

Women's Benefiting From Health and Education as A Social Policy Tool in Turkey In The Early Republican Era: Conditions Related To Employment And Non-Employment (1923 – 1945)

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Abstract

The state's social policies shape women's labour power, whether it is invisible labour in the home or women's direct participation in employment. However, it should not be denied that women's employment goes beyond narrowly thinking of it as a social policy tool, and it is related to education policies in a broad sense, and also to health policies. The education that a person receives for herself as an investment is directly related to her employment. In this study, the social policies implemented for women in the Early Republican Era in Turkey were examined holistically. It has been determined what kind of education policies are applied in the formation of the modernized, strong, and working woman profile, and also how women's work is glorified. However, the social policies that find application in which women are directed to be educated not only in employment but also as a housewife in this era have been understood internally, so the implemented health policies are also employment-oriented. In the study, it was made to determine the common denominator of narrow and broad-based social policies in which women were involved during the era was determined. In this respect, the issue is essential in terms of explaining policies in a broad sense, whether employment-related or non-employment-related. While the subject is handled in this way, since it is a historical cross-section, the literature review has been made, and datasets and laws related to the era have been added. As a result, it was determined that many social policies were developed to support strong and working women in this era, and these policies were important in the realization of their forms.

Keywords: Women's Employment, Women's Invisible Labour, Education Policies, Health

Policies, Early Republican Era.

1. Extended Summary

The concepts of women and work can be studied in many paradigms. Examining these paradigms in a time-series or time-independent conceptual framework is possible. In this article, the concepts of women and work have been associated with the concepts of education and health, two of the functions of social policy in a broad sense. While drawing this conceptual framework, the era of 1923 – 1945 was the time series of Turkey in the capitalist production model; in other words, the relations of work and production in the Early Republic Era of Turkey were discussed. To put the subject succinctly, capitalism has been rising in the relations of work and production since the Industrial Revolution. These relationships are supported by the family institution, which supports their continuity, as well as in the direct business environment. So that, at this point, women have become the subject of cheap and bad working conditions, which are in opposition to the defense of equal pay for equal work and the struggle for rights. However, on the invisible side of the coin, there is not only this plot but the fact that they are exposed to a heavy division of labour in the household compared to men, whether they take an active role in business life or not. Just at this point, a transition to social policy should be made, so it can be said that it is possible to get rid of women from being the focus of the heavy division of labour with social policy tools, education, as a human capital investment. However, here again, the imposition of capitalism and the tacit curriculum, which comes to life as the black box of education, becomes a handicap. Girls and women who are trained to work and survive with men in the workplace are taught, unnoticed, that their main work space is the home and that they are loyal servants of the home. While women are structured in this way, men repeat this inequality as an element of discrimination from the perspective of their physical strength. Thus, the inequality of men and women in business life and the household is transmitted between generations quietly and without a revolution. For this reason, women consider some of the rights given to them in some eras to be granted to them. However, making work the subject of discrimination based on race, religion, or nationality is a violation of human rights. Education is a kind of factor in teaching women to be unequal in the context of social policy in working life. On the other hand, health, the other tool of social policy, is more passive. Difficulties in working life, never equal or unequal family division of labour, make women inclined to withdraw from working life. Although this article is based on a certain era, the conceptual framework has been drawn from a broader perspective. As of the era in which the subject is discussed, it is possible to talk about a country that has just come out of the First World War and has suffered great losses on behalf of its male population, and has just recently grown in the economic context. At this point, there is no doubt that the need for the women's labour force will not be postponed. Nevertheless, it would be correct to mention that many rights have been granted to women in the working life and social sense, thanks to the reforms carried out. While the number of women benefiting from education has increased in a short time, this has been done not only for the sake of being educated but also for certain professions that are actively aimed at the labour market. However, the basis on the other side is to be educated. No Republican woman was given the option of being ignorant. It is aimed that women who do not take an

active part by working will become educated Republican Housewives. In this way, it will be possible to talk about the existence of active insured health conditions of women who are directly or indirectly directed to working life. However, when analyzed in terms of the conditions of the era, the Woman of the War Years, who was a source of inspiration while drawing the profile of a strong, educated, working woman, was confronted with a blessing in the context of rights in the following eras. When we evaluate it based on the era, it should be said that the combination of the reforms made for women is one of the driving forces of the social structure created afterward. As a result, education, while it is the way of regulating all media of women, including family life, especially working life, constitutes the first step of social policy in a broad sense. While health is the primary factor as a means of transforming everything, it is a social policy tool that is mainly influenced by the education and working conditions of women. These concepts are intertwined in an integrated structure and form the whole of social policy, transforming the household and work, thus the social structure.

