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SOCIETAL FACTORS EFFECTIVE ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN TURKEY

TÜRKİYE'DE KADINLARIN EĞİTİMİ ÜZERİNDE ETKİLİ TOPLUMSAL FAKTÖRLER

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ABSTRACT

Socio-economic oriented development studies made within the period we called as the “planned period” and “neo-liberal period” up to date since 1923 resulted in considerable changes on the societal structure and particularly on the family and the women in Turkey. Inflation increase based on economic structure and domestic migration and particularly patriarchal societal structure based on industrialization and urbanization have been effective on the women's education. In this study, societal factors affecting the women's education status are overviewed in respect of societal change by means of econometric model and according to structural-functional point of view from the year 1923 up to date. Accordingly, it was noted that the most effective variable-planned development period on model basis on the women's education and caused an increase of 6% in the women's education level. However, as for the liberal period, there was no considerable effect on the women's education level in Turkey.

Key Words: Women's Education, Planned Development Period, Liberal Economic Period, Societal Change.

ÖZET

Cumhuriyetin kurulduğu 1923 yılından günümüze, planlı dönem ve neo-liberal dönem olarak adlandırılan süreçte, sosyo-ekonomik odaklı yapılan kalkınma çalışmaları toplumsal yapıda ve özellikle aile ve kadınlar üzerinde önemli değişmelere neden olmuştur. Ekonomik yapıya bağlı olarak enflasyon artışı, sanayileşme ve kentleşmeye bağlı olarak iç göçler ve özellikle ataerkil toplumsal yapı aile, kadın ve kadın eğitimi üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Bu çalışmada, 1923 yılından günümüze, diğer bir ifadeyle planlı kalkınma ve neo-liberal dönemler itibarıyla, Türkiye'de kadınların eğitim durumunu etkileyen toplumsal faktörler, ekonometrik bir model yardımıyla ve yapısal fonksiyonel bakış açısıyla, toplumsal değişme açısından incelenmiştir. Buna göre kadınların eğitim düzeyi üzerinde model kapsamında en etkili değişken planlı kalkınma dönemi olmuş ve bu dönemin kadınların eğitim düzeyi üzerinde %6'lık bir artışa neden olduğu saptanmıştır. 1980 yılından itibaren planlı kalkınma döneminin alternatifi olarak hayata geçirilen liberal dönem ise Türkiye'de kadınların eğitimi üzerinde anlamlı bir etki yaratmamıştır. Yapısal fonksiyonel modele göre toplumsal değişme açısından özellikle Cumhuriyet döneminde Latin harflerinin kabulü; planlı dönemde ise eğitim imkânlarının artması kadın eğitimi üzerinde doğrudan pozitif etki yaratmış; liberal dönemde ise özellikle yüksek enflasyon ve yüksek bağımlılık oranı kadın eğitimi üzerinde anlamlı bir etki yaratmamıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kadın eğitimi, Planlı kalkınma dönemi, Liberal ekonomik dönem, Toplumsal değişme.

1. INTRODUCTION

Change is an inevitable and universal process experienced by all the societies. Societal structure, always in kinesis, is forced to change by societal factors already existent in the society itself and possessing different characteristics and efficiencies. These items generally appear as a result of quantitative and qualitative developments in the economy, technological advances and demographic formations (Çivi et al., 1994).

Each society has an internal structure, a specific structure. However, this structure is not stable and is prone to the change. The internal structure or structure of societies has different rates of change depending on the societal and economic conditions. Generally, this change is developmental (Gökçe, 1996).

Merter (1990) examined the ideas, put forward with regard to the changes in the social change and the family structure in Turkey and defined common points on the change of the family as industrialization, urbanization, rural migration, population increase and removal of village-city separation depending on transportation possibilities, expansion and rise of educational opportunities. These factors, being effective on the family, naturally affect women and girls as well. However, Kongar (2005) and Tanilli (2006) emphasized that the structural changes of the family in Turkey are supported by legal processes, gave the example of the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (1926) and the right to vote for women in the local (1930) and general elections; and argued that all those changes led women to begin to enjoy equal rights with men in educational and economic activities.

