JOURNAL OF APPLIED AND THEORETICAL SOCIAL SCIENCES

TEORİK VE UYGULAMALI SOSYAL BİLİMLER DERGİSİ

(e-ISSN: 2687-5861)

(DOI Prefix:10.37241/jatss)

International Peer-Reviewed and Open Access Electronic Journal
Uluslararası Hakemli ve Açık Erişimli Elektronik Dergi

VOLUME 7. ISSUE 3. 2025

CİLT 7. SAYI 3. 2025

PUBLISHER AND CHIEF EDITOR / SAHİBİ VE BAŞ EDİTÖR

PROF. DR. NİLGÜN SERİM

RESEARCHER-WRITER/ARAŞTIRMACI-YAZAR

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences/Istanbul/ Turkey

editor.jatss@iccsor.com , nilgun.serim@iccsor.com

ASSISTANT EDITOR/ YARDIMCI EDİTÖR

ASST.PROF. DR / DR. ÖĞRETİM ÜYESİ NAZMİ Y.YAĞANOĞLU

ÇANAKKALE ONSEKİZ MART UNIVERSITY

Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences/Department of Econometrics/Çanakkale/Turkey/ **nazmiyagan@comu.edu.tr**

COMMUNICATION AND COORDINATION/İLETİŞİM VE KOORDİNASYON

https://www.iccsor.com/index.php/jatss

E-mail/ E-posta:

editor.jatss@iccsor.com

Ferah M. Nihat Sami Banarlı S. 32/ 8 Usküdar,Istanbul/Turkey

Ferah M. Nihat Sami Banarlı S. 32/ 8 Üsküdar, İstanbul, Türkiye

We are Indexed by the Following Databases / Endekslendiğimiz Veri Tabanları

TR DİZİN

EBSCOhost

Since 2021

EuroPub

Since 2021

ROAD DIRECTORY OF OPEN ACCESS SCHOLARLY RESOURCES

Since 2020

WorldCat®

Since 2020

CORE

Since 2021

Since 2021

Since 2020

FATCAT

Since 2023

Since 2023

Member of:

Since 2019

Archived by:

Since 2022

FIELD EDITORS/ ALAN EDİTÖRLERİ

Prof. Dr. Nilgün SERİM (Emeritus) editor.jatss@iccsor.com , nilgun.serim@iccsor.com

European Union, Natural Resources and Environmental Economics, Energy Consumption, Energy Policy, Energy Planning, Energy Pricing, Energy Use, Energy and Environment, Energy Systems, Renewable Energy, Public Finance, Political Sociology, Local Governments, Urban and Environmental Policies and other fields of social sciences.

Avrupa Birliği, Doğal Kaynaklar ve Çevre Ekonomisi, Enerji Tüketimi, Enerji Politikası, Enerji Planlaması, Enerji Fiyatlaması, Enerji Kullanımı, Enerji ve Çevre, Enerji Sistemleri, Yenilenebilir Enerji, Maliye, Siyaset Sosyoloji, Yerel Yönetimler, Kent ve Çevre Politikaları, ve Sosyal Bilimlerin diğer alanları.

Asst.Prof.Dr./Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nazmi Y. YAĞANOĞLU nazmiyagan@comu.edu.tr

ÇANAKKALE ONEKİZ MART UNIVERSITY/ÇANAKKALE ONSEKİZMART ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Econometrics, Macroeconomics, Microeconomics, International Economics, International Trade, Higher Education Studies.

Ekonometri, Makro İktisat, Mikro İktisat, Uluslararası İktisat, Uluslararası Ticaret, Yükseköğretim Çalışmaları

Assoc.Prof.Dr./Doç. Dr. İlkin Yaran ÖGEL ilkinyaran@aku.edu.tr

AFYON KOCATEPE UNIVERSITY/AFYON KOCATEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Marketing, Product and Brand Management, Consumer Behaviors, Management Information Systems, Management and Strategy.

Pazarlama, Ürün ve Marka Yönetimi, Tüketici Davranışları, Yönetim Bilişim Sistemleri, Yönetim ve Strateji.

Assoc.Prof.Dr./Doç. Dr. Serdar ÖGEL serdarogel@aku.edu.tr

AFYON KOCATEPE UNIVERSITY/AFYON KOCATEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Energy Finance, Business Finance, Accounting, Quantitative Decision Methods, Behavioral Finance, Financial Markets,

Enerji Finansmanı, İşletme Finansmanı, Muhasebe, Nicel Karar Yöntemleri, Davranışsal Finans, Finansal Piyasalar.

Asst.Prof.Dr./Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Murat KORALTÜRK mkoralturk@marmara.edu.tr

MARMARA UNIVERSITY/MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Economic Thought, Economic History, Banking and Insurance, Globalisation and Social Change, Economic Geography, Social Policy, Public Administration, Economic Sociology

İktisadi Düşünce, İktisat Tarihi, Bankacılık ve Sigortacılık, Toplumsal Değişme ve Küreselleşme, İktisadi Coğrafya, Sosyal Politika, Kamu Yönetimi, İktisat Sosyolojisi.

Asst.Prof.Dr./Dr. Öğr. Üyesi İlker AKTÜKÜN iaktukun@istanbul.edu.tr

İSTANBUL UNIVERSITY/İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Political Thought, Political Life and Institutions, Political Science, Political History, Political, International Relations, Analysis of Regional Geopolitics

Siyasal Düşünceler, Siyasal Hayat ve Kurumlar, Siyaset Bilimi, Siyasi Tarih, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Bölgesel Jeopolitik Analizler.

TECHNICAL EDITOR/ TEKNİK EDİTÖR

Prof.Dr. Hamza EROL herol@mersin.edu.tr .