2. Introduction

Women are directly or indirectly related to employment. They participate in production or support male employment through reproduction with their invisible labour. However, the social policies implemented by a country are also determinative for many areas, especially employment for women. While education is a decisive social policy, health is both a decisive and open-to-effect social policy. In this study examining the Early Republican Era of Turkey, it has been determined how much importance was given to women's education and employment; however, health policies were relatively passive compared to these. However, the word passive does not refer to social assistance, but rather to the era when policies related to work were encouraged. This study is important in terms of examining women's social policies of the era in a holistic manner. The literature review was supported by statistical data and articles of law. Following the conceptual framework of women's employment and invisible labour, general outlines of health and education policies were drawn. Then, women's employment and invisible labour in the Early Republican Era and health and education policies implemented for working and non-working women of the era were detailed.

3. Contents

The notion of ethics first brings to mind what is right or wrong. What is real right or wrong? Perhaps the most important thing is what is right or wrong according to whom. The society(ies) or groups in which people socialize are effective in shaping value judgments. It is much easier to explain legal values than ethical values, because they are written standard texts. However, "moral" includes a whole range of concepts that are difficult to define because they are not written and are open to change. The concept of ethics is often associated with the concept of "responsibility" in social sciences and the concept of "dilemma" related to thoughtfulness (Akşit, 2021: 108-109). In addition, if the concept of ethics is the "uneasy conscience" of morality, as Adorno puts it, its simplification means that morality is ashamed of being moralistic and loses its functionality in return for an artificial concept of ethics (Nalbantoğlu, 2011: 28). From this perspective, examining women's issues requires seriousness and common sense because gender is one of the fundamental cornerstones of the

egalitarian order in society. However, this issue has a sensitive area of study and always changes in terms of women's rights in the broadest context in certain periods within the framework of non-linear scientific knowledge. Here, the relationship between women's employment-related and domestic labour-power in the Early Republican Era and health and education as a means of social policy will be attempted to be established.

Before talking about the employment of women based on gender and their invisible labour in the home, and associating this with health and education functions as a means of social policy, it is necessary to touch on the notion of gender. Gender is a notion that expresses how an individual is perceived as a woman or a man in society, not with the difference of biological sex (sex), what kind of roles are assigned to them, and therefore what is expected from them. Thus, separations occur in the roles assigned to women and men, whether domestic or one-on-one employment, and therefore a determining division of labour in the social structure. Gender equality is the existence of a fair and equitable order between women and men in terms of the rights, duties, and roles mentioned (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 327-328). As a result of this, there are differences in the conditions in which women benefit from the functions of social policy, health, and education. A woman in the active employment part of the workforce benefits from these functions under different conditions than a woman who is not employed, not working, or unemployed. Although employment brings with it certain difficulties for women in employment, the conditions for women who are not employed to benefit from health, which is a part of social security, and education, which is a human capital investment, differ, including the Early Republican Era. Women are employed according to their level of education, and their benefits from health security are thus shaped.

When health and education are considered as mechanisms that function in the discipline of social policy, they are. Although they are subjects of social policy in the broad sense, they still differ in employment relations, which are subjects of social policy in the narrow sense, and their functions outside of employment. While social policy in the narrow sense is employment relations; Although social policy in a broad sense examines issues such as housing, poverty, income distribution, education and health policies in particular are the issues it focuses on (Ören, 2015: 27). In a broad sense, social policy is a set of measures that ensure social welfare and social peace and eliminate imbalances that hinder this rather than reconciling workers and employers with conflicting interests in society. It is aimed to produce policies that ensure that the contradictions, tensions and conflicts that cause the disintegration of social integrity are resolved by all segments of society (Tokol and Alper, 2018: 5). There are always distinctions between women benefiting from health with their labour power in a job related to employment and women benefiting from health due to the security of another person and concerning social assistance, outside of employment. Similarly, there is a distinction between education as a human capital investment that an employed woman will make for herself and a human capital investment that a non-employed woman will make. Because many opportunities working women can benefit from by being involved in a profession, such as on-the-job training.