The development/development period in Turkey is generally examined as the period between 1923 and 1950 and the period after 1950 (Akşit, 1985, Kıray, 1998, Merter, 1990). Merter (1990) stated that in the first period that is between 1923 and 1950, the factors effective on change were the matters such as development projects, mechanization and land reform; in the second period, it emphasized that the efforts made for the modernization of the society became more important. Particularly in this period, political changes, transition to a multiparty system, increase in income in the agricultural sector, acceleration of migration from the village to the village, events such as switch to market economy gave the society a mobility and speed; additionally, in this period, industrialization, mechanization in agriculture, education, health, extension of transportation services and increase of mass media have become important issues (Merter, 1990). The process which lasted from 1950s to 1980 and establishment of the State Planning Organization (DPT) (1961) and activation of the five-year development plans in 1963 were all defined as a "planned development period" and efficiency of the state in the economy was felt. The DPT (the "SPO") is the institution responsible for development plans and programs in Turkey. Planned development studies, though they seem to have begun in 1963, actually started with the establishment of the Republic (Özdemir, 2014; Aslan, 1988). The formation of the planning ideology in the 1950s was an effective factor in establishment of SPO (Aslan, 1988).

Neo-liberal policies, which gained increasing weight in the West in the 1970s, started to become effective in Turkey after 1980. This approach, which has left the economy to the initiative of the market forces and aims to minimize the functions of the state with the government's downsizing and privatization efforts, has continued until today with the structural adjustment programs continued with the international organizations. This neo-liberal approach and policies have also led to changes in the functions and activities of development plans (Anonymous, 2017).

Within this process, called the planned period and the neo-liberal period, lasting from 1923 up to date, socio-economic development studies have led to significant changes in the societal structure, particularly on families and women. Increase in inflation due to economic structure; internalization due to industrialization and urbanization, and patriarchal societal structure have led an impact on family, women and women's education.

Education is a fundamental institution aiming at teaching individuals the ideological priorities of power, values and norms that stand out in society, and professional knowledge. Within this context, the education plays an important role both in realizing a change in the societal field and in creating a new personality structure (Zencirkıran, 2016). In terms of education and societal change, the education is a powerful tool in changing the society in the desired direction, speed and scope (Tütengil, 1966: Dinçer, 2003). According to the KSGM (2015), the education is an effective means of change in the societal and individual context, as well as being a prerequisite for productive and quality life; particularly it acts rather as a key for reducing the gender inequalities. According to Tanilli (2006), Turkey also participated in the revolution in the West, particularly in the reality of equality between men and women, though it is late. This is a consequence of enlightenment in the West, in other words, the rational and secular revolution, which also affects Turkey. It was the independent, secular and democratic Republic that took radical steps in this process. Again, for Tanilli (2006), the only country in the whole Muslim world, experiencing such awakening is Turkey. Merter (1990) stated that with the declaration of the republic,

the Republic of Turkey has become a nation and that many societal reforms and reforms have taken place in this process. Tani (2006) stated that a radical and permanent period for women started with the Republic; he characterized this radical and lasting period as a cultural revolution and defined its items as the change of the alphabet, the education's being mixed, national and secular. Özer (2013) emphasized that the activities carried out during the Republic period in terms of education such as Tanilli (2006) were made very fast and politically supported. For example, as Tanilli, Özer also emphasized that the transition to the Latin alphabet (1928) took place very quickly with the aim of increasing the literacy rate and stated that the Republican administration put a stamp on the novelty that almost none of the contemporary countries could do in this way by putting the Latin Alphabet into practice (1928) (Özer, 2013). The effects of the education policies of the Republic period on women, particularly in terms of literacy, are also visible. Whereas the rate of female literacy in Turkey was 10% in 1935, 19% in 1950, 55% in 1980, 81% in 2000 and 94% in 2015 (TURKSTAT, 2017a). However, women still constitute a significant part of illiterate population. In 2015, while 9.0% of women 25 years of age or older are illiterate, this rate is 1.8% for men (TURKSTAT, 2017b).

