticized for not having a comprehensive gender equality perspective (Please also see Section 3.2).

In addition to cultural and structural challenges associated with advancing women's rights and gender equality, the social-political context seems to be the most restraining, particularly in the last 5 years. Statements by senior government officials that women and men are not equal due to biological and social differences, and their emphases on women's role as mothers, have been severely criticised by women's NGOs, but nevertheless seem to have shaped policies and actions (or their lack of it). Two cases in point are the formation and naming of the two key public bodies responsible for gender equality mentioned above. Initially the Parliamentary Committee was to be called "Equality Committee," but the name was changed at the outset to "Equal Opportunities Committee" by the ruling party votes;" while the word "woman" was omitted from the name of the restructured MoFSP. Both these developments have drawn intense criticism from the women's NGOs.

Meanwhile, the struggle for rights between women's NGOs and the late government has taken a new shape from 2013 onwards with the establishment of a new wave of more conservative women's NGOs that are ideologically closer to the governments' perspective, which has also led to the birth of the gender equality vs. gender justice debate. Accordingly this new wave of women's NGOs criticize the women's movement's (feminists') gender equality perspective, arguing that this concept does

not take into consideration the differences in natural and social roles of men and women (such as with respect to motherhood) and therefore are more harmful for women in the longer term. Feminists on the other hand draw attention to the fact differences and equality and not mutually exclusive as portrayed by the conservative movement, and criticize the new NGOs for limiting women's rights advocacy to gender-accommodating sphere and curtail its progress, as desired by the late government. This also affects the funding prospects of feminist NGOs that lose out on government core funding.

3.2 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The desk review shows that there is quite substantial statistical monitoring of the number of women in decision making positions. It shows that the number of women in some of these fora has indeed increased over time, while others have not moved much. National level parliament developments are as follows (preliminary figures for 2015 election):

Election Year	MPs in Parliament	Women MPs	Percentage of Women (%)
1935	395	18	4.6
1943	435	16	3.7
1950	487	3	0.6
1957	610	8	1.3
1965	450	8	1.8
1973	450	6	1.3
1991	450	8	1.8
1999	550	22	4.2
2002	550	24	4.4
2007	550	50	9.1
2011	550	79	14.3
2015	550	98	17.8

However, the 2015 ratio of women MPs in the Parliament is still far below the parity, or even the global average of 22 percent. It is also below the 33 percent critical level for representation that women's civil society organizations have been advocating for in the country. In the 2015 general elections, among all parties, only 8,8 percent of the women were nominated as 1st in-line candidates and 14,4 percent were nominated as 2nd in-line candidates. Furthermore, no women MPs entered the Parliament from 37 of the 81 provinces.

When analysing the statistics from the 2015 election, it can be seen that the increase of women MPs is solely due to the efforts of the HDP party, which upheld a near-50% quota for women candidates during elections. Meanwhile, this party has not been involved in the Ka.der political schools or trainings as they felt already "gender aware" (interview with Ka.der). The ratio of women ministers has remained at 4 percent over the past 10 years and the ratio of high level women government officials has remained at around 8 percent.

At the local level there has been very little progress over the past years, except for the city councillors and mayors. In 2014 there were 40 women mayors and 2198 women city councillors. An initial analysis of the cities/regions where Ka.der has branches and political schools shows that these cities do not necessarily have a higher ratio of women than other cities (except in Izmir).

Position	Proportion women %			
	1999	2004	2009	2014
Mayors	0,6	0,6	0,9	2,9
City Councillor	1,6	2,4	4,2	10,7
Member of Provincial Assembly	1,4	1,8	3,3	4,8
Head of Village			0,2	0,3
Member of Village Council			0,2	1,2
Head of Quarter			2,3	0,1
Member of Quarter Council			1,9	2,5

At the same time statistics show that women are quite active as academics and government employees. 43% of professors and teachers at universities are women – but women constitute only 8% of the Deans. 37 % of government employees are women, but very few are appointed for leadership positions in government administrations. This reflects the untapped capacity of women and demonstrates that women are available and have competency for leadership positions. Even when the ratio of women is relatively high, this does not reflect in managerial roles.

3.3 UNDERSTANDING THE THEORY OF CHANGE

According to the strategic plan Ka.der's Theory of Change aims at:

Equal representation of women and men in all fields of life and especially equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions (similar to the medium term objective in the results framework).

To achieve this, Ka.der is taking the following measures (strategic pillars) that are stated in the strategic plan:

1. Empowering women (whether they are political candidates or not) and preparing them for their candidature through its political schools. This pillar is linked to outcome 1.
2. Transforming the male dominated political parties to women friendly parties through direct lobby, advocacy and training. This pillar is linked to outcome 1 and 2.
3. Pressurising political parties to include women candidates on their election lists, as well as to making the public aware of gender equality through conducting KA.DER elections campaigns, both during general and local elections. This pillar is linked to outcome 1.
4. Influencing the legislative framework through lobbying and advocacy efforts, submitting proposals and amendments on the constitution,

election laws, and other acts through committees, platforms and in direct meetings with politicians and MPs. This pillar is linked to outcome 2.

5. Influencing the general public through public awareness campaigns, media appearances, and by the extensive press coverage of gender equality in politics during elections. This pillar is not linked to any outcome in particular and lacks an explicit objective.

The Theory of Change is attempting to address, directly or indirectly, the following obstacles to women's equal representation identified in the Strategic Plan:

1. The deeply rooted patriarchal political culture in combination with the religious conservative tradition in a society in general is limiting the opportunities and spaces of women. None of the outcomes/strategies defined is explicitly addressing this obstacle (except within political parties).
2. Household distribution of tasks and women's use of time that are shaped by traditional gender roles represent serious hindrances for women to participate in public life, especially in politics. Heavy workloads and responsibilities as caretakers of men, children, the old and the ill with little or no social support (meaning, inadequate social policies like child, elderly and handicapped care) make it difficult for women to be part of the economic, social and political life in the country. None of the outcomes/strategies defined is directly addressing this obstacle.
3. Limited back up and support to women who consider public or political positions. This obstacle is not clearly formulated in the strategy but implicitly understood under the heading under-representation of women in politics. Here Ka.der mentions for example women politicians' lack of gender awareness and lack of solidarity among women MPs for women's issues. This means that women's perspectives are underrepresented both in terms of numbers and in terms of quality (content). This obstacle is addressed by strategies related to Outcome 1.
4. Unfavourable legal and policy framework, especially: the Penal and Civil Codes, Constitution, Election and Political Parties act, Education Act, and the Domestic Violence Act (Family Protection and Prohibition of violence against Women). This obstacle is addressed by strategies related to Outcome 2.