MERSIN UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF ENGINEERING, DEPARTMENT OF COMPUTER ENGINEERING/ MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ MÜHENDİSLİK FAKÜLTESİ, BİLGİSAYAR MÜHENDİSLİĞİ BÖLÜMÜ

ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITOR/ İNGİLİZCE DİL EDİTÖRÜ

Asst.Prof.Dr./Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mehmet TUNAZ mehmet.tunaz@nevsehir.edu.tr

NEVŞEHİR HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES/ NEVŞEHİR HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ YABANCI DİLLER YÜKSEKOKULU

Res. Asst. Dr./Arş.Gör.Dr.Tuncay KARALIK tuncaykaralik@beun.edu.tr

ZONGULDAK BÜLENT ECEVİT UNİVERSİTY, FACULTY OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION/ ZONGULDAK BÜLENT ECEVİT UNİVERSİTESİ, EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ, YABANCI DİLER EĞİTİMİ BÖLÜMÜ

TURKISH LANGUAGE EDITOR/TÜRKÇE DİL EDİTÖRÜ

Assoc.Prof.Dr./Doç. Dr. Emel KOŞAR emel.kosar@msgsu.edu.tr

MİMAR SİNAN FINE ARTS UNIVERSITY, FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE, DEPARTMENT OF TURKISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE /MİMAR SİNAN GÜZEL SANATLAR ÜNİVERSİTESİ, FEN-EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ, TÜRK DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI BÖLÜMÜ

EDITORIAL and ADVISORY BOARD/ YAYIN ve DANIŞMA KURULU

By Title In Alphabetical Order/ Ünvana Göre Alfabetik Sıra ile

Prof. Dr.	Mehmet ASUTAY	Durham University/Durham University Business School/ Durham/England/United Kingdom	mehmet.asutay@durham.ac.uk
Prof. Dr.	Ireide Martínez de BARTOLOMÉ	UNIR La Universidad en Internet /Vicerrectorado de Ordenación Académica/ Madrid /Spain	ireidem@gmail.com
Prof. Dr.	Duncan BENTLEY	Federation University/ Vice-Chancellor and President/Melbourne/Australia	vc@federation.edu.au
Prof. Dr.	Massimo BIASIN	University of Macerata/ Department of Economic and Financial Institutions/ Macerata/ Italy	massimo.biasin@unimc.it
Prof. Dr.	Jaroslav DVORAK	Klaipeda University/ Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities/ Department of Public Administration and Political Sciences / Klaipeda/ Lithuania	jaroslav.dvorak@ku.lt
Prof. Dr.	Kamil GÜNGÖR	Afyon Kocatepe University/Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences/Department of Public Finance/Afyon/Turkey	kgungor@aku.edu.tr
Prof. Dr.	Mario JADRIĆ	University of Split, Faculty of Economics, Business and Tourism, Department of Business Informatics/Split/ Croatia	mario.jadric@efst.hr
Prof. Dr.	Muharem Harry KARAMUJIC	University of Sarajevo, The School of Economics and Business / Sarajevo/ Bosnia and Herzegovina	mkar67@hotmail.com
Prof. Dr.	Cantürk KAYAHAN	Afyon Kocatepe University/Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences/Department of Business(English)/ Afyon/Turkey	ckayahan@aku.edu.tr
Prof. Dr.	Erich KIRCHLER	University of Vienna/ Faculty of Psychology / Department of Occupational, Economic, and Social Psychology/Vienna/Austria	erich.kirchler@univie.ac.at
Prof. Dr.	Kaoru NATSUDA	Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University/Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies/ Jumonjibaru (Beppu), Oita/ Japan	natsuda@apu.ac.jp
Prof. Dr.	Oka OBONO	University of Ibadan/Faculty of the Social Sciences/ Department of Sociology/ İbadan, Oyo State/ Nigeria	okaobono@gmail.com
Prof. Dr.	Neven ŠERİĆ	University of Spilit/Faculty of Economics, Business and Tourism/Department of Marketing/Split/Croatia	nseric@efst.hr
Prof. Dr.	Dixon Olutade TORIMIRO	The Obafemi Awolowo University/ Faculty of Agriculture/ Department	torimiro@gmail.com

		of Agricultural Extension & Rural Development/ Ile-Ife, Osun State/ Nigeria	
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Jakub BERCIK	Slovak University of Agriculture/ Faculty of Economics and Management/ the Department of Marketing and Trade/ Nitra/ Slovakia	bercik.jakubxx@gmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Hasan DURAN	Istanbul University/Faculty of Political Sciences/Department of Political Science and International Relations/İstanbul/Turkey	hasan.duran@istanbul.edu.tr
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Aleksander JANEŠ	University of Primorska/ Faculty of Management & Faculty of Polymer Technology/Koper/Slovenia	aleksander.janes.fm@gmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Dushko JOSHESKI	University "Goce Delcev" at Stip, The Department of Business Administration/ Stip/North Macedonia	dushkojosheski@gmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Adiqa KAUSAR KIANI	Federal Urdu University of Arts, Science & Technolog/Department of Economics/Islamabad/ Pakistan	adiqakian@gmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Aroon P. MANOHARAN	Suffolk University/The Institute for Public Service (IPS)/ Sawyer Business School/Boston,/Massachusetts/ U.S.A	amanoharan@suffolk.edu
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Jasmina MANGAFIC	University of Sarajevo/ The School of Economics and Business/Sarajevo/ Bosnia and Herzegovina	jasminamangafic111@gmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Nelda MOUTON	North-West University, Business School, Operations Management / Supply Chain Management, North West / South Africa	nelda.mouton@nwu.ac.za
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Edwin QUINN	Tennessee Wesleyan University/ Business Administration Program/ Athens, Tennessee/U.S.A.	ehq00@hotmail.com
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Mesut SAVRUL	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University/Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University/Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences/Department of Econometrics/Çanakkale/Turkey	msavrul@comu.edu.tr
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Alexander SHEMETEV	The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration/ Moscow, Saint-Petersburg/Russia	anticrisis2010@mail.ru
Assoc.Prof.Dr.	Arunkumar SIVAKUMAR	VIT-AP University/ VIT School of Business/ Tamil Nadu/India	arunkumar.sivakumar@vitap.ac.in
Asst.Prof.Dr.	Verda Davaslıgil ATMACA	Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University/Biga Faculty of Economics and Administrative	verdaatmaca@comu.edu.tr

		Sciences/Department of Econometrics/Çanakkale/Turkey	

CONTENTS / İÇİNDEKİLER

Research Articles/Araştırma Makaleleri

Sevra Su TATLIOĞLU & Fuat GÜLLÜPINAR 172-191

The Digital Privacy Dimension of Sharenting: Social Norms, Parental Strategies and Privacy Concerns / Sharenting'in Dijital Mahremiyet Boyutu: Toplumsal Normlar, Ebeveyn Stratejileri ve Mahremiyet Kaygıları