In the world, the situation of women is not different either. Miller (1996) states that women corresponds to two thirds of the illiterate in the world; Tunç (2009) emphasized that in Turkey, basic education is compulsory and free, but there are many children who are still in the age of primary education but still can not attend school. When considered Turkey's general education data, it is noticed that there is an increase in the illiteracy rate for both genders taking into account rates "from young age groups to older age groups", "from urban population to urban population" and "from western regions to eastern regions" (KSGM, 2015). Turkey has become a party to many international contracts, in terms of both women and girls, for optimization of their current educational situation. Tor (2016) noted that Turkey, which has committed to increase 100% of women's literacy, has regulated the compulsory education period (including high school education) with the change made in 2012 as 12 years; however, he emphasized that this system - called as 4 + 4 + 4 education system - adversely affected participation of the girls in the education process.

Education is qualified as a driving force for the development of a country. However, in Turkey, girls' school enrollment rates are lower than boys'. There are some obstacles for girls' schooling (Tor and Ađlı, 2016). This obstacle can be classified as religious, economic, traditional and rural inability (Karaman, 1994). Particularly, economic inability directly affects women. Under current economic conditions, families generally give priority to boys and later on girls have the opportunity to benefit from this service. In case of any inconsiderable economic problem, however, girls are withdrawn from the education process, and economic problems create opportunities for families to get girls out of school or never to be sent. Particularly in the rural areas, as for sending the children to the school, it is noticed that the parents prefer sending the boys to the school. Tunç (2009) stated that the girls are unable to attend school due to the factors such as absence of school options, especially for religious beliefs in rural areas, the families' being crowded, lower income level, early age marriages, secondary status of the girls in the family and the role of motherhood and these reasons increased the rate of absence in the school according the education. UNICEF (2004) also categorized these obstacles as conflict between tradition and religious beliefs, gender roles, early marriages, women's low status in society, education and societal roles as well. With development, women benefit from both educational opportunities and gained their economic freedom based on the qualifications they obtain; however, marriage and family relationships are in the focus of the identity of women in Turkey (Tanilli, 2006). Okafor (2010) emphasized the prevalence of marriage and maternity as the main task of women in her work in the Northeast Nigeria. It is apparent that in Turkey all women passing through education is an inevitable principle; however, it is questionable how much they benefit from this blessing (Tanilli, 2006). As a matter of fact, when considered the employment figures of women, it is noted that the average paid working time is 8 years; women who worked in pre-marriage have generally left work after the marriage and children at the age 25-30, then returned to work at age 35-44, and quitted working again after the age 50 (Dedeođlu, 2004). This shows that the responsibility for children and the maintenance of the elderly in Turkey mainly attributes to the women in the family. Therefore, early marriage and the number of the children and elderly dependents affect the time when the women would reserve for other events such as education. According to a survey carried out by Turkstat (2016a), elderly dependency ratios are rising in Turkey; this rate, being 11.1% in 2012, increased to 12.3% in 2016. According to the same survey, 40.2% of the

elderly stated that they want to live with their children. On the other hand, the rate of young dependency is 33.9% that is quite higher (Turkstat, 2016b). Reflecting the societal structure of Turkey, this situation leads women first to be deprived of the right to education and as a result, to deal with problems of employment, economic independence, poverty and violence.

However, the education rate of women is not only dependent on family situations or economic indicators. Besides these variables, the investments in the relevant country and the capital accumulation models that shape these investments should also be considered. The capital accumulation models and investments in Turkey have taken quite different orientations particularly in the planned and liberal periods. Accordingly, the inflation rates in the country are changing and this affects the economical possibilities of the dwellings. The influence of the country's economy can not be denied when families, especially girls, prefer to use their financial resources for their education. However, Saygılı et al. (2002) emphasized that the current situation of the economy has changed and the inflation has risen during the liberal period. Accordingly, with the 1960s, the Planned Development Process was started and the main objective of the development plans implemented in 1963 was to increase national income through rapid capital accumulation and industrialization. Public intervention played a significant role in this period, which was applied by 1980s and called "industrialization based on import substitution". With the 1980s, the import substitution growth strategy was abandoned and instead the open foreign growth strategy was put into effect. Since 1978, the Turkish economy has faced problems in the labor market and serious foreign exchange crisis. A process when political instability and high inflation have affected the economic growth started (Saygılı et al., 2002).