It is observed that, among the four obstacles mentioned above, Ka.der's work focuses primarily on addressing challenges 3 and 4 (limited back up and support to women who consider public or political positions, and unfavourable legal and policy framework), mainly through Ka.der's political schools and advocacy and lobbying work. The political schools, in particular, aim to support and empower women candidates to take action against the present obstacles. In the strategic plan, the purpose of the political schools are defined as "to prepare the women for politics in decision-making bodies like the local governments, city councils and provincial

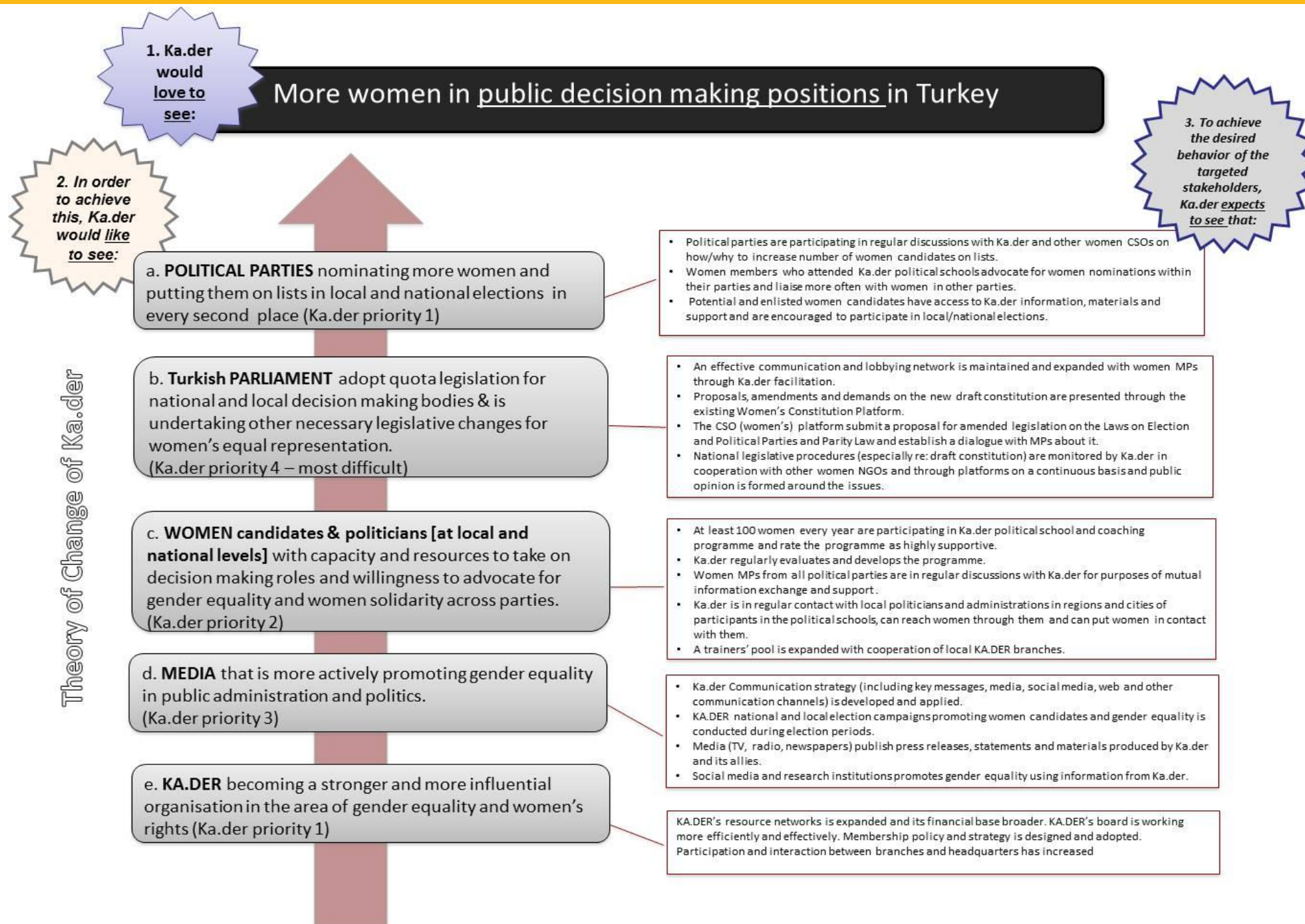
general assemblies as well as the national parliament” through “a gender-aware” and “gender equal approach”. One of the priorities of Ka.der in participant selection is explained as “having a mixed group from various political parties” so as to “create a rich atmosphere for discussions and possible policies on women’s problems and solutions and an understanding of the importance of solidarity among women”.

It is noted that none of the strategies taken is directly addressing challenges 1 and 2; i.e. the patriarchal political culture and religious conservative traditions (except within political parties) or the traditional gender roles and distribution of tasks (except gender awareness training at political schools). It might be the case that Ka.der addresses these issues through NGO platforms and advocacy, but it is not explicitly explained in the Theory of Change in the Strategic Plan. It seems that those upholding the patriarchal culture and traditional gender roles (men in power) may not have been directly targeted.

Our preliminary observation is that Ka.der would benefit from developing and systematising its Theory of Change and a results framework. Although Ka.der’s strategic plan (where the TOC is formulated) and the results framework entail rich information about Ka.der’s work and working context, this information could be transformed to be more helpful in managing and monitoring for results. For example, the Theory of Change could be better reflected in the Results Framework where the strategic pillars are matched with its respective outcomes. Similarly, the direct links between identified obstacles/challenges and strategic pillars and/or outcomes could be better explained.

Furthermore it is also observed that the target groups are identified in general terms; and it is not very clear what kind of change in behaviour is expected from each of these target groups as a result of the programme. In the results framework and in the Theory of Change it is mentioned that the programme aims at Equal representation of women and men in all fields of life and especially equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions. However, in practice (and in the formulated outcomes and outputs), it seems that the most well-defined targets are the women candidates for elected positions, women NGO leaders and the political parties. No efforts to engage men in women dominated fields are found in the documents analysed, and the efforts to reach women candidates for administrative government (appointed) positions seem to be limited.