For social policy functions to function smoothly in a state in any era, in a narrow or broad sense, the regime type of that state must be consistent with the concept of a “social state”.

Democratic governments are the ideal forms of government that make this work (Ören, 2015: 29). Likewise, when the last 20 to 30 years are considered, it is possible to say that significant progress has been made in terms of women's participation in the workforce in developed countries, especially in Western societies. The recent findings of the PEW Research Center on the subject show that while the views supporting "women and men working together" are at 69% in Turkey, the views supporting "only men working" remain at 29%. One of the factors that positively affects women's participation in the workforce is the gradual expansion of the service sector in which women are employed. In addition, women are finding employment opportunities in areas where they were not previously employed (Biçerli, 2014: 65-67). The revolutionary change in women's roles should be aimed at eliminating gender inequality, directly or indirectly, because in today's conditions, not only fostering gender equality - inequality, but also ensuring fair living standards for future generations is related to this revolution (Esping Andersen, 2011: 85).

3.1 Women's Employment

Employment relations are the subject of social policy in the narrow sense and can be explained in two ways. First, while protecting economically dependent and weak people against capital, here, state intervention is seen as an important tool and provides balance. Secondly, it is the situation where the state intervenes as a direct party to prevent exploitation and plays an active role in preventing the violation of rights and freedoms. When social policy is evaluated in this context, it is the set of policies that will ensure the fair distribution of the added value of different segments of society in societies in the capitalist production system (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 4). Social policy is the set of policies aimed at protecting the economically weak segment, and this weak segment is also separated within itself within different criteria, the main ones being gender and gender inequalities. However, the implemented policies have been more egalitarian or unequal in different periods in the context of gender in the context of Turkey as well as all over the world.

Many women in employment participate in working life deprived of social rights. The main problems of women in employment include not receiving the same wages as men despite doing the same job and working without insurance or security. Problems such as physical harassment and mobbing of women in business life should not be ignored. Being dismissed from work due to being seen as cheap labour and the characteristics of the reserve labor force, and being intimidated when they seek their rights, are common situations they encounter (Ören, 2015: 152-153). The revolution in women's rights is not actually "completed" in the full sense, because despite all the developments, it is not possible to observe a holistic change in women's traditional gender roles. The most obvious example of this is seen in women's definition of themselves as a family despite employment. In this respect, the revolution in women's roles, although in different aspects, is not yet complete, and this revolution is a problem that can only be resolved through the "welfare state" (Esping Andersen, 2011: 69-75). When the revolution in women's roles is evaluated in a sexist context, it is seen that the division of labor within the household also prepares women for another sexist division of labor, such as working in certain professions or low or insecure jobs under market conditions (Akduran, 2012: 34).

3.2 Women's Non-Employment Labour

There are two dimensions to women's domestic labour through the gendered division of labour: narrow and broad meanings. In the narrow sense, women's domestic labour is the totality of a woman's housework, cooking, cleaning, care, hygiene, and organisation outside of her free time. However, when domestic labour is considered in a broad sense, this labour, which is considered natural for the household, is essentially a supporting mechanism for non-household market production (Akduran, 2012: 27).

Women's invisible labour is a type of domestic production that derives its power from the gender-based division of labour based on women's domestic slavery and makes reproduction, which supports production in the capitalist production system, functional. Although empirical studies show that this strict division of labour has lost its power, domestic production is still a form of production that rises on women's shoulders and; men's domestic labour is mostly seen in certain jobs related to technological advancement. Especially domestic care labour is still among the roles assigned to women, such as the elderly, children, and patients, and is a significant obstacle to women's employment. In addition to the emotional bond women establish with their care labour, the model in which men provide for the family continues to maintain its effective representation power in family welfare (Esping Andersen, 2011: 45-52). Child care, which constitutes a large part of non-employment-care, care labour, is provided by the mother, especially for children under the age of 3 who do not attend kindergarten, in the absence of a grandmother at home, in traditional ways (Esping Andersen, 2011: 180).