It is noted that the educational levels of women are affected by urbanization movements other than the aforesaid events. However, a sociological phenomenon is quite common in the Turkish society where men in rural areas go to work in cities and families stay and live in rural areas. This phenomenon is even more prevalent in the initial years of the historical section, particularly studied within the scope of this study. However, male migratory movements from rural areas to cities are as common as the migrations of men only. From 1935 to 2000, the male population in cities has always been higher than the female population, and in 2000, the male and female population in the cities have come close to each other.

The phenomenon of migration has always been an important indicator in terms of societal change in Turkey, women's problems, urbanization, environment and the like. However, Dedeoğlu (2004) observed that almost all researchers who try to analyze societal change in Turkey addressed immigration and that the most significant transformation that has been used as a sign of radical change in society in terms of societal change is the immigration from rural to urban. Particularly, the migrations to the city from the village have more impact on women than men. Whereas Güler (1997) notes that urbanization as a modernization process is effective on the values, attitudes and behaviors of individuals, Kongar (1995) emphasized that people entered a changing process with the phenomenon of city settlement. Kantar (2000) emphasized that particularly the women entered a changing process in respect of education-health, fertility etc. upon settlement in the cities and there occurred differences generally in their behavior models, consumption habits and mentalities; he stated that however, in terms of labor force, women who are actually producers in the village are generally limited to domestic activities in the city. Women who belong to families who migrate from the village to the city get the qualification of housewives and come out of the labor force when they come to the city (Önder, 2013). Lerner emphasized the close relationship between urbanization and modernization, and stated that urbanization took place at the basis of modernization (Aktaran, Kongar, 1995). The break from rural areas in Turkey and the migration to cities go back to 1950s (Bıçkı, 2013). Internal migration, having an average of 60 years of history, took place in a very short period of time in Turkey and in a very short time (Özer, 2013).

Purpose of this study is to overview the societal factors affecting the educational status of women in Turkey from the point of view of societal change, with the help of an econometric model, in 1923, when the Republic was founded, in other words in terms of planned development and neo-liberal periods.

1.1. Theoretical Framework

The focus of Middle-Range Theories, which can be counted among micro- and macro-sociological models and which is considered to be one that does not exclude the other (Gökçe, 1976), finds the

functioning and accordingly also finds the mechanism of change of existence, which is the larger unit of humanity (Kongar, 1995).

It is argued that the human being has the opportunity to reach development laws considering the common features of the individual researches of the "medium-sized models" developed for a given society. According to Merton, who clearly states this view, each society is handled under its own circumstances and the common characteristics noticed in the societies overviewed make it possible to go to the general rules (Gökçe, 1976). Today's medium-sized theories are generally possible to be overviewed in two groups; one is the structural functional approach, and the second is the conflict approach (Kongar, 1995). The structural-functional approach and medium-sized theories focus much more on the matters such as demographic and ecological changes, recruitment, urbanization, subcultures and deviated behavior, societal stratification, and societal mobility (Kongar, 1995).

While the sub-systems in the society are examined by structural-functional approach, the individuals and the relations between individuals can be examined. The individual is considered and examined as a member of society in a particular societal role. Fulfillment of the functions by the societies is closely related to the statuses and roles required by such statuses, affecting the behavior of the members (Gökçe, 1976).

Structural-functional relations within the social system maintain the integrity and balance of the system. The variation seen in any variant naturally affects others (Gökçe, 1976). As long as this interaction process is in compliance with natural progress, integrity and balance of the system will be preserved; otherwise, the possible consequences of the change will lead to the emergence of elements damaging the integrity of the system (Gökçe, 1976). Accordingly, the socio-economic development movements occurring in Turkey since 1923 generally affect the society and specifically the family and the woman in the family; this interaction mutually continues.

How can the socioeconomic development efforts in the context of planned development and neo-liberalization be described by the structural-functional approach to the educational situation of the women in Turkey? The answer to this question can be given with the Figure 1.