In the figure on the next page, we have attempted to merge and structure the Results Framework and the Theory of Change to a more comprehensive and logical chain with clearly identified target groups, reflecting the actual situation rather than the broad objectives outlined in the strategy document and the results framework. We have done this to provide us with a “map” so that we can evaluate the programme more effectively. It will also serve as a basis for discussions on future direction and possible improvements of the programme.



4. FOCUS AND EVALUATION QUESTIONS

The following section proposes areas of focus for the evaluation and a set of streamlined evaluation questions.

4.1 PROPOSED AREAS OF FOCUS

The team has reflected on ensuring a high degree of utility, making the best possible use of the available resources and taking into account the expectations expressed by Ka.der and the Embassy. Upon studying the evaluation criteria, the evaluation questions and the scope presented in the ToR, it appears that the areas of inquiry can be grouped into three main groups:

- The political schools and women's empowerment
- The advocacy and awareness raising (communication) efforts directed towards political parties, NGO platforms and the media
- The internal organisational developments and challenges in Ka.der

4.2 STREAMLINING OF EVALUATION QUESTIONS

As shown in annex 1 we propose the following 17 evaluation questions

Effectiveness	
1.	To what extent have the expected outcomes and outputs been achieved? Why/why not?
2.	Have the selected methods (political schools, advocacy, media campaigns, research, networking etc.) worked well? Why/why not?
3.	To what extent are alliances built and synergies sought with other stakeholders to enhance the gender equality agenda?
4.	Are the Theory of Change and the results framework well-functioning as tools for planning and monitoring? Are they understood and applied by Ka.der nationally and locally?
5.	Could Ka.der's intervention become more effective in reaching its aims? How?
Efficiency	
6.	Has the programme been managed with reasonable regard for efficiency? What measures have been taken during planning and implementation to ensure that resources are efficiently used?
7.	To what extent is Ka.der able to meet requirements on quality and timeliness of annual, interim and final narrative and financials reports to Sida?
8.	Has there been adequacy of funds for programme implementation?
9.	Has the organisational capacity building (including RBM support) funded by Sida led to a more efficient implementation of the project (also refer to question 4)? A more efficient organisation?
10.	Could the intervention have been implemented with fewer resources without reducing the quality and quantity of the results? Could more of the same results have been produced with the same resources?
Relevance	
11.	Has Ka.der been able to mitigate risks and adjust to contextual challenges and new opportunities that have materialised?
12.	Is the programme addressing the main obstacles to women's and men's equal participation in "all fields of life" and especially in public decision making or are there missing areas?
Sustainability	
13.	Has Ka.der managed to secure a more diverse funding base and reduce dependence on Swedish

Embassy?
14. Have targeted/partnering organisations and institutions enhanced their capacity as independent promoters and protectors of gender equality?
Human Rights Based Approach
15. Has Ka.der included the agenda of marginalised women in its advocacy work (e.g. women with disabilities, LGBTI women, women from ethnic/religious minorities, rural women, women victims of domestic violence)?
16. Have representatives of these women participated in any dialogue, initiative or trainings?
17. Has Ka.der demonstrated accountability and transparency in its operations and reporting towards the Embassy, towards its branches and members and towards the public?

5. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Taking into consideration that the statistical trends are already well researched, the contextual developments have been rather dramatic and that some other actors are also involved in gender equality promotion and women's political participation (even with Embassy funding), the evaluation will concentrate on assessing the contributions of Ka.der's work to the observed outcomes and on assessing the effectiveness of selected approaches (political schools, communication, networking and lobbying) and the efficiency of the operations e.g. reasonable cost of activities, efficiency of the internal organisation and ability to adapt work to new challenges and opportunities. To respond to the evaluation questions we intend to use both quantitative and qualitative methods as explained below.

5.1 USE OF SECONDARY DATA

There is a wealth of statistical information, research and reporting on women's political participation and gender equality in Turkey. We intend to make use of this to understand and describe the contextual developments related to Ka.der's work. We will identify relevant documentation through Ka.der, other gender equality advocates and web-research.

We will use Ka.der's reporting to the Embassy, Embassy assessments and previous evaluations to get information on Ka.der's organisational development and its achievements and challenges. The Political School participants' evaluations from 2014 and 2015 will also be used as a source. Web research will be used to assess the visibility of Ka.der in the media and as contributors to the gender equality discussions.

5.2 PRIMARY DATA GATHERING

We intend to talk to previous participants of the Ka.der political schools, the political parties, other NGOs and international agencies involved in gender equality and gender justice promotion, responsible Turkish government representatives and external observers. The primary data gathering will be done by:

- Telephone survey to a random sample of 40 participants of political schools (with simple questions). The proposed survey questions and interview guides

- are found in annex 3. The survey will be tested before being put to use.
- Focus group discussions, probing more qualitative aspects (how and why) of the effectiveness of Ka.der's capacity building, advocacy and communication
- Key informant interviews
- A guided reflection workshop with the Ka.der staff (a brief self-assessment and reflection of the theory of change and the results achieved).

We will meet with respondents both at national level and at local level. At local level we have selected one big city (Ankara) and two smaller cities (Adana and Mersin). Adana was selected as it had a large number of participants in political schools for local elections and an active Ka.der branch. Mersin was selected for logistical reasons (near Adana) and because it had a Ka.der representation and many participants in the political school for national elections (see below).

5.2.1 Selection of respondents for random survey and focus group discussions

We propose that respondents for the random survey and the focus group discussions are identified as follows:

- Participants in the political schools for local elections (total number of participants have been 96). Group discussions will be held with a sample of participants in Adana (21) and Mersin (4). In Adana we will speak to the candidate for district mayor (who participated in the training) and a purposeful sample of at least 50% of the total participants, representing all political parties attending and both successful and unsuccessful candidates. In Mersin we expect to speak to all participants. In addition we will make telephone surveys with a random sample of 20 participants from other cities.
- Participants in the political schools for national election (total number of participants have been 126). Group discussions will be held with a sample of participants in Mersin (11) representing a small city and Ankara (13) representing a big city. We will make a purposeful sample of at least 50% of the total number of participants in each of these cities, representing all political parties attending and both successful and unsuccessful candidates. In addition we will make telephone surveys with a random sample of 20 participants from other cities.