3.3 Health as a Social Policy Tool

For a society to ensure its continuity in “peace”, which is the most fundamental duty of social policy, it is undoubtedly necessary to ensure the proper functioning of the “social security” system. Social policy in the broad sense, which is much more comprehensive than social policy in the narrow sense, serves a function where all segments of society continue their lives in peace, beyond the dual class structure that separates society (Ören, 2015: 28). Health policies, which are a part of the social security system and whose scope is expanded with the social security umbrella, are important in this sense. In addition, there is a mechanism, such as social assistance, for women who cannot benefit from social security directly or indirectly with the social security umbrella.

Although it is assumed that people do not work to live, working is an act that can harm a person's life and health. Because today's workplaces are the places that pose the greatest danger to human health in terms of their working environments and production processes. It is stated that the number of people who die due to a work-related disease or accident is 3 times more than those who die due to war and conflict every year. However, it is possible to reverse the negative effects of work and minimize its negative effects on human health. The idea that work-related accidents and occupational diseases are “fate” or “nature” for an employee is contrary to the scientific knowledge base that built human civilization. It is a wrong but deeply ingrained approach that employees accept the risks of their work and receive wages in return. The fact that people lose their lives or health for the sake of work, due to economic priorities, is not only a threat to the integrity of the right to life that people have, but also a fundamental

threat to public order and the benefit of society. Recent history provides examples of the destruction of societies that sacrifice people's health for the sake of economic interests (Kapar, 2017: 479-480). Capitalism owes this unhealthy, insecure, or, in a word, unequal cycle to women undertaking domestic services.

3.4 Education as a Social Policy Tool

Social policy has a privileged and comprehensive place compared to other sciences, which is positioned by being state-centred and not leaving social peace to the market monopoly and deriving its power from legal bases while ensuring this. Policies that are not driven by profit-oriented social welfare and peace target operate holistically, and education is one of them (Ören, 2015: 29). Another point that needs to be mentioned about education as a social policy tool is that education is a human capital investment made by the person himself.

A person's deepening of his knowledge, expanding his culture or receiving education for pleasure is a human capital investment made by him in himself and the human capital investment that attracts the most attention in the discipline of social policy - labour economics is education. While education has social, psychological and work-related returns, it also has direct, time-related opportunity costs such as tuition and books and psychological costs related to the difficulties brought by the process (Biçerli, 2014: 254-255). Another dimension of education considered in the context of human capital investment is that in the "male-dominated" society culture, women's physical differences are subject to incomplete and incorrect regulations in legal regulations, and they benefit less from educational opportunities (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 328). Education as human capital is an investment made by a person in their productivity capacity, and the pioneers modelled this acquisition. Although some of a person's qualifications are innate, they are developed by being supported by education and work; this is a situation of being in a one-to-one relationship with employment (ILO, 2015: 138).

According to Moishe Postone (1976), education does not have the function of ensuring the continuity of value and surplus value, in other words, capital, within the labour process, but rather the function of transforming capital itself into structures such as state, money and rent (Rikowski, 2011: 12-13). As educational institutions, schools are the areas where this process – the production and reproduction function that ensures the continuity of capital – is carried out and transmitted, and they are also quite suitable for being places where the deep-rooted foundations of inequality are laid through knowledge and methods. What makes this work is the tacit curriculum¹, the "black box" of curriculum and education (Apple, 2012: 54-55).

When education is evaluated as a function of social policy, especially concerning employment for women, it increases the employment rate when education levels are considered as low, medium and high, increases the marketization of domestic work, and ensures that the relationship with homogamy (a more equal division of domestic labour between spouses) increases in direct proportion to the level of education. Education positively affects gender

¹ The tacit curriculum is a series of hidden, implicit lessons embedded in the curriculum that are not taught directly but are understood and made conscious by students and reinforce their social status and existing social inequalities. Gender inequalities are among the issues present in the hidden curriculum.

equality. In addition, the egalitarian division of domestic labour between spouses is also reflected in children, and the rates of helping the mother and taking a share of the housework increase (Esping Andersen, 2011: 63-64).