Fatih BIYIKLI 192-229

Analytical Mapping of Critical Factors Influencing Corporate Sustainability: A Network Perspective/Kurumsal Sürdürülebilirliği Etkileyen Kritik Faktörlerin Analitik Haritalandırılması: Ağ Temelli Bir Perspektif

Selin BAŞER ÖZGEN & Yaşar ONAY..... 230- 242

The Role of Media in Crimes Against Humanity: A Comparative Analysis of Rwanda and Ukraine/Medyanın İnsanlığa Karşı Suçlardaki Rolü: Ruanda ve Ukrayna Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz

Emin ORAL 243-266

The Position of the Concept of God in Kant's Theoretical and Pratical Philosophy / Kant'ın Teorik ve Pratik Felsefesinde Tanrı Kavramının Konumu

Yasemin Güniz SERTEL 267-281

A Socialist-Feminist Discussion on Women's Oppression: Circus Valentine as a Case Study / Kadınların Baskılanması Üzerine Sosyalist-Feminist Bir Çalışma: Vaka Çalışması Olarak Valentine Sirki

Süleyman GÜRBÜZ 282-304

Women's Power, Equality's Balance? The Relationship Between Female Employment and Income Distribution in Mediterranean Countries/ Kadının Gücü, Eşitsizliğin Dengesi mi? Akdeniz Ülkelerinde Kadın İstihdamı ve Gelir Dağılımı İlişkisi

Barış KANDEĞER 305-341

The Construction of Citizenship Imagination and İdeological Apparatuses in the Early Republican Period/ Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Yurttaşlık Muhayyilesi ve İdeolojik Araçlar ile İnşası

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 172-191

First Submission: 06.06.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 25.07.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

The Digital Privacy Dimension of Sharenting: Social Norms, Parental Strategies and Privacy Concerns[a]

Sevra Su Tatlıoğlu[b] & Fuat Güllüpınar[c]

Abstract

Introduction: With the widespread use of social media in the digital age, parents' perceptions and concerns regarding their children's privacy have become increasingly complex. This study examines how the practice of sharenting intersects with perceptions and concerns about digital privacy. It also explores how factors such as educational background and the child's gender influence these practices, within the framework of broader social and cultural norms.

Method: In the study, an online survey was conducted with three hundred parents from various socioeconomic backgrounds in İzmir, and semi-structured interviews were held with twenty parents. The data obtained through a mixed-methods approach were analyzed using descriptive statistics and thematic analysis.

Results or Findings: The findings reveal a complex relationship between sharenting, digital privacy concerns, and demographic variables. Digital privacy concerns are closely linked to parents' educational levels. It was found that parents of daughters tend to approach privacy issues with greater sensitivity. Additionally, the continued sharing behavior of parents through various strategies highlights the "privacy-openness paradox."

Discussion or Conclusion: Digital privacy is not merely a technical issue, but also a cultural and social one. Therefore, digital literacy programs should include components on privacy ethics and gender sensitivity. It is also crucial to enhance default privacy settings on social media platforms, ensure legal protections specific to children's data, and address socioeconomic inequalities. Future research should explore the long-term effects of sharenting from the perspective of children themselves.

Keywords: Sharenting, digital privacy, privacy concerns, child privacy, social media ethics

JEL Codes: Z13, J13, D83

[a] This study is derived from the doctoral thesis titled 'New parenting model through digital habitus: 'sharenting' in the context of child privacy violation', completed by the first author under the supervision of the second author at the Department of Sociology, Graduate School of Education, Anadolu University.

[b] Sociologist Dr., Independent Researcher, İzmir/Türkiye, sstatlioglu@gmail.com , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5236-0161 (Corresponding Author)

[c] Prof. Dr., Anadolu University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Sociology, Eskişehir/Türkiye, fgullupinar@anadolu.edu.tr , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3661-7232

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 172-191

İlk Başvuru: 06.06.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 25.07.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Sharenting'in Dijital Mahremiyet Boyutu: Toplumsal Normlar, Ebeveyn Stratejileri ve Mahremiyet Kaygıları[a]

Sevra Su Tatlıoğlu[b] & Fuat Güllüpınar[c]

Öz

Giriş: Dijital çağda sosyal medyanın yaygınlaşmasıyla, ailelerin çocuklarının mahremiyetine dair algı ve kaygıları giderek karmaşıklaşmaktadır. Çalışma, sharentingin dijital mahremiyet algısı ve kaygısıyla nasıl kesiştiğini incelemektedir. Ayrıca eğitim düzeyi ve çocukların cinsiyetinin bu pratiklere etkisi, toplumsal ve kültürel normlar çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır.
Yöntem: Araştırmada, İzmir'deki çeşitli sosyoekonomik düzeylerden 300 veliyle online anket yapılmış, 20 veliyle ise yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Karma yöntemle elde edilen veriler betimleyici istatistikler ve tematik analizle değerlendirilmiştir.
Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: Bulgular; sharenting, dijital mahremiyet kaygısı ve demografik değişkenler arasında karmaşık bir ilişki olduğunu göstermektedir. Dijital mahremiyet kaygısı, ebeveynlerin eğitim düzeyiyle yakından ilişkilidir. Kız çocukları olan ebeveynlerin mahremiyet konusuna daha hassas yaklaştığı saptanmıştır. Ebeveynlerin, çeşitli stratejilerle paylaşım yapmaya devam etmesi de "gizlilik-açıklık paradoksu"nu ortaya koymaktadır.
Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Dijital mahremiyet sadece teknik değil, kültürel ve toplumsal bir meseledir. Bu nedenle dijital okuryazarlık eğitimlerinin mahremiyet etiği ve toplumsal cinsiyet duyarlılığını da kapsaması önemlidir. Ayrıca, sosyal medyada varsayılan gizlilik ayarlarının geliştirilmesi, çocuk verilerine özgü yasal korumaların sağlanması ve sosyoekonomik eşitsizliklerin giderilmesi önemlidir. Gelecek araştırmalar, sharentingin çocuklar üzerindeki etkilerini uzun vadede ve çocukların bakış açısıyla incelemelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sharenting, dijital mahremiyet, mahremiyet kaygısı, çocuk mahremiyeti, sosyal medya etiği

JEL Kodlar: Z13, J13, D83

[a] Bu çalışma Anadolu Üniversitesi Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı'nda birinci yazar tarafından ikinci yazarın danışmanlığında tamamlanmış olan "Dijital habitus üzerinden yeni ebeveynlik modeli: çocuk mahremiyeti ihlali bağlamında "sharenting" başlıklı doktora tezinden üretilmiştir.