5.2.2 Selection of respondents for key informant interviews

We propose that the following categories or respondents will be targeted for the key informant interviews:

- All political parties, women's branches – nationally, and locally in Adana and Mersin.
- Other significant women organisations or platforms working for gender equality or "gender justice", including minority women (e.g. Armenian, Kurdish, women with disabilities, LGBTI women) and newly formed GONGOs.
- The Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the former members of the KEFEK Commission in Parliament (the membership of the Commission will be changed as a result of the election).

- Ka.der leaders nationally and locally in Istanbul, Ankara, Adana and Mersin; Director, officers and branch heads; Board of Directors at the national level.
- External observers such as EU, UN Women, the Embassy, individual academics and activists such as:
 - UN / UN Women, such as Zeliha Ünalı – UN Gender Specialist at UN Thematic Group (Ankara)
 - EU Delegation to Turkey, such as Sema Kılıçer
 - Trainers of Political Schools, such as Handan Çağlayan
 - Academics working on gender issues, such as Feride Acar, Yıldız Ecevit, Mehtap Tatar.

5.3 VERIFICATION AND VALIDATION

To ensure the internal validity of findings the evaluation team will examine multiple sources of information prior to making a determination. This “triangulation” involves the examination of three or more sources of data to verify and cross check responses.

In our case we will combine the following sources (as mentioned above):

- Documentation produced by Ka.der and external sources (e.g. EU, UN, researchers, media, Internet)
- Participants of two different Political Schools, 2014 and 2015 (random survey in combination with purposeful sample for focus group discussions)
- External observer and boundary partner interviews
- Guided reflection workshop with Ka.der headquarters staff and interviews with Ka.der local representatives

At the end of the data generation phase, the team and Ka.der will organise a debriefing meeting, where the Embassy will also be invited. The purpose of the meeting will be to present our findings (thus far), discuss and validate these findings, collect additional information and agree on issues that need further investigation.

5.4 LIMITATIONS

The time set for the fieldwork of this evaluation is short and the evaluation team can only meet a very small sample of respondents, particularly with regards to political school participants and staff from the branches. We would like to caution that the voices of those interviewed may not be representative, even if we are making all efforts in our selection. Availability will be an important factor for the selection of respondents and may affect representativeness of the sample.

To ensure availability of respondents, the team expects Ka.der to assist us in making appointments with individuals and groups well in advance. It should be cautioned that assessing attribution of Ka.ders work will be rather impossible in such a dynamically changing context and that therefore the focus will be entirely on contribution by Ka.der’s towards the observed changes. This also means that the efficiency analysis will mainly relate to an assessment of organisational systems and structures of Ka.der and reasonability of activity costs.

DETAILED WORK PLAN

The revised overall Work Plan will guide the evaluation process. The details of the data collection phase are provided below. We expect that Ka.der will assist us in making the appointments for the meetings with branches and arrange for the group discussions with Political School participants in Ankara, Adana and Mersin. We also would like to request that Ka.der introduce us with the main national level partners and key stakeholders (by e-mail), so that we can start contacting them for interviews. The work plan below is based on the tentative agenda that the team is working with Ka.der to develop.

Date	Main activities
September 1-15	Telephone interviews
Tuesday 22 Sept	Logistical planning meeting with Ka.der
Saturday 3 October	Arrival of international team member in Istanbul
Sunday 4 October	Team preparations
Monday 5 October	Meeting with Ka.der HQ / External observers in Istanbul – travel to Ankara in the late evening
Tuesday 6 October	Meeting Embassy, EU, UN Women
Wednesday 7 October	Meeting with Ka.der branch in Ankara/ Ministry of Family and Social Policies and KEFEK Commission in Parliament
Thursday 8 October	Political party interviews – external observers interviews
Friday 9 October	Focus group discussion with participants in political schools
Saturday 10 October	Political party interviews – external observers cont.
Sunday 11 October	Travel to Adana
Monday 12 October	Meeting Ka.der Adana branch, Focus group discussions with participants in political schools, meeting with Adana political party representatives.
Tuesday 13 October	Meeting Ka.der Adana branch, Focus group discussions with participants in political schools, meeting with Adana political party representatives cont.
Wednesday 14 October	Meeting Mersin representatives, Focus group discussions participants in political schools, meeting with Mersin political party representatives.
Thursday 15 October	Travel to Istanbul in morning – preparing presentation of preliminary findings
Friday 16 October	Feed-back meeting with Ka.der and Embassy - Follow up interviews
Saturday 17 October	Team Summing up – Follow up interviews
Sunday 18 October	Departure of international team member

Annex 1 – Evaluation Matrix

Evaluation questions	Indicators	Sources
Effectiveness/Outcome		
1. To what extent have the expected outcomes and outputs been achieved? Why/why not? 2. Have the selected methods (political schools, advocacy, media campaigns, research, networking etc.) worked well? Why/why not? 3. To what extent are alliances built and synergies sought with other stakeholders to enhance the gender equality agenda? 4. Are the Theory of Change and the results framework well-functioning as tools for planning and monitoring? Are they understood and applied by Ka.der nationally and locally? 5. Could Ka.der's intervention become more effective in reaching its aims? How?	• Number of women in decision making positions. Number of laws amended in line with EU/UN policies on gender equality. Changes towards gender equality in policies and practices of political parties. • Perceptions of Ka.der as a key actor on gender equality promotion. • Perceptions of the communication and lobbying strategies taken by Ka.der and its allies in NGO platforms. • Perceptions on usefulness of Political Schools as a tool to empower women and enhance equal representation of women.	• Ka.der reports, evaluations by participants of political schools, UN/EU reports, official reports. • Survey and focus group discussions with participants of Political Schools. • Interviews with key stakeholders/boundary partners and external observers. • Reflective workshop with Ka.der staff and branch representatives.
Efficiency		
6. Has the programme been managed with reasonable regard for efficiency? What measures have been taken during planning and implementation to ensure that resources are efficiently used? 7. To what extent is Ka.der able to meet requirements on quality and timeliness of annual, interim and final narrative and financials reports to Sida? 8. Has there been adequacy of funds for programme implementation? 9. Has the organisational capacity building (including RBM support) funded by Sida led to a more efficient implementation of the project (also refer to question 4)? A more efficient organisation? 10. Could the intervention have been implemented with fewer resources without reducing the quality and quantity of the results? Could more of the same results have been produced with the same resources?	• Cost per output • Comparison with budgets of other similar training activities (3-day courses). • Costs for RBM and ToC capacity development and level of understanding and use of ToC and RBM by Ka.der. • Perceptions of efficiency of Political Schools, Communication and lobbying methods used by Ka.der.	• Ka.der plans, reports and financial records. • Reflective workshop with Ka.der staff and branch representatives. • Interviews with external observers, especially Sida/the Embassy.