4. General Appearance of Women's Employment and Labour In The Early Republic Era

Although there have been criticisms in the feminist literature that patriarchy and capitalist systems encouraged a structure where women's labour was confined to domestic production at equal rates (Akduran, 2012: 28), and in addition to this, it has been stated that women's employment increased within the scope of different factors, the Early Republican Era is a period when women developed more egalitarian gender roles – especially through education.

With the declaration of the Republic, due to the decrease in the male population during the War of Independence, the rapid industrialization process and parallel urbanization, migration movements brought about developments in the gender context of the current legal system, gender equality between women and men, freedom to receive education and their ability to use their options, and their right to acquire a profession (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 338). When the censuses are evaluated, the population within the borders of Turkey, which was more than 17 million in 1913, corresponds to 13 million in 1924 (Buğra, 2018: 100). It is not a coincidence that capitalism experienced its golden age in the years following the 1918 Russian Revolution and the 1945 World War II, and its widespread effects in Europe and Asia also stem from the workers' imagination of a change in order after the wars. Politics that bring equal voting rights to different segments is more democratic than the market mechanism. Systemic injustices are also eliminated to the extent that the bourgeoisie's power over the state declines (Boratav, 2015: 181). It is possible to list the constitutional and legal regulations recorded in the context of eliminating the problems women faced as the labour force and gender equality in the Early Republican Period chronologically as follows (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 345-346):

- The “Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law” dated 03.03.1924 and numbered 430 unified educational institutions on a common ground and paved the way for girls and boys to receive education with equal opportunities in education.
- The “Turkish Civil Code” dated 17.02.1926 and numbered 743 is one of the important milestones aiming for women to rise to an equal position with men in the social sphere. With this law, the right of men to polygamy, which undermines gender, was abolished; the rights of divorce, custody and disposal of property were also granted to women.
- The “General Health Law” dated 24.04.1930 and numbered 1593 addresses the protection of women and children.
- The law, which came into effect in 1930, brought women to an equal position with men in the political arena; it enabled them to participate in municipal elections, become village headmen and be elected to the council of elders, respectively, in the local context.
- In 1933, the “Girls' Technical Education Directorate” was established to provide vocational

training to girls, again within the context of employment and education.

- With the constitutional amendment dated 05.12.1934, women were granted the right to vote in general elections, to elect a member of parliament and to be elected.
- In 1945, Maternity Insurance and birth assistance were included in the social security system.

Turkey's capital accumulation regime is the era in which commercial capital based on the export of primary raw materials accumulated from the 1800s of the Ottoman Empire to the 1940s of the Early Republican Turkey. The active role of the state in working life during World War II and the articulation of workers' struggles to strict rules were effective in the institutionalisation of social policy practices in later periods. The "National Protection Law" dated 18.01.1940 allowed the legalisation of the authority to intervene in all areas of the government of the era (Akyüz, 2011: 91-93). Another characteristic of the Early Republican Turkey in terms of labour relations is that it parallels modern poverty discussions and glorifies work by pushing aside the culture of begging and alms. While the reason for this can be shown as the overshadowing of economic concerns and political concerns over labour supply, the second reason is that the liberal dominant view of the 19th century – in other words, the idea that the culture of poverty imposes responsibility on political authorities was not dominant during the period. The contradiction here is that, according to some statements, the state did not intervene in the fight against poverty in a period that was considered to be very statist, and the principle of "statism" included in the Constitution in 1937 does not fight against poverty. It seems that the poor of the Early Republican Era are described here as "villagers in their villages", and their relationship with employment is made valid for later periods. (Buğra, 2018: 97-100). When we look at the studies on women in employment relations in Turkey, beyond the importance given to capital accumulation and the approach to the problem of poverty, it is possible to observe the following picture.