[b] Sosyolog Dr., Bağımsız Araştırmacı, İzmir/Türkiye, sstatlioglu@gmail.com , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5236-0161 (Sorumlu Yazar)
[c] Prof. Dr., Anadolu Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü, Eskişehir/Türkiye, fgullupinar@anadolu.edu.tr , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3661-7232

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction[1]

The rapid proliferation of digital technologies has enabled families to share memories, photographs, and information in regard to their children instantaneously. In particular, the practice of 'sharenting' on social media platforms is fundamentally reshaping both the construction of children's digital identities and family perceptions of privacy. The term 'sharenting', a blend of 'share' and 'parenting', refers to the frequent sharing of child-related content by parents across digital channels. This phenomenon simultaneously functions as a communicative strategy through which families make visible their social belonging, status, and relational ties, while also exposing children to digital surveillance, the disclosure of personal data, and the potential privacy violations they may face in the future.

Digital privacy emerges as a dynamic concept that goes beyond traditional notions of privacy by focusing on the individual's control over what information is shared, when and with whom. As Altman (1977) emphasizes, privacy is not confined solely to physical space; rather, it is a multilayered process encompassing cognitive, emotional, and informational dimensions. However, the permanence, replicability, and wide accessibility of social media content significantly undermine this control. Every digital sharing can be copied without consent, recirculated across different platforms, or manipulated through artificial intelligence-based technologies. This situation exposes parents to a multifaceted risk environment that extends beyond technical privacy settings to include cultural norms, social expectations, and symbolic violence.

While sharenting practices are often motivated by the desire to preserve memories and foster social participation, they also entail potential harm that shapes children's digital footprints, affect their bodily privacy, and threaten the security of their personal data. This dilemma, referred to in the literature as the 'privacy-openness paradox' (Chalklen & Anderson, 2017; Ouvrein & Verswijvel, 2019), is characterized by parents' simultaneous pursuit of the symbolic benefits afforded by social media sharing and their profound concerns regarding their children's digital future and privacy. Moreover, gender norms play a significant role in shaping sharenting practices; for instance, parents tend to adopt a more protective approach to privacy concerning their daughters, while exhibiting a more tolerant perception of risk toward their sons, illustrating how these practices are deeply intertwined with societal gender codes.

International studies (Lipu & Siibak, 2019; Latipah et al., 2020; Ranzini et al., 2020) provide significant insight into the individual privacy risks, parental motivations, and gender-related aspects of sharenting. However, research conducted within the Turkish context remains limited and predominantly descriptive in nature. Existing studies (Erişir & Erişir, 2018; Ayhan & Öztürk, 2021; Morva & Ünlü, 2021; Akpınar et al., 2020) generally address parents' levels of digital literacy and overall privacy concerns but do not thoroughly explore the influence of socioeconomic differences, local cultural codes, and social norms on sharenting practices. This gap presents a critical limitation in understanding how parental digital behavior is shaped specifically in Turkey.

The primary aim of this study is to examine how sharenting practices intersect with perceptions of digital privacy among parents of middle school students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds in Izmir. Additionally, the study investigates how parental

[1] Permission was obtained from the Ethics Committee of Anadolu University with the decision dated 28.03.2023 and document number 495269.

education level, the child's gender, and individual privacy concerns contribute to variations within this process. Employing a mixed-method approach, comprehensive data were collected through a quantitative survey administered to three hundred parents, complemented by in-depth interviews with twenty parents. The analysis focused on several thematic areas: perceptions and levels of digital privacy concerns; sharenting practices and the control-strategy dilemma; the role and differentiation of demographic variables; and the potential negative impact of sharing on children alongside parental concerns. By synthesizing both numerical trends and qualitative narratives reflecting individual experiences and perceptions, this study offers a multilayered analysis of the social, cultural, and technological dynamics of sharenting within the Turkish context.

The article is structured as follows. The first section outlines the theoretical framework, centered on the concepts of sharenting, digital privacy, and the determining role of social norms in sharenting practices. The second section details the methodology, including participant profiles, data collection, and analysis methods. The third section presents an integrated discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings. Finally, the conclusion and recommendations section evaluates the results within theoretical debates and develops practical and policy-oriented suggestions.

Literature Review

Sharenting: The New Family Practice of Visibility

Sharenting, a digital phenomenon derived from the combination of the words 'share' and 'parenting', refers to parents sharing photographs, videos, and information about their children on social media (Latipah et al., 2020). In the digital age, children begin to acquire an online identity even before birth, with parents' posts constructing a 'digital biography' of the child (Omur & Uyar, 2022).

The prevalence of sharenting practices is rapidly increasing worldwide, with many parents sharing their happiness, memories, and daily experiences related to their children on social networks. However, since these shares also shape the child's digital identity, they raise concerns in regard to potential privacy risks that the child may face in the future (Bare, 2020). Therefore, it is crucial for parents to be aware of the risks that their posts may pose both for themselves and their children. The digital world harbors threats that can harm children's lives, including identity theft and child pornography (Otero, 2017). Above all, sharing children's photographs inevitably exposes their personal information to the public. In particular, paedophiles' access to children's personal data or images can lead to severe trauma for the children, either now or in the future (Duygulu, 2019).

In the United States, children's digital privacy and the protection of their personal data are regulated under laws such as the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which safeguard children's rights by restricting access to, use of, and sharing of their personal information on online platforms. In contrast, Turkish legislation lacks a specific regulatory framework dedicated to children; instead, the protection of children's personal data is broadly governed by the general provisions of the Personal Data Protection Law (Bilgi Teknolojileri Kurumu, 2019).