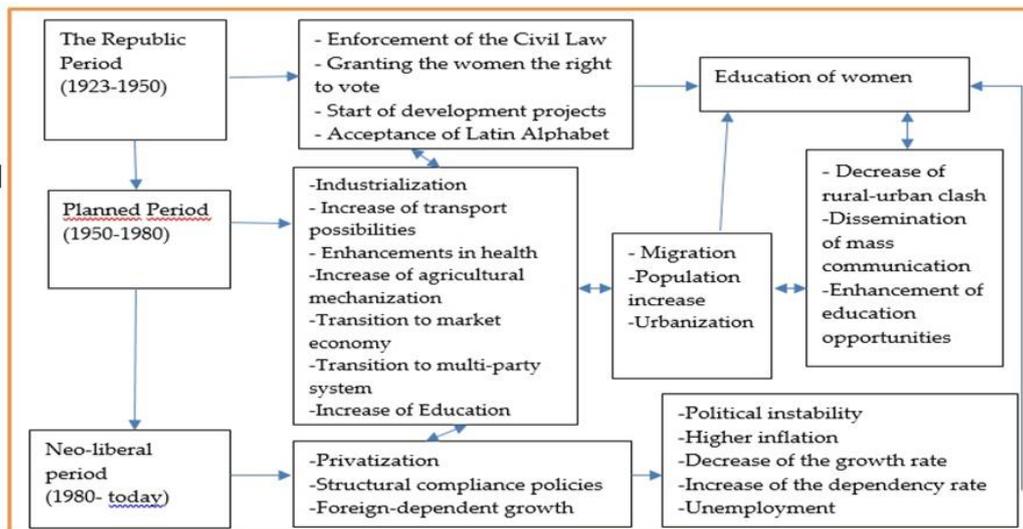


Figure 1. The Structural-Functional Approach of Societal Factors Affecting Women's Education
Şekil 1. Kadın Eğitimi Üzerinde Etkili Toplumsal Faktörlerin Yapısal-Fonksiyonel Model İle Açıklanması

According to Figure 1, all the developmental movements carried out from the years of foundation of the Republic up-to-date were directly or indirectly influential on the educational status of women. In particular, the adoption of Latin letters made it easier to read-write; increased transportation and communication opportunities have increased village-city communication and offered educational opportunities. Besides these effects, sacrificing women and girls first as a solution to the economic problems (inflation-unemployment-high dependency ratio etc.), adopting the role of only the reproduction of the women migrating from rural areas to the cities and general societal patriarchal structure, are also the factors effective on the women's education.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Data used in the research are based on the secondary data obtained from the Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat), the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey and various scientific articles. Although the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, the available and reliable data in this study started as of 1935. For the variables and impacts affecting the education level of women in the Republic of Turkey, which constitute the focus note of the research, time serials were established from 1935 to 2015 with 5 year intervals. With these variables formed, an econometric time serial model was formed.

In this study, factors affecting the education of women in Turkey were analyzed using the Tobit model. The tobit model is an econometric model which enables study of limited dependent variables (Tobin, 1958). The Tobit model is also called a censored or censored regression model (Amemiya, 1984; Gujarati, 2004). Hypothesis testing in estimation of the tobit model is performed with the "maximum likelihood ratio test" (LR). The dependent variable (the proportion of women educated in Turkey), which is considered in the scope of the study, is a limited variable that takes values between 0 and 1. Therefore, it is anticipated that the Tobit model would be appropriate. The empirical model (Tobit) was defined as follows and estimate of the model was made with Eviews 9.5 program.

$$Q_i = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \mu_i$$

To find out the women's education rate (Q_i), being the dependent variable in our model, from 1935 to 2015, the literacy female population of 6 years of age or older was proportioned to the total female population of 6 years and over. The women's literacy is the most basic education indicator. This problem, which has been left behind for many countries in the world, still remains important for Turkey. As of 2015, about 7% of women in Turkey are illiterate. Therefore, this basic indicator has been chosen to indicate the educational level of women.

Within the scope of the model, the dependency ratio (X_1), the urban female population ratio (X_2) and the inflation rate (X_3) were selected as independent variables. Additionally, the planned development (X_4) and the liberal period (X_5), two important periods in the economic history of the Republic of Turkey, are added as dummy variables.