Studies in the context of gender reveal another dominant tendency with the recently increasing importance of the "women's issue". The studies in question show that patriarchal relations have an effect on the positions of women in the workplace and that there is discrimination based on gender. The status of women workers, due to their oppression in the context of gender, also spreads to their positions in the factory and workplace. It is possible to see traces of patriarchal culture in the jobs given to a large extent. However, it is not correct to see patriarchy as a dominant factor alone when trying to make sense of women's labour. Because women's labour can be analysed within a patriarchal relationship, in addition to the labour-capital relationship. The fact that women's labour is considered cheap labour is only meaningful with this dual theory (Yücesan Özdemir, 2008: 43-44).

The quantitative data of women workers in the Early Republican Era are based on the results of the 1927 Industrial Census, but the fact that this information consists of workplaces employing 4 or more workers partially prevents the information from being clear. According to the current data, when workers aged 14 and over are taken into account, 29,533 of 124,444 workers are women, and this proportional distribution corresponds to 23.73%. When workers under the age of 14 are included, the situation changes; 8,107 of 22,684 workers are girls, and

the rate increases to 35.74. When these age categories are considered together, the total number of women and girls working is 147,128, and the average rate corresponds to 25.58%. This shows that 1 out of every 4 workers is a woman or a girl in the evaluations made in terms of gender. 1,609 of the 7,817 civil servants are women, and the rate is 20.58%. When the status changes and women become employers, their rate decreases, only 155 out of 10,941 employers are women, thus the rate is determined as 0.14% (Makal, 2012: 47). In short, the female employment rate remained constant in the 1927-1942 period, around 25% (Tokol & Alper, 2018: 338).

There is data on the number of female workers working in workplaces covered by the Industrial Encouragement Law, which was in effect for 15 years from 1927 to 1942. However, a small portion of the 65,245 workplaces were covered by this law. Accordingly, as of 1934, 15,579 of the total 16,498 working women were over the age of 14 and 919 were under the age of 14. The rates are 24.91%, 24.17% and 51.11%, respectively. The number and rate of female workers were 50,851 and 17.59% under the Labour Law from 1934 to 1947 (Makal, 2012: 50).

Nevertheless, it is observed that women's labour is proportionally lower than men's and that wage distribution is also at low levels. The characteristics that explain wage differences are education level and work experience; however, in many countries, including developed countries, women earn 70% to 90% of men's wages. This difference, defined as the wage gap, is a form of gender discrimination in wages. The reasons for this include the time women spend on housework, their low productivity in market jobs, their short-term work or their inability to provide continuity (ILO, 2015: 91-92).

5. Conditions for Women to Benefit from Employment-Related Health and Education in the Early Republic Era

Although the capitalist system feeds on reproduction, policies were developed to protect women and children with the reforms made at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, both by regulating working hours and by imposing a ban on postpartum work. Thus, both the continuity of the system and social peace were aimed (Atbaşı and Kurtulmuş, 2012: 257-258).

When the social security rights of women related to employment in the Early Republican Era in Turkey are considered, the 1923-Izmir Economic Congress is an important milestone, as in many other social policy topics. According to the principle of professional representation, farmers, industrialists, merchants, and worker groups were represented, and decisions were made on common ground. The congress made positive decisions on issues such as the determination of the minimum wage, payment of wages in cash, weekly holiday leave, and May 1 Labor Day. In addition, the payment of up to three months' wages to sick workers and the acceptance of pre- and post-natal leave, especially in the employment of women, are important developments (Çelik, 2014: 212).

The Ministry of Health listed the health problems that needed to be solved with the work program it prepared in 1925 and prioritized the establishment of maternity hospitals for women

and nursing homes for children (TBB, 1998: 8).

For women employed under the General Health Law, it is stated that “Unless it is certified by a physician that women will not cause any harm to their health or the health of their children, it is forbidden for them to work and be employed in factories, workshops and public and private institutions for three weeks before and three weeks after giving birth.” (General Health Law, 1930: Article 155). Thus, the prohibition of working women before and after giving birth was regulated.