Relevance		
11. Has Ka.der been able to mitigate risks and adjust to contextual challenges and new opportunities that have materialised? 12. Is the programme addressing the main obstacles to women's and men's equal participation in "all fields of life" and especially in public decision making or are there missing areas?	• Actions taken as a result of risks that have materialised and new opportunities that have occurred. • Perceptions of relevance of Ka.der strategies.	• Reflective workshop with Ka.der staff and branch representatives. • Interviews with external observers and the Swedish Embassy.
Sustainability		
13. Has Ka.der managed to secure a more diverse funding base and reduce dependence on Swedish Embassy? 14. Have targeted/partnering organisations and institutions enhanced their capacity as independent promoters and protectors of gender equality?	• Percentage of funding from other sources. • Perception of capacity and influence of Ka.der boundary partners and of participants in Political Schools.	• Ka.der financial records. • Reflective workshop with Ka.der staff and branch representatives. • Interviews with boundary partners (i.e. political parties, NGO platform members, government institutions). • Interviews with other potential donors
Human rights based approach		
15. Has Ka.der included the agenda of marginalised women in its advocacy work (e.g. women with disabilities, LGBTI women, women from ethnic/religious minorities, rural women, women victims of domestic violence)? 16. Have representatives of these women participated in any dialogue, initiative or trainings? 17. Has Ka.der demonstrated accountability and transparency in its operations and reporting towards the Embassy, towards its branches and members and towards the public?	• Examples of media communication and/or reports promoting their agenda. • Examples of dialogue/interaction with NGOs representing women from marginalised groups. • Perceptions of branch representatives and external observers. Availability of reports and records on the web-site.	• Review of web-site and reports. • Reflective workshop with Ka.der staff and branch representatives. • Interviews with representatives of women from marginalised groups. • Interviews with external observers, Swedish embassy.

Annex 2 – Results framework

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
Ultimate Outcome (Long term) A country where gender discrimination does not exist and gender equality is experienced in every sphere of life							
Intermediate Outcomes (Medium term) Increased number of women with gender equality awareness (in all decision making processes) are appointed or elected	1. Selected press statements coming from women MPs 2. Draft legislation proposals, questions and motions discussed with and involving women MPs	Ad 1 Sample of press statements from women MPs Ad 2 Draft proposals from women's platform (see 1122) endorsed and supported by women MPs		Parliamentary debates and records, press statements, draft proposals and amendments, minutes from platform meetings			
Immediate Outcomes (Short term) 1110 Increased participation of women in national and local politics	1. Elected women politicians (MPs, city and municipal council members) continue to be advocates of women's issues (during their tenure) 2. Increased no of nominated women candidates are included on parties' lists and participate in the elections	Ad 2 List of women candidates after 2015 (national) and 2014 local elections compared to 2009 (local) and 2011 (national) elections	1a. Compared to 2009, the number of elected women has increased in local elections 2014 1b. In 2015, the number of women MPs has increased compared to 2011 2a. Final nominations by parties of women candidates on official lists	National statistics from electoral commissions State statistical service KA.DER database Branch Office info & reports on city council members Parties' final candidate list and candidates of candidates list	KaDer collects from parties Published statistics	Before & after election periods	KaDer secretariat

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
			2b. The number of women running for candidates in each party has increased				
1120 A more favourable legal and policy framework, including for gender equality and women's perspective is formed in Turkey	Women's organisation have placed their footprints on key legislation (Constitution, Election and Political parties bill) by proposing amendments before bills are finally passed in parliament	Draft acts (in process) proposed or commented by NGOs Constitutional Commission on Equality draft	Continued lobby and advocacy work by KaDer & other NGOs on gender equality perspective in key acts (Constitution, Election and Political parties bill)	Consultative committee reports, minutes Draft bills & amendments Press releases, briefs by KaDer & NGOs	Platform and consultative committee, Women MPs	Continuously	Executive Board, Secretariat support
1210 KA.DER's organizational structure is strengthened in terms of financial management, communication and reporting by the end of 2015	1. KaDer has increased the number of donors at end of 2015 2. Increased number of communication channels are used by KaDer, e.g. members of e-mail, Facebook groups (as defined in communication strategy) 3. Improved financial reporting (branches, members, donor) and activity reports (branches, donor, public) are available by end of 2015	1. External funding sources 2014: SIDA, EU 2. Members' mail group: XX, Facebook, Twitter: YY, 3. Activity reports is published, combined financial report not yet	1. External funding: SIDA + EU + at least one more donor 2. Increase in followers by 15%, mail groups by 10% 3. Prepare format on financial reporting for board, develop format for results' based reporting	Current Budget, approved by board Formats for financial and results' based reporting	Internal	Semi-annually	President + exec. board accountant Inci + Tülin + Sahra
1220 KA.DER is a more transparent and democratic	KA.DER's branches and members are more	1. Volunteer and membership	1. The number of members and	Strategic plan Minutes of	Internal	Semi-annually	President + Tülin

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
organisation through its involvement of members and branch offices by end of 2015	actively involved in development and implementation of the strategic plan (2013-2014), and 6 committees at HO have been formed and are functioning (mid-2014)	strategies have been approved, X no of volunteers and 1.100 members 2. Strategic plan is being updated and discussed with branches 3. Membership of 6 committees.	volunteers has increased by 10 % 2. At least 50% of the branches have adopted SP and regular meetings held between BO and HO 3. Members have been nominated for all committees at HO	regular branch meetings Database (members, volunteers) Committee lists			
Outputs							
1111 Potential and enlisted women candidates have access to information, materials and support and are encouraged to participate in local/national elections	1. Candidates consider materials received as relevant, updated, timely 2. No of requests for materials, supported, by women candidates (as a result of e.g. website or referral from other person 3. Ka.Der updates encouragement kit and election before each election	1+3. Election kits and materials produced and available 2. Registration of requests (materials, blogs, mail lists) and hits on website, referrals etc. will be tracked (from 2014)	1. Election kits are updated before each election, new documents included/ produced 2 .Additional requests for kits from women in 2015 election	Requests tracked via web or mail, tel. call (google analytics, mails etc) Existing election kits + tools Distribution lists for kits	Internal google analytics mail lists	During election period	Secretariat
1112 KA.DER national and local election campaigns promoting women candidates and gender equality conducted during election periods (2014+2015)	1. Newspaper (local and national) and internet appearances of KA.DER's name has increased from in 2014 & 2015 elections compared to previous	1. The no of paper ads and internet appearances in 2009 and in 2011 2. The no. of	1. 10% increase in paper ads and internet appearances in 2014 compared to 2011, 2015 2014	Media survey report and advertising agency report Advertising agency statistics on screenings	Same as data source	Campaign period	Campaign team