While a number of parents are fully aware of the dangers posed by social media and carefully consider each post, others remain unaware of the potential risks associated with sharing. Studies have generally found that parents tend to act cautiously regarding the appropriateness of photographs they share, with concerns primarily centered on who might

view these images. At the same time, there is a perceived need to share positive photos with friends and relatives through social media. In this ethical dilemma, the opinions of family members and close acquaintances often take precedence over concerns about digital privacy. Consequently, this issue raises important questions about the risks involved when parents disclose information about their children. Since any data shared online remains permanently accessible, children's information may be used in harmful ways, such as cyberbullying, particularly involving data they might prefer to keep private or find embarrassing in the future (Bare, 2020).

The Concept of Digital Privacy

The term privacy originates from the Latin word privatus and traditionally refers to an individual's home and private life as opposed to the public sphere (Boyar &-Işık, 2019). According to the Turkish Language Association, privacy is synonymous with 'confidentiality' (TDK, 2022). Irwin Altman defines privacy as an individual's ability to decide which information to share, with whom, and when during social interactions, while maintaining control over this process (Altman, 1977). Therefore, in the digital age, privacy is not merely the right to be alone but also encompasses the capacity to regulate both solitude and disclosure through 'verbal, nonverbal, environmental, and cultural mechanisms' (Altman, 1977).

Generally, privacy rights are categorized into three types; territorial privacy, personal privacy, and informational privacy. Territorial privacy refers to the protection of an individual's physical space; personal privacy involves safeguarding against actions that may cause physical or psychological harm; and informational privacy pertains to the control over the collection, storage, and processing of personal data (Hübner, 1998). However, the boundaries of these three forms of privacy have begun to blur in light of developments in the digital era.

With the advancement of technology, the concept of privacy has been reshaped to include notions such as personal data privacy and internet privacy. Digitalization raises issues related to the collection, storage, processing, and sharing of personal data, making digital privacy fundamentally concerned with the recording, security, and surveillance of information and data. This is because almost every aspect of an individual's life becomes transparent in digital communication environments (Barkuş & Koç, 2019).

Marwick and Boyd (2014) describe this phenomenon as 'users producing persistent and widely accessible content as an intrinsic component of sharing'. Similarly, Eroğlu (2018) emphasizes that big data analytics transform accumulated information, known as the 'digital footprint', into metadata, thereby facilitating privacy violations. According to Han (2017), the vast amount of data stored digitally eliminates the luxury of 'forgetting' or being forgotten; every search, share, and like leaves a permanent digital trace, making the protection of privacy increasingly difficult.

Privacy Concerns and Social Norms in Sharenting

When it comes to sharenting, parents face the privacy-openness paradox in deciding whether or not to share information regarding their children. According to this paradox, parents experience a dilemma; while sharing content related to their children offers certain benefits, it simultaneously raises privacy concerns, particularly regarding the disclosure of inappropriate or excessive information. Therefore, parents must strike a balance between protective behavior that safeguards their children's privacy and the advantages gained from sharing.

Above all, sharing is perceived as a form of social participation. These sharing practices allow parents to keep their family and friends updated in regard to their children in real time.

Additionally, many parents view sharenting as a way to preserve memories. Sharenting provides parents with a means to acquire useful information during their parenting journey, receive answers to their questions, and gain social support. Furthermore, the desire to be perceived as a 'good parent', which is a key motivation for many parents, also shapes the content they choose to share (Ouvrein & Verswijvel, 2019).

Sharenting behavior is also shaped by gender roles. Research generally indicates that mothers are more active than fathers in sharing content related to their children on social media. While sharenting is not exclusive to mothers, they tend to engage more intensively in this practice, which has led to frequent discussions within the discourse of 'digital motherhood' or 'digital femininity' (Latipah et al., 2020; Lazard et al., 2019; Kumar & Schoenebeck, 2015; Tatlıoğlu, 2025, among others). Similarly, the child's gender represents another dimension influencing sharenting practices. International studies have found that parents tend to share content regarding their sons more frequently than about their daughters. For example, Sivak and Smirnov's (2019) study revealed that both mothers and fathers posted more about their sons than their daughters on social media, and that these posts generally received higher engagement. This gender imbalance has been highlighted as potentially contributing to the reduced visibility of girls and sending early messages of inequality.

Although studies specifically examining the relationship between a child's gender and privacy concerns are limited within the Turkish context, investigating such differences in light of cultural gender roles holds significant importance in the literature. More broadly, analyzing the biases and expectations related to both the parent's and the child's gender in sharenting practices will open new avenues for research aimed at understanding how familial social norms are reflected in digital spaces.

Method

Participants

The quantitative phase of this mixed-method study involved three hundred parents of middle school students from neighborhoods with varying socioeconomic levels in Izmir during the spring term of 2023–2024. Since online surveys and semi-structured interviews was used in this study as a data collection method, the permission has been obtained from Ethics Committee of the Anadolu University with a decision on the date of 28.03.2023 and document number 495269.

The participants, two hundred and twenty were female and eighty were male. Regarding the gender of their children, 47% (n = 141) had daughters, while 53% (n = 159) had sons. In terms of educational levels, the largest group consisted of high school graduates (n = 89, 29.7%), followed by primary school graduates (n = 76, 25.3%). Middle school and university graduates each accounted for 14% of the sample (n = 42 per group). Additionally, there were nineteen participants (6.3%) with vocational school diplomas and fourteen participants (4.7%) who were literate without a diploma or who had dropped out of primary school. Smaller proportions included eleven participants (3.7%) with postgraduate education and seven participants (2.3%) who were illiterate.

For the qualitative data collection, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty parents; fifteen women and five men. Of these, eleven had daughters, one had both a daughter and a son, and eight had sons. The participants came from various educational backgrounds: three had completed primary school; two middle school; six high school; one vocational school; one had an associate degree; six had university degrees; and one had a postgraduate degree.

Sampling was based on voluntary participation, with written informed consent and participation criteria provided under the approval of the Izmir Provincial Directorate of National Education.