In Turkish society, care of children and the elderly is mainly under the responsibility of women in the family. Accordingly, the number of people to compulsorily be dealt affects the time when women will reserve for other events such as education. Likewise, the inflation rates in the country are influential on the economic possibilities of the families. The influence of the country's economy on the families' - particularly the girls' - preferring to use their financial resources for their education is irrefutable. However, the education rate of women is not only dependent on family situations or economic indicators. Besides these variables, the investments in that country and the capital unit models directing these investments should also be taken into account. The capital accumulation models and investments in Turkey have taken quite different orientations especially in the planned and liberal periods. For this reason, these two periods are added as dummy variables. For the period of the planned economy, the period from 1955 to 1980 was given the value "1" and the other years "0". Similarly, for the period of the liberal economy between 1985 and 2015, a return value of "1" was given, whereas "0" was given to other years. Even though the planned development period in Turkey officially commenced in 1963, since the process was taken as the terms between the years 1923-1950, 1950-1980 and 1980 and thereafter in the academic studies on societal change preparations, the model was formed considering these periods in this study.

It is known that urbanization movements also affect women's education other than these facts. However, a sociological fact is quite common in the Turkish society, as the men in the country go to cities for work and the families stay and live in the countryside. This phenomenon is particularly more prevalent in the initial years of the historical section, which is particularly studied within the scope of this research. Therefore, the increase in the proportion of the urban population to the total population will be misleading on the matter of urbanization. This is because immigration of only men is as common as the migratory movements of the families from rural areas. From 1935 to 2000, the male population in cities has always been higher than the female population, and in 2000, the male and female population in the cities have come close to each other. Consequently, these reasons were included in the model as the

indicator of urbanization, calculating the ratio of the female population in the cities to the total population.

It is supposed in the econometric models established by the time series data that the time series used are stationary. If the time series used in the model is not stationary, spurious regression occurs (Granger and Newbold, 1974). Therefore, the Dickey-Fuller stationarity analysis test was applied to determine whether relationships between time series are true or false. As a result of the test, it is derived that the education rate (Q1) series of dependent variable women is stationary; however, the independent variables dependency ratio (X1), female population ratio in urban areas (X2) and inflation (X3) series are not stable. Within this context, they were retested by taking the first-order differentiators to stabilize non-stationary series. The stationarity analyzes were carried out by considering the differentiated values of the time series, and the R2 values were found to be at an ideal level ($1 > R\text{-squared} > 0,70$). And the probability values are found as 0,000. These results indicate that the series are reliable. The initial and last year figures of the variables used in the survey are given in the Table 1.

Table 1. Figures of The Variables Used in the Research.
Tablo 1. Araştırmada Kullanılan Değişkenlere Ait Rakamlar

Year	Urban Ratio	Sex Dependency	Inflation	Education Women Ratio	Dummy Plan	Dummy Liberal
1935	48.19	82.89	11.1	0.10	0	0
2015	49.84	47.57	8.8	0.94	0	1

Turkstat. 2017. Various Years

3. RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1. Econometric Results

According to the analysis result, it is calculated that the dependency rate of women on education level, inflation and planned development period variables are effective at 1% significance level within the term from 1935 until 2015 in Turkey. The changes in the rate of women's population in the cities and the period of liberal economy have not been found out to have a significant effect on the women's education. The estimated parameters for Tobit model are reported in Table 2.

Table 2. Parameter Estimates of Women's Education Level
Tablo 2. Kadın eğitimi üzerinde etkili parametre tahmini

Dependent Variable: DIFFERENCE EDUCATION WOMEN
Method: ML - Censored Normal (TOBIT) (Quadratic hill climbing / EViews legacy)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	z-Statistic	Prob.
C	0.022985	0.013496	1.703091	0.0886
DIFFERENCE DEPENDENCY	-0.004660	0.001573	-2.962870	0.0030
DIFFERENCE URBAN GENDER RATE	0.014333	0.010517	1.362872	0.1729
DIFFERENCE INFLATION	-0.000568	0.000206	-2.753485	0.0059
DUMMY PLAN	0.066672	0.017991	3.705852	0.0002
DUMMY LIB	-0.007969	0.014266	-0.558566	0.5765
Error Distribution				
SCALE:C(7)	0.018616	0.002944	6.324555	0.0000
Mean dependent var	0.044747	S.D. dependent var		0.037424
S.E. of regression	0.022655	Akaike info criterion		-4.429552
Sum squared resid	0.006672	Schwarz criterion		-4.081046
Log likelihood	51.29552	Hannan-Quinn criter.		-4.361520
Avg. log likelihood	2.564776			
Left censored obs	0	Right censored obs		0
Uncensored obs	20	Total obs		20