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
	campaigns 2. Number of screenings of KA.DER's 2014 & 2015 TV ads has increased compared to previous campaigns	media screenings and TV Ads in 2009 and in 2011	2. 1. 10% increase in media screenings/TV Ads in 2014 compared to 2011, 2015 to 2014	2011, 2014, 2015			
1113 Women are trained in political schools in cooperation with KA.DER branches before 2014 and 2015 elections	% 30 of trainees making the decision to become a political candidate or go for decision making position in their parties	1. No of applicants to political schools 2. No of women that become political candidates after pol. Schools 3. Evaluation at end of political schools	1. An increased no. of political schools, and more applicants 2. An increased no. of women becoming candidates 3. At least 70% of Pol School attendees give positive feedback	Application forms Evaluation forms	Internal – analysis of evaluation forms and applications	After and during schools	Secretariat, Project team
1114 Trainers pool is expanded with cooperation of local KA.DER branches	A qualified group of KaDer trainers are able to conduct political schools and an active part of KA.DER's network by mid-2014	20 trainers in 2014 are available of which 15 are actively training	40 trainers available end 2015 and 25 actively training	KA.DER's training list	List	Between elections – late 2014, early 2015	To be decided (Education committee)
1115 Develop closer relations with women in local administrations	Increased contact with women mayors, as well as women provincial and city council members, using Ka.Der members as access points/ bridges where relevant	Identification of women local city and provincial council members	Establish updated mailing list of women local administrators, and regularly send out materials and info bulletins	KA.DER Membership records E-group records State statistical service	KA.DER requests information from state statistics and city councils, mukhtars	Every year in March (as part of Turkey's Report card on 08 March)	Secretariat, KA.DER Executive Board
1121 An effective communication and lobbying	1. Network regularly	1. No of	1. A 15-20%	Internal records	same as data	Regularly	Secretariat and

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
network is maintained and expanded with women MPs	requests information, background and input from KaDer 2. KaDer regularly sends out news bulletins and press releases, position papers and law proposals to women's network	requests/calls from MPs on info & background will be recorded, based on existing network list 2. No of bulletins, press releases and requests from KaDer to MPs	increase in requests is expected after 2015 elections 2. Same, depending on no of elected women MPs	of requests, and list of materials, news bulletins etc.	source		chairwoman
1122 Advocacy and lobbying on amendment of undemocratic and discriminatory laws in cooperation with other women NGOs	1. Draft discriminatory laws include the proposed amendments by KA.DER and some sister NGOs. 2. Legislative procedures and debate in parliament and official committees are tracked and feed into newsletter and briefs	1. Draft amendments by KA.DER/ Women NGOS 2. Similar to indicator	Amendments to laws will be sent when they are proposed by gov't 2. Briefs and positions papers about laws, newsletters etc. are placed on KA.DER's website and shared with public	Draft Law + amendments +	Same	As legal acts are being proposed	KaDer + Women's NGOs
1123 National legislative procedures (especially re: draft constitution) are monitored in cooperation with other women NGOs and through platforms on a continuous basis and public opinion is formed around the issues	Legislative procedures and debate in parliament and official committees are tracked and feed into newsletter and briefs	Same as indicator	Briefs and positions papers about laws, newsletters etc. are placed on KA.DER's website and shared with public	Draft Law + amendments +	Same	Continuously	KaDer + Women's NGOs

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
1211 KA.DER's resource networks is expanded and its financial base broader by end of 2015	1. Database of KA.DER's network shows increase in most important and resourceful contacts (Advertising agency and printing houses, business network) 2. KA.DER's 2015 budget is based on several sources of funding 3. Fundraising strategy approved and used to fundraise for core operations, contacts to key donors & contributors	1. Existing database 2. Current 2014 budget and strategic plan 3. Fundraising strategy	1. Database expanded 2. 2015 budget shows more than one donor 3. Obtain more funding from several donors	Budget and fundraising strategy	Research needed on firms and executive boards, draw on network, business women Obtain key donor policies and strategies	Continuously	Executive board + secretariat
1212 Communication strategy (including key messages, media, social media, web and other communication channels) is developed and applied	Communication strategy document approved by KA.DER's board in 2014 and BOs are increasingly using it end of 2015	Strategy approved in 2014	BOs show that the tools defined in the CS are being used end of 2015	Communication Strategy document	Sample documents, BO and HO activity reports	Annually	Communication Committee Secretariat
1221 KA.DER's board is working more efficiently and effectively	Committees established and working: Education, Projects, Internal relations, Women Lawyers and Training, Communication Committee, holding regular meetings	1. List of committees and their job descriptions	End of 2014 all committees will be established and working	Committee minutes	Same	Semi-annually	Secretariat and committees
1222 Membership policy and strategy is designed and adopted	Membership strategy and policy adopted by KA.DER's board Members participate in	Strategies	Realised in 2013	Strategy documents			KA.DER Executive Board

Expected Results ¹	Indicators ²	Baseline Data	Targets ³	Data Sources	Methods	Frequency	Responsibility
	support for campaigns and activities as defined in strategy						
1223 Participation and interaction between branches and headquarters is increased	Regular meetings, workshops and camps are hold regularly with branches and members Branch offices take responsibility for implementing campaigns in their region	Membership and branch empowerment strategies (funds, equipment, information)	Realised in 2013	Strategy documents Minutes of regular branch meetings	Internal	Continuous	Secretariat, KA.DER Executive Board Branches

ANNEX 3 - TERMS OF REFERENCE

1. Evaluation purpose

The objective of the evaluation is to make an Evaluation to be carried out during 15 July 2015 – 30 October 2015 for Ka.Der (Support to Women Candidates Association) on “Support to Increase the Number of Women with Gender Awareness Who Are Appointed or Elected in All Decision Making Processes Programme” during 2013-2015. The Review or Evaluation shall summarize obtained and expected results in relation to the Results Assessment Framework and contain an analysis of any deviation there from.