Design

The study employed a convergent parallel mixed method design, wherein quantitative and qualitative data were collected concurrently, analyzed independently, and then synthesized. This approach allowed for a comparative and complementary evaluation of the general trends revealed by the quantitative findings alongside the individual interpretations provided by the qualitative data (Creswell, 2016).

Ethical Approval and Consent

For the study, ethical approval was obtained from the Research and Publication Board of Anadolu University on 28 March, 2023, with protocol number 495269; official permission was also granted by the Izmir Provincial Directorate of National Education on 27 September, 2023, under document number E-12018877-604.01.02-85350724. The participants were informed verbally and in writing concerning confidentiality principles, the non-recording of personal identification information, and that data would be used solely for research purposes. Written consent was obtained from all the participants.

Materials

A forty-six-item online survey was developed to collect quantitative data. This survey included multiple-choice questions addressing the parents' characteristics such as gender, age, educational level, and their children's gender, as well as dynamics related to sharenting practices, privacy perceptions, and digital privacy concerns. In the qualitative phase of the research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents on topics such as privacy perceptions, digital privacy concerns, and awareness.

Procedure

The quantitative data collection was conducted between October and December 2023 by way of Google Forms; the survey link was sent to parents through parent-teacher associations and teachers. The qualitative data collection phase also took place between October and December 2023, involving face-to-face interviews lasting forty-five to sixty minutes at the middle schools where the children were enrolled. Audio recordings were made during the interviews, and the transcripts were anonymized.

Data Analysis

The quantitative data were analyzed using an IBM SPSS Statistics 27. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages) were used to reveal the levels of privacy concerns and the parents' worries regarding the negative impact of sharenting on their children. Chi-square tests analyzed the variability of digital privacy concerns according to the educational level and the child's gender, as well as the relationship between concerns about children being negatively affected by posts and digital privacy concern.

In the qualitative phase, the interviews were categorically evaluated based on themes determined by the researcher. To maintain ethical considerations, parents were coded as P1, P2, … P20. Additionally, age and gender information were indicated in parentheses, with female participants coded as F and male participants as M; for example, P1 (49, F). The findings obtained from the analyses were integrated in a complementary manner and interpreted. Therefore, privacy perception in sharenting practices and the variability of digital privacy

awareness according to the educational level and the child's gender were revealed both in terms of measurable trends and individual interpretations.

Findings

Digital Privacy Perception and Concern Levels

The initial findings of the study focus on the parents' perceptions of digital privacy and their levels of concern regarding this issue. The digital privacy concern levels of the three hundred participating parents are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

The Digital Privacy Concern of Parents

Privacy Concern	Frequency	Percentage (%)
I am very concerned about online privacy.	140	46.7
I am somewhat concerned about online privacy.	88	29.3
I am not concerned.	30	10.0
I am not sure what online privacy means.	42	14.0
Total	300	100.0

Note. Created by the authors using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

When examining the online privacy concerns of parent survey participants, the highest frequency is seen in the response 'I am very concerned about online privacy' with one hundred and forty of the participants (46.7%). The second most frequent response is 'I am somewhat concerned about online privacy' with eighty-eight of the participants (29.3%). This is followed by 'I am not sure what online privacy means' with forty-two of the participants (14.0%), while the least frequent response is 'I am not concerned' with thirty of the participants (10.0%).

These findings indicate that a significant portion of parents are 'very concerned' in regard to digital privacy. The high proportion of this response suggests a certain level of awareness regarding digital privacy. The second most common response, 'somewhat concerned', reflects a moderate level of concern but still confirms the presence of concern. It is worth highlighting the response 'not sure what it means', as this indicates that a number of the parents lack sufficient knowledge concerning online privacy or experience uncertainty regarding the concept. On the other hand, the 'not concerned' group represents a small segment, implying that awareness levels may be associated with levels of concern.

Overall, these results suggest that most parents take the issue of digital privacy seriously and are concerned about it. This can be interpreted as a sign of parental sensitivity towards their children's online safety, particularly in an era where managing personal data and digital sharing is becoming increasingly difficult.

The qualitative findings enrich the data by revealing the perceptual and experiential dimensions behind these concerns, demonstrating that the ambiguous boundaries of digital privacy and fears regarding unauthorized sharing significantly shape parents' digital behavior. Furthermore, it emerges that parents are not only worried about losing control on digital platforms in relation to their children but are also concerned about how this loss of control might affect their own social reputation.

P10 (49, F): “Digital privacy…I think people no longer have any real sense of privacy. In the digital realm, it’s more flexible; actually, it’s nonexistent. People share things however they want, without thinking twice… But it’s very dangerous for children. They’re already the most affected.”

P20 (38, M): “Digital privacy doesn’t evoke an image of a photo taken at the beach in a swimsuit for me. It’s about sharing something about someone else. It has to be something that a person consents to. Because you never know where it might end up. There are screenshots, screen recordings, and all sorts of tool. There’s Photoshop, and now artificial intelligence can generate things; make you speak without you, listen to your voice. That’s why I prefer people I don’t know not to see my content. I’ve adjusted my social media accordingly. All my accounts are private and locked.”

In general, digital privacy refers to a form of control over the protection and usability of data. However, it is most commonly discussed in the context of violations such as the collection of personal information, fraud, misuse of data, surveillance, and the infringement of private life (Aslanyürek, 2016). These concerns emerge especially when individuals lose control over how and where their shared content is used, highlighting concerns about the dissemination of personal data and images in the digital world. Once a photo or video is shared without permission, the consequences are uncertain and may severely damage a person’s reputation or identity in social contexts. In this regard, the protection of digital privacy is not merely a technical issue but a complex matter with social and ethical dimensions. Raising awareness among parents about their digital sharing practices and providing guidance in this area is of critical importance for ensuring the safety of children in online environments.

Sharenting Practices and the Control–Strategy Dilemma

The second key finding of the research focuses on parents’ sharenting practices, that is, sharing digital content related to their children, and the dilemma they face between maintaining control and applying strategic decisions in such sharing.