According to Tobit model results, as long as the dependency ratios of the families decrease, the education rates of the women increase. A 1% reduction in dependency rates on the family leads to a 0.46% increase in the education level of women. Likewise, a 1% decrease in inflation leads to an increase of 0.05% in women's education level. However, in the Republic of Turkey, the most effective variable on the level of the women's education is found to be the period of planned development. It is derived that the planned development period caused a 6% increase in the women's education level. The liberal period, put into effect since 1980 as an alternative to the planned development period, has not had a considerable effect on the education of women in Turkey. Similarly, no meaningful effect of the change in the proportion of women in urban areas has been found out.

4. DISCUSSION

In Turkey, although many attempts have been made to increase economic, cultural and social development of women, by means of several education reforms and relevant societal changes starting from the Tanzimat Reform Period, particularly the declaration of the foundation of the Republic up-to-date, it is noticed that today the level of women's education does not reach the desired targets (Tor and Ađlı, 2016).

There are still problems to be solved for women in terms of benefiting from the right to education, which is accepted as one of the fundamental human rights in Turkey. Even though the foundation of the Republic has offered a quantitative increase in the education of women on a day to day basis and significant gains have been achieved by means of legal arrangements and regulations, it is evident that these developments have not yet sufficiently been reflected on the societal life (Tor, 2016).

The reasons for the failure by the women in Turkey to reach the desired level of education and availability of non-literate female population in Turkey depend on the characteristics of government policies and societal structures that interact with each other; these two features directly affect the women. Women cannot come to the desired level in this respect unless the factors of direct and/or indirect education, such as employment and dependency ratio, are the first priority for women in terms of women. However, Gr and elik (2009) emphasized that pre-school education investments in developed countries are directly related to the labor force participation of women. For those reasons, it is essential to increase pre-school infrastructure investments in order to consider women's education problem not only in terms of literacy and at least in primary education but also in considering working life and increasing the participation of mothers in employment. This will offer a start-up opportunity at the lowest and basic level of the education process in terms of girls in the long run.

Measures taken for women in our country and contracts made as required by international agreements should not be left on paper. However, when the employment figures of women are considered, this situation can be observed clearly. Education has an effect that reduces women's employment in the long term and women's employment reduces dependency rates. However, a significant number of women in Turkey are still housewives; this situation has an effect that increases the dependency ratio. As a matter of fact, Arık (2016) stated that the labor force participation rate of women in Turkey is 31.6%; this proportion is not even half of the figures of the member countries of the European Union. This means that although government policies have adopted the principle of positive discrimination for women today, our country is far from sufficient sanctions in the fields and matters of education, employment, equality, etc. Accordingly, if considered on the basis of historical process, it may be noticed and stated that the acceleration in the period of planned development could not be conveyed to the liberal period; likewise, the analysis results clearly put forth this situation as well. The decline in the dependency ratio has a significant impact on women's education. The fact that the planned period is highly effective on women's education can be regarded as a positive reflection of the importance given to the status of women in the foundation years of the Republic. With the foundation of the Republic, it has been adopted as a basic philosophy that women should have equal rights with men. However, in the liberal period, it is also derived from the analysis results that this philosophy has not been considered as important as it was in the planned period and has not been maintained either. Work on women's status, which gained positive momentum with the republic, had a significant impact on women's education, particularly in the planned period, but lost its influence in the liberal period. Particularly, the pronatalist population policies, which increased pre-planned dependency ratios, started to change with the planned period;

however, since direct anti-natalist policies have not directly been applied, these had no much effect on reducing the dependency rates and its effects reflected onto the liberal period in the long term.