The objective of the evaluation is to assess the effectiveness(at an outcome level), efficiency and impact of the project entitled “Support to Increase the Number of Women with Gender Awareness Who Are Appointed or Elected in All Decision Making Processes Programme” during its implementation period between the years 2013-2015.

The intended users of the evaluation will be, inter alia, the Boards of the Association and the relevant professional staff of Ka.der and Sida departments and officials along with diplomats in the Swedish Embassy in Ankara.

2. Intervention Background

Women in Turkey are underrepresented in decision-making bodies at all levels and sectors. This is most evident in politics, the state set up, national and local governments.

When women first participated in general elections in Turkey in 1935, the percentage of elected women MPs was 4.5%. From 1935 to 1995, Turkey had 16 general elections. And in none of these elections women representation surpassed 3, 7%. Even in some elections it dropped to 0, 7% (1954). After KA.DER was founded in 1997, women representation began to increase. Starting with the 1999 elections, women representation reached 4, 2%. In 2002, it was 4, 4% and in 2007, 9, 1%. In 2011, the number of women MPs had increased to 14, 2%, corresponding to 79 out of 550 deputies being women in the Turkish National Grand Assembly.

This figure is by no means close to equal and KA.DER has defended the internationally accepted critical threshold of a 30% quota for women until 2010. But as quota systems are mainly for disadvantaged groups, KA.DER, following comprehensive discussions among its members and other women organizations, decided to change its policy and now applies a 50 % parity (equal representation) policy.

The high election threshold at 10% is another hindrance to democratic representation. In smaller parties like BDP (Peace and Democracy), ODP (Freedom and Solidarity), or LP (Liberal Party) women representation is high (BDP and ODP have male and female co-chairpersons). However, these parties cannot be represented in national and provincial assembly because of the high electoral threshold. BDP candidates run as independent candidates to overcome the 10% threshold.

The breakdown of women representation in major parties in Turkey at the 2011 June general elections is as follows:

Political Party	Number of women enlisting as party candidates	Number of women accepted on party lists	Number of elected women
AK Party	855	78	46
CHP (social democrats)	720	109	19
MHP (nationalist movement party)	309	66	3
BDP (Kurdish group - Labour democracy and Freedom Block)	NA	13	11

Main challenges facing women in politics are:

1. Patriarchal culture: The deeply rooted patriarchal political culture in Turkey is the main obstacle to equal representation. This, in combination with the religious conservative tradition in society in general, has so far largely kept women out of political life.
2. Under-representation of women in politics: The under-representation of women is a democratic and equality problem affecting political life in Turkey. In addition, women who do get elected to Parliament do not feel free to act in solidarity with their women colleagues from other parties. In all the political parties, candidates are without exception handpicked by the party leaders. Furthermore most of these women are not aware of gender issues.
3. An unfavourable legal and policy framework: KA.DER continues its efforts to seek influence on on-going legal reform processes in Turkey, in particular key unfavourable legislation: the Penal and Civil Codes, Constitution, Election and Political Parties act, Education Act, and the Domestic Violence Act (Family Protection and Prohibition of violence against Women).

The overall objectives of the Ka.der programme are:

- to increase the number of women with gender equality awareness (in all decision making processes) are appointed or elected,
- increased participation of women in national and local politics,
- a more favourable legal and policy framework including for gender equality and women's perspective is formed in Turkey,
- to strengthen KA.DER's organizational structure in terms of financial management, communication and reporting, and for the organisation to become more transparent and democratic

The outcomes and outputs have been painstakingly identified by Ka.der with the help of a Results Based Management (RBM) and capacity building support received in 2012 from Sida where Ka.der's executive board, supported by the secretariat, and in close cooperation with Branch Offices in 2012 initiated an organisational assessment and strengthening process. Based on inputs and recommendations from the Sida international and national consultant team, a Branch and membership survey was

conducted in 2012, and a consultation process with the Branch Offices on their role and the future governance of Ka.der was initiated. This process included issues such as increased participation and involvement by branches in strategic planning and decision-making, improved internal communication between head and branch offices, membership and volunteer policies, as well as improved internal and external reporting.

3. Stakeholder Involvement

Stakeholder involvement will mainly be through cooperating with the consultants in answering questions posed to them relevant to the Program. Sida officials will share all documents requested by the consultants providing that they are in possession of or have access to the requested documents.

Prior to the drafting of the inception report all requested documents will be handed over to the consultants. Should there arise a need to obtain additional documents after the inception phase, Sida will do its utmost to aid the consultants in this regard as well.

4. Evaluation Questions

The objective of the evaluation is to assess the effectiveness(at an outcome level), efficiency and impact of the project entitled “Support to Increase the Number of Women with Gender Awareness Who Are Appointed or Elected in All Decision Making Processes Programme” during its implementation period between the years 2013-2015. The category of “impact” has been excluded due to the fact that the size and scale of the programme is not necessarily adequate for an impact assessment. Nevertheless, the effectiveness section will bring up the most important aspects and a study of impact in the wide sense would cover partly the same ground as the study for effectiveness. The impact level objectives defined by the project are too broad to be investigated in a methodologically convincing way. By excluding the category of impact, it is hoped that the evaluation resources is used more efficiently. We also exclude relevance and sustainability as the programme is highly relevant to our strategy and sustainability(in the sense of self-sustainability) is always a concern for all NGOs in Turkey especially related to women as they cannot receive and raise funds due to the political environment and due to lack of conscious for volunteering and supporting civil society and civil and fundamental rights. Nevertheless we also expect that this evaluation will look into the volunteering systems and other sustainability aspects of the programme from an effectiveness perspective. Especially the sustainability of results could be looked in to from an effectiveness point of view. The evaluation team is encouraged to provide methods to achieve this and is also welcome to provide alternatives.