Table 2

The Sharenting Practices of Parents

Sharenting Practice	Frequency	Percentage (%)
I shared it on my social media account	201	67.0
No, I did not share	94	31.3
I shared it on their social media account	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0

Note. Created by the author using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

The quantitative data indicate that the majority of parents share content related to their children on social media platforms. However, this behavior entails both an effort to maintain control and a motivational dilemma. The qualitative data reveal that many parents are careful to limit their sharing and restrict access to individuals they trust, in an attempt to safeguard their children’s privacy:

P1 (49, F): “I generally do not share anything with people who might raise concerns regarding my child’s privacy. I believe I am able to choose people as carefully as possible. I make a conscious effort not to do anything that could harm my family, my child, or myself.”

P6 (47, F): “I don’t share with everyone anyway. Just with people I trust; close relatives I know, maybe three or five very close friends. Even then, there are limits. If you look, I probably have three, maybe four friends like that.”

A number of the participants did not express concerns about their children's privacy, assuming that their sharing was limited to their close social circles. For these participants, the sense of control over privacy is associated with their ability to choose a social environment in which they feel comfortable and trust. There is a prevailing belief that boundaries and privacy can be maintained by consciously knowing and selecting whom to trust. On the other hand, despite their concerns concerning privacy, many parents tend to continue sharing content on social media. This paradox reflects parents’ efforts to balance the safety of their children in digital spaces with their own needs for social visibility and belonging.

P14 (45, F): “Yes, of course I worry, but I make sure not to show their faces in the photos; especially because they might be misused in harmful ways. Nothing is the same as it used to be. That’s why I don’t include their face, but I still share their photos on social media from different angles, where the face isn’t visible.”

P9 (52, M): “Well, I’m not sharing anything right now, but if I keep my account public, people with bad intentions could use anything. We hear about all kinds of things. In these copy-paste cases, terrible things can happen. There’s always a possibility that something I post might negatively affect my child’s life in the future. But when I think about it now, their childhood photos are still there. But they were babies back then; it felt safer. Now, it feels more dangerous.”

These statements indicate that concerns regarding privacy are indeed present, yet parents often believe that their sharing practices will not harm their children for various reasons. At this point, it is also possible to refer to the ‘privacy-openness paradox’ identified by Chalklen and Anderson, (2017). In this paradox, parents are aware that their online posts may raise privacy issues by disclosing personal information regarding their children, yet they simultaneously believe that sharing has multiple benefits (Ouvrein & Verswijvel, 2019) Trying to strike a balance, these parents attempt to take certain precautions that they believe will protect their children’s privacy while still engaging in sharing practices. Therefore, sharenting is revealed not merely as a privacy issue but as a complex process in which social identity, belonging, and parenting roles are redefined in digital spaces. This research once again highlights the importance of raising parental awareness in regard to digital sharing and developing strategies to safeguard children's privacy.

The Role of Demographic Variables and Variations

The third set of findings in the study focuses on how parents’ educational background and the gender of their children affect digital privacy concerns, examining the variations in concern levels based on these demographic variables. In this context, a Chi-square test was conducted to determine the relationship between parents' educational levels and their concerns regarding digital privacy:

H_0: Digital privacy concerns do not differ based on parents’ educational levels.

H_1: Digital privacy concerns differ based on parents' educational levels.

Table 3

The Digital Privacy Concern by Educational Level

Chi-Square Tests

	X^2	V	df	p	n
Pearson Chi-Square	44,634		21	,002	300
Cramer's V		,223		,002	

Note. Created by the author using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

The Chi-square test results show a Pearson value of 44.634 with twenty-one degrees of freedom (df). Since the p-value was less than 0.05 (p = 0.002), the null hypothesis (H_0) was rejected. Therefore, a statistically significant difference was found between the parents' educational levels and their digital privacy concerns. Additionally, the Cramer's V value was calculated as 0.223, indicating a moderate association. Consequently, it can be stated that the parents' educational level has a significant effect on their digital privacy concerns. This finding suggests that educational level plays an important role in digital literacy and privacy awareness. Education emerges as a key factor influencing digital literacy, privacy consciousness, and risk perception. In this context, there is a clear need to increase knowledge and awareness regarding digital privacy, particularly among groups with lower educational attainment.

Furthermore, considering the potential impact of gender norms on digital privacy, the study also examines whether parents' privacy concerns vary according to their children's gender. Accordingly, a Chi-square test was conducted to investigate the relationship between parents' digital privacy concerns and the gender of their children:

H_0: Parents' digital privacy concerns do not differ according to their children's gender.

H_1: Parents' digital privacy concerns differ according to their children's gender.

Table 4

The Parents' Digital Privacy Concerns According to their Child's Gender

Chi-Square Tests

	X^2	V	df	p	n
Pearson Chi-Square	5,968		3	,113	300
Cramer's V		,141		,113	

Note. Created by the author using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

The Chi-square test results showed a Pearson value of 5.968 with three degrees of freedom (df). Since the p-value was greater than 0.05 (p = 0.113), the null hypothesis (H0) was accepted. Therefore, there is no statistically significant difference between the parents' digital privacy concerns and their child's gender. However, on the other hand, the qualitative data indicate that social gender norms may play a determining role in privacy concerns. The participants' statements reflect widespread societal perceptions that daughters require more

protection and attention, especially regarding bodily privacy. This suggests that parents hold gender-based concerns when selecting and limiting content shared on social media.

P17 (49, M): "Something very private, or I don't know… if it were a daughter, like if there was a photo in a bikini or something like that. Yes, maybe things like that… related to nudity. We are a bit more relaxed when it comes to a son."

P18 (38, F): "Of course. For example, if I share a photo of him at the beach, I do look at it from an outside perspective and post accordingly… I did that when he was a baby, for instance. It's somewhat instinctive. It's not about covering the face, but sometimes I've covered parts of the body with an emoji or some text, but generally, his face is always visible. On the other hand, if I had a daughter, I might have been more cautious. Having a son feels like a somewhat safer zone."

Gender norms reinforce the perception that girls are more vulnerable and at risk, leading parents to develop more meticulous and controlled sharing strategies for their daughters. Moreover, the fact that abuse cases predominantly target girls intensifies these concerns among parents. At this point, cultural norms and individual experiences play a significant role in shaping digital privacy concerns:

P11 (31, F): "I am very careful with her. For example, I pay attention to her clothing. Sometimes I check her pants to ensure that her private parts are not visible. I make her adjust her clothes and take photos accordingly. I am very cautious. Not everyone has good intentions; some look with bad intentions. We see abuse cases on TV, various things happen. I don't want anyone to look at her with dirty eyes."