In Turkey, the Labour Law of 1936 regulated the periods in which pregnant and breastfeeding women could be employed, in what kind of jobs, and under what suitable conditions. Likewise, the Ministry of Labour stated in 1946 that it was necessary to open nurseries both to employ women and to encourage motherhood. However, the nurseries opened in the following years, and the services provided were not deemed sufficient. The situation is different in the State Economic Enterprises and the private sector. The situation was identified and expressed in terms of inadequacy in the 1947 TBMM report (Makal, 2012: 64-70).

In the theoretical context, relating education to feminism at an academic level requires examination in three different dimensions. These are the historical development process, philosophical epistemological and methodological analysis, and finally, the totality of power relations of sociological communities. It is possible to describe “women” in the ontological category, as the subject and at the same time object of knowledge, as the “peoples without history” of science. Even at their best, they are in the position of the East excluded by the West, and this was the case even in a very recent past (Alkan, 2011: 143-144).

When we look at the education policies of the Early Republican Era, the 1924 Constitution did not have a structure that adopted an interventionist state approach; it showed a protective feature of property and enterprise, and it bore the characteristics of the classical French Revolution in terms of individual rights and freedoms. However, the only exception to this situation was in education, primary education was made free and compulsory for everyone (Çelik, 2014: 213).

In the government program established on 14.08.1923, it was decided to consider the importance of women's education and to open girls' teacher training schools, girls' high schools, and girls' industrial high schools for this purpose. Vocational and technical education was established in 2 or 3-year schools, depending on the type of school, to train women and men workers. From 1927 onwards, these schools were called Girls' Institutes and served to train women equipped for both domestic and employment purposes. Teachers were brought from abroad to teach in these schools. In the 1923-1938 period, the schooling rate of girls in these schools increased by 155.30%, approximately 5 times that of boys. Again, in the same period, the schooling rate of women in universities increased by 361.12%. In addition to vocational courses for adults, vocational courses were expanded to enable women outside employment to be employed. The number of Evening Girls' Art Schools, which was 7 in 1934, increased to 64 in 1945. Again, in these schools, the number of teachers increased from 128 to 326 during the same period, and the number of students increased from 2,576 to 13,673. The number of female students in the Advanced Technical School, which was first opened in

Istanbul in 1945, was 149. Evening Trade High Schools were opened for students who dropped out of Trade High Schools, and transition to higher education was also provided (Öztoprak, 1999: 62-82).

Being knowledgeable is a duty for Republican Women, and in return, it is adopted in textbooks, whether for men or women, that women are the “foundation stone of the national family”. For this reason, in the Early Republican Era, gender-based solidarity and social solidarity are taught in textbooks. Girls are primarily instilled with the awareness that they are human in textbooks (Öztoprak, 1999: 66).

6. Conditions for Women Outside of Employment in The Early Republic Era to Benefit from Health and Education

When women are not directly involved in employment, their benefits from the health function of the social security system are also subject to certain criteria. Being under the umbrella of social security and social assistance are other tools that make the health function functional.

The Early Republican Era has paternalistic characteristics, especially in terms of social assistance, in addition to the Speenhamland Law, it tends to suppress the social democratic labour movement and also exhibits a Bismarckian attitude (Çelik, 2014: 217). When considered in terms of the conjuncture of Turkey in the Early Republican Era, it was not designed according to the Poverty Laws and the Beveridge Model, on which the Speenhamland Law is based. As can be understood, it was a period when a shift from social assistance to social insurance took place. The German Bismarckian Model, based on work and social insurance, was taken as the basis. However, women who do not work have not been left out, and they have been secured, especially in terms of health.

The Public Health Law includes the phrase “Government and municipal physicians and midwives are obliged to provide gratuitous assistance to poor women in their childbirth” for women who are not employed (Public Health Law, 1930: Article 154). Thus, birth aid has been arranged for the poor. The Public Health Law also includes Article 3 regarding the encouragement of births and the reduction of child mortality.

Social assistance includes a series of conceptualised discussions between the state, labour force and capitalist accumulation. Accordingly, the state puts social aid into effect to help increase the value of capital and the reproduction of the labour force. This can also be evaluated as guaranteeing the general external conditions of capitalist production. At least for Turkey, it would be possible to call it a non-wage revaluation area of capital, an element that ensures the continuity of labour-power supply (Kutlu: 2015: 31-32). Thus, the relationship between women's invisible labour at home and the social security system, as well as social assistance, cannot be ignored.