The sub-headings to the evaluation may include, inter alia, the following dimensions (These should be taken as non-exclusive suggestions. The consultants will be free to create their own sub-headings and criteria for evaluation):

- 4.1. Effectiveness
 - a) Quality and timeliness of annual, interim and final narrative and

- financials reports to Sida,
- b) A comparative effectiveness of achievement of objectives at the output and outcome levels;
- c) An analysis of causal attribution at the output and outcome levels;
- d) Adequacy of funds for programme implementation up to the date in which the evaluation is made;
- e) Evaluation of areas in which cooperation has been most effective, and areas in which it has been least effective in terms of achieving objectively verifiable results;
- f) Ka.der's ability to continue working towards project objectives in the face of external risks that have materialized.
- g) The changes resulted from the RBM support provided by Sida in terms of effectiveness.
- h) Recommendations towards a more effective intervention.

4.2. Efficiency

- a) Has the programme been managed with reasonable regard for efficiency? What measures have been taken during planning and implementation to ensure that resources are efficiently used?
- b) Has the capacity building work funded by Sida led to a more efficient implementation of the project?
- c) Could the intervention have been implemented with fewer resources without reducing the quality and quantity of the results?
- d) Could more of the same results have been produced with the same resources?
- e) The changes resulted from the RBM support provided by Sida in terms of efficiency.

5. Methodology

The evaluators will be responsible for choosing the appropriate research method. The chosen method should be described and justified in relation to possible alternatives in the inception report. The Consultant is expected to be familiar with Swedish key steering documents for development/reform cooperation and methodological approaches.

The assignment will be carried out during July-October 2015 and will take up to 45 person-days. The team is expected to include two-three persons. The Consultant shall be responsible for all logistics during the assignment. The evaluation and the reporting must follow DAC's evaluation quality standards. The Consultants shall take care to establish the reliability and consistency of the information by triangulation, i.e. comparing and checking similar information from various sources. Investigation of the potential and actual synergy effects in the portfolio will be highlighted wherever relevant. It is expected that a qualitative methodology will be most suited to this evaluation. The evaluation team will outline a well-developed research strategy and propose an appropriate methodology to ensure a transparent and objective assessment of the issues to be analyzed in this evaluation.

The evaluation team will make use of secondary and primary data which will be

analyzed using suitably defined qualitative and quantitative performance indicators. Primary data may be collected using empirical methods through interviews. The field-study will be a part of this assignment. Another field visit may be planned for the presentation of the findings in a briefing meeting.

6. Work Plan and Reporting

1. *Inception Report:*

The Team Leader will present an Inception Report at the beginning of the evaluation mission. The Consultant is asked to begin the assignment by preparing an inception report elaborating on the feasibility of the scope of evaluation, the description of methodological choices, design of causal analysis, data collection methods, instruments for data collection and analysis, the detailed and operational evaluation work plan (including feedback workshops), activities and deliverables along with assigned responsibilities for the team members. The Consultant is asked to make an interpretation of the evaluation questions and how they will be researched. The Consultant shall propose the methodology, time plan and division of labor in an Inception report (maximum 10 pages) submitted to the Embassy on a date to be defined.

2. *Start-up meeting*

The Consultant, Sida and the Embassy will have a start-up meeting preferably on a date to be defined via video/telephone conference. During the start-up meeting the methodology, time plan and budget in the inception report will be discussed and agreed.

3. *Implementation*

The assessment shall be performed through studies and analysis of existing reports, evaluations, and other relevant documents as well as through interviews, focus groups, etc. with relevant stakeholders which will include implementing partners (such as government institutions and CSOs), beneficiaries and other donors. Ka.der should be consulted to designate which specific beneficiaries/partners/stakeholders should be interviewed. The work thus includes a field visit. The Consultant is expected to present a proposal on the division of days between field visit and desk study.

4. *Draft Evaluation Report*

The consultants will submit a draft evaluation report of the Programme highlighting achievements, constraints and lessons learned as well as the corrective measures required, including recommendations regarding possible future cooperation, by on a date to be defined, in electronic form. Feedback from stakeholders will be sent to the Consultants by on a date to be defined. The report shall be written in English and shall not exceed 30 pages, excl. annexes.

5. *Final Evaluation Report*

The final evaluation report incorporating feedback to the Draft Evaluation Report from Sida and Ka.der team involved in the implementation of the project will be

submitted by the Team Leader to the Embassy, electronically and in two hardcopies by on a date to be defined. The report shall be written in English and shall not exceed 30 pages, excl. annexes. Approval of the Final Report will be based on its adherence to the OECD/DAC Evaluation Quality Standards. Contact person at the Embassy in Ankara will be Annika Palo (annika.palo@gov.se) and Selin Yasamis (selin.yasamis@gov.se).

6. *Debriefing Meeting*

The consultants will present a summary of evaluation findings, conclusions and recommendations at a debriefing meeting with the participation of Sida, SNCA and TESEV representatives. The debriefing meeting shall take place at a mutually agreed date.

7. **Evaluation Team**

The assignment is expected to be carried out by two-three persons. At least one of the three needs to fulfil the required qualifications for Category I (according to Appendix D in the Framework Agreement). The team leader should be an experienced evaluator and shall have an advanced academic degree, i.e. a minimum of a Master's Degree or equivalent. The team in combination should have the needed experience and knowledge to perform the tasks foreseen in this assignment including:

- Experience in the country and Turkish-speaking;
- Experience of gender equality, women's human rights, women's political participation analysis in Turkey;
- Experience of efficiency analysis and evaluation of strategies;
- At least one team member shall possess experience of evaluation in a development context, experience of utilisation-focused evaluation, experience from facilitating participatory processes, seminars and workshops.

8. **Days and Costs for the Assignment**

The consultants shall in the inception report propose a timeframe that indicates number of days per consultant engaged for the assignment.

The inception report shall include a full budget for the assignment, including reimbursement costs.



Evaluation of the Swedish support to KA.DER - increasing the number of women in decision making processes in Turkey

Sweden has supported a programme, aiming at increasing women's political participation in Turkey. It was implemented by KA.DER, a prominent member based, women's right organisation. The strategies used by KA.DER included media campaigns, trainings for women candidates, monitoring and research. The evaluation found that, despite some prominent individual examples, the share of women in political positions is still very low. It is observed that both the difficult political context and the ineffective approaches taken by KA.DER have contributed to this lack of progress. The evaluation concludes that in order to improve results, the programme needs to be modified, and the governance weaknesses of KA.DER need to be addressed. Specific measures for strengthening the organisational capacity and the strategic approaches are suggested.