Other than the adverse effects of the economic development model implemented in the liberal period on the women's education, the migration-and-migration-based urbanization, which has been continuing in the liberal period, have not had a positive impact on the women's education. The Turkish educational system's being very centralized (OECD, 2014, Gür and Çelik, 2009), the Ministry of National Education's short-term changes and implementation of different education policies with establishment of new governments brought instability in the education (Gür and Çelik, 2009). This has prevented efforts and studies for the women to specifically be handled and practiced. In addition, there is no distinction in terms of educational content between rural and urban areas in accordance with equal opportunities. Although this may seem right at first sight, it is open for argument. People living in the countryside do not care to send their children to the school because they cannot have their profession as a result of basic education. The education policies that will be specialized for the rural area are currently not implemented in terms of equal opportunity in Turkey. On the other side, whereas the girls in urban areas are somehow attached to the education process, the girls in the rural areas are not sent even to elementary school due to the influence of socio-economic and cultural factors in rural areas, although primary (elementary) education is compulsory. The women are not able to make use of uniform education policies because of the socio-economic and cultural differences that exist especially among the urban-countryside and *inter-alia* the rural areas in Turkey. This can be stated as the main reason for that there are still illiterate women and girls.

On the other hand, the woman, who migrated to the city from the countryside, leaves her producer identity in the countryside and has any longer gained the identity of housewife in the city. A woman, unable to have a level of education to work at a paid job, is directed to the domestication of the home, not the working life, and has assumed the role of sacrifice for the education of children, particularly the boys. Because of the patriarchal characteristics of the Turkish societal structure, the woman's maintenance of the family and domestication of the house have also been accepted by the society without objection within the scope of reproduction activities. Another dimension of this change is that women have adopted and tended this situation. The woman has not found odd contrarily supported this situation due to the difficulty of agricultural production, lower level of agricultural income, perception of superiority of being a housewife compared to working in the field, encouragement of the woman to stay in the private area and exaltation of the concepts of motherhood and wife, for reasons she has not supported the house, but supported it.

On the other hand, along with the liberal period, Turkey's encountering more important mainly economic problems directly resulted in decrease of the women-oriented activities. In this period, many women-oriented studies and activities were started in Turkey either through public or private sector in parallel with the international women's movements on the matters of women rights, man-woman equality etc. These are studies, sustainably keeping the women problems on the agenda, being quite successful in individual sense, but being inadequate, since they lack holistic view and sanction like public policies.

Therefore, government policies and particularly socio-economic development programs have quite significant effects on the women in developing countries like Turkey. Policies applied to the education as well as gender/equal opportunity in education in the planned development period in Turkey did not have the same priority in the liberal period. Although the urbanization and migration initially seem to have created advantages for the women, they have indeed created disadvantages for both the women migrating to the cities and the women staying in the countryside. However, it can be said that it has created advantages for the girls coming to the cities in the long run. In case of migration of only the men, upon consideration that the women staying in the countryside assume the agricultural and non-agricultural works alone, then start of education seems luxury for the girls, being the most important supporters and helpers of the countryside women.

5. CONCLUSION

Societal factors have important effect on the women's education. In terms of societal change, although significant and positive changes occurred in respect of the women's education from the planned period

to the liberal period and up-to-date, the most significant effect was achieved in the planned period. In terms of societal change assessed according to structural functional models, particularly the adoption of Latin letters in the Republic period and the increase of education opportunities in the planned period had directly positive effect on the women's education; however, as for the liberal period, high inflation and high dependency ratio did not have significant effects on the women's education. In the liberal period, because of the high inflation and high dependency ratio, the women were first withdrawn from the education process and directed to home production roles, whereas the education level of the female population equalized with men in the urban sector was expected to increase. Consequently, the liberal period did not have a considerable effect on the women's education.

The increase in the educational level of the female population also has quite considerable effect in respect of ensuring gender equality, increasing employment opportunities, decreasing dependency rates, and children's future accordingly the future of society. For this reason, it is so significant that educational policies be reconsidered in the context of international agreements and on the basis of positive discrimination principle. Accordingly, penal sanctions are required to increasingly be imposed and the education should be encouraged with the incentives and supports especially for the rural areas.

On the other hand, families living in Turkey have different socio-cultural and economic characteristics in either rural or urban areas. This is quite an important factor in terms of the women's education, from being sent to the school to having a profession. Therefore, efforts such as updating educational policies according to the principle of positive discrimination and encouraging the women's education are not enough. In particular, for the regions with different socio-cultural and economic structures, it is very important to educate the families and raise their awareness on education with the non-formal education programs. The issue of the women's education can be solved not only by legislation and sanctions but also by social policies.

Conflict of interest statement

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