In welfare rules, as characteristic features, State power, labour power of capitalist society, reproduction of the employee, in addition to the maintenance of his work and began to develop to provide his livelihood. There is an integrity between active labour-maintenance and livelihood of power and slices of work (Kutlu, 2015: 33). It is possible to see the majority of women among the social recipients of aid in Marx's reserve industrial army. Apart from

theoretical frameworks, social aids in Turkey will be examined in terms of whether they are entitled as an application, and which issues need to be paid attention to.

Social assistance in Turkey has been turned into a different and technical social security application method. Determination of social assistance, which is regulated by a separate law in terms of type, amount, and duration of provision, is listened to in parts with many decrees, statutes, regulations, instructions, opinions, and guidance. In this respect, it is necessary to address in detail these existing economic legal foundations in legal structures (Kutlu, 2018:103-104).

The path followed in social assistance for gender changes includes the details of the welfare situation. While gender division of labour is added to social policy, the usage norms are to meet only the basic needs of the most difficult groups or people and to ensure the continuity of traditional class and gender-production relations. Therefore, it is not possible to use social assistance as a right for everyone or to accept it separately from the gender division of labour (Özateş Gelmez, 2018: 193-194).

Whether or not they are employed in terms of education, women's ability to benefit from general and mixed education and having equal opportunities with men was explained by the Ministry of National Education during the ministry period on 17.04.1924. Atatürk stated during a trip to Kastamonu in 1925 that the realization of the rise and revolutions is possible with the development of both sexes. The 1926 3rd Scientific Committee is of great importance in terms of implementation on the subject. Again, the government program established on 14.08.1923 decided to open girls' and boys' teacher training schools. In the general picture, while an increase of 68.99% was observed in the enrollment rates of boys in primary schools during the 1923-1938 period, this rate is used as 222.24%. In secondary schools, the increase in the enrollment of women was 749.97%, and in high schools, it was 613.03%. The definition of "Republican Woman" was made for the period and it was stated that those who did not choose this would be "Republican house women" (Öztoprak, 1999:51-73).

7. Conclusion and Evaluation

In the context of gender, women's employment or indirect support for the capitalist system through invisible labour at home is closely related to education and health, which are broad areas of study in social policy. Women's revolutions that change the roles assigned to them in society have never been painless. It does not seem possible to state that there is linear development in societies, with the rights granted in one period being withdrawn in a later period. However, while awareness levels such as employment and improving working conditions for women are possible with education and its derivatives, which are human capital investments, in addition to education, this issue also affects health, which is another important function of social policy. Gender equality or inequalities are imposed on students starting from primary school through the education system with tools such as the tacit curriculum, and the reflection of this is evident in the family and business lives of adults. In this respect, when we consider the Early Republican Era, it is seen that this level of awareness made itself felt predominantly in the field of education and education policies.

Because the Early Republican Era corresponds to the interim period when the two World Wars occurred worldwide. The decreasing male population in wars forced women to be more employed and to act strongly. The slogan “We can do it!” is a clear expression of women being strong and being employed more in Western countries. While Turkey in the Early Republican Era was progressing on the line of Westernization and modernization with its reforms, it aimed to create strong and working “Republican Women,” especially with its education policies. However, importance was also given to raising cultured and equipped housewives for women who did not work. While importance was given to raising educated, equipped, and brave women in the Early Republican Era, and while it was aimed to make this functional with education as a tool of social policy, work was glorified, and in addition, avoiding work was denigrated. The most obvious example of this is the implementation of Bismarckian health policies based on social insurance rather than social assistance. With the declaration of the Republic, schooling rates increased more especially for girls and women compared to men. In addition to education being direct and gradual, emphasis was also given to training for adult women to acquire a profession. Therefore, employment of women was encouraged, especially with education policies, and this was also supported by the legal infrastructure. Health policies, on the other hand, were limited to maternity leave and postpartum support, and maternity hospitals for working women. As a result, in the Early Republican Era, women were subjects whose employment was provided through education and who were given importance in social policies for modernization.

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