These statements from the participants indicate that prevailing gender norms in society also influence social media sharing practices. The gender-based risk perceptions towards girls position them as more vulnerable and at greater risk. Furthermore, the parents' personal experiences may increase the perceived need to protect their daughters' privacy more rigorously. Therefore, it can be argued that digital privacy concerns are linked not only to individual awareness and education but also to societal gender norms and cultural factors. In this context, it becomes necessary to consider gender-specific needs and social perceptions when developing privacy protection strategies.

The Potential Negative Impact of Sharing on the Child and Parental Concerns

The study also examines the parents' concerns regarding the possible negative effects of their digital sharing related to their children and evaluates the relationship of these concerns with digital privacy concerns.

Table 5

The Parents' Concerns regarding the Potential Negative Impact of Their Shares on Their Children

Concerned	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	68	22.7
No	232	77.3
Total	**300**	**100.0**

Note. Created by the author using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

The quantitative findings reveal that while the vast majority of parents (77.3%) believe that their digital shares do not harm their children, a significant portion (22.7%) express concerns that their children may be negatively affected by these shares. The high proportion of 'No' responses may reflect the parents' confidence in managing their own social media usage or their belief that the content they share does not adversely impact their children. Conversely, the 22.7% 'Yes' responses indicate that a number of the parents do harbor concerns regarding the potential negative effects on their children. This variation highlights the diversity in the parents' awareness and concern regarding the protection of their children's privacy in digital environments. The difference between these two groups provides important insight into digital literacy and parental awareness, signaling a need for enhanced information and education. Notably, the significant relationship between digital privacy concerns and worries about children's negative exposure to shared content underscores the necessity for parents to recognize online risks and to act with greater caution.

H0: Concerns about children being negatively affected by digital shares do not differ according to digital privacy concern.

H1: Concerns about children being negatively affected by digital shares differ according to digital privacy concern.

Table 6

The Relationship between Digital Privacy Concern and Concern about Negative Effects of Shares on the Child

Chi-Square Tests

	X^2	V	df	p	n
Pearson Chi-Square	14,897		3	,002	300
Cramer's V		,223		,002	

Note. Created by the author using IBM SPSS Statistics 27 statistical software.

The Chi-square test results reveal a Pearson value of 14.897 with three degrees of freedom (df). Since the p-value was less than 0.05 ($p = 0.002$), the null hypothesis (H0) was rejected. Therefore, it was concluded that concern about the potential negative effects of shares on children differs statistically according to digital privacy concern. Additionally, the Cramer's V value was found to be 0.223, indicating a moderate level of association. As the parents' concerns regarding digital privacy increase, so does their concern regarding the possible negative impact of their shares on their children. This finding demonstrates that worries about children being adversely affected by shared content vary significantly depending on the level of digital privacy concern.

The qualitative data further elaborate on parents' sensitivity toward protecting their children from dangers in the digital world. The participants' concerns regarding sharing extend beyond mere fears of individual privacy violations and can be interpreted as a protective reflex shaped by social norms and cultural expectations. Unlike physical spaces, the digital environment's ambiguous boundaries and lack of control generate profound distrust and concern among the parents. This underscores that privacy in the digital world encompasses not only individual but also social and cultural dimensions.

P3 (28, F): “Of course… That’s why I don’t want my 13-year-old daughter to use Instagram. Something could happen; someone might message her; she’s very young, her mind could get confused. I see these things on TV... I don’t allow it. Phones, computers; I absolutely do not permit. I pay very close attention to her, though if she does something behind my back, I wouldn’t know, but I really watch over her.”

P8 (41, F): “My concern… yes, it exists. That’s why I pay attention to what she does. That’s also why my daughter doesn’t have an Instagram account. She uses YouTube instead. For example, I set an 18+ age restriction for her and I also watch the shorts and reels she views. Sometimes I check what she’s been watching.”

P6 (47, F): “This is much more... I don’t know, scarier. You can protect your child from physical environments; that’s in your control. You see where they go, you can follow their friends, know who they talk to, but once they enter the digital world, it’s infinite. You don’t know who they’re reaching, who they’re communicating with.”

These statements add to the discourse on privacy by highlighting the tension between the traditional, controlled nature of the family and physical spaces and the open, often uncontrollable character of the digital world. For the parents, violations of their children’s privacy represent both personal and societal concerns, as they invoke traditional norms and expectations about when and how certain aspects of life should be shared. Therefore, these expressions demonstrate that privacy is not solely confined to the private sphere, family, or individuals, but becomes problematic in the digital realm where deeper social and cultural issues emerge. Consequently, the digital environment is seen to transform conventional notions of privacy and impact not only individuals but also broader social structures. In this context, strengthening parents’ digital literacy and developing conscious strategies for social media use are essential requirements for protecting children online. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that digital privacy is not merely a technical issue but is also shaped by family dynamics and cultural norms.

Discussion

The findings reveal that the relationship between parents’ sharenting practices and digital privacy concerns in the digital age is not merely a technical issue but is rooted in complex social and cultural dynamics. The fact that many parents exhibit high levels of concern regarding digital privacy underscores the increasing complexity of Altman’s (1977) conceptualization of privacy as ‘the ability to decide which information, with whom, when, and how to share’, within digital environments. Because digital platforms render shared content permanent and widely accessible, parents experience concern over the uncontrollable dimensions of both their own and their children’s privacy, leading them to reconsider their sharing decisions. At this point, Marwick and Boyd’s (2014) emphasis on the ‘persistent trace’ becomes particularly relevant. As sharing shifts from a momentary interaction to an ongoing process that affects children’s digital identities and social perceptions over the long term, parents are driven to develop protective strategies.

On the other hand, examining sharenting practices reveals that families’ motivation to maintain social visibility and a sense of belonging reinforces the dilemma known as the ‘privacy-openness paradox’. As described by Chalklen and Anderson, (2017), although parents are aware that their sharing practices may constitute a violation of their children’s privacy, they continue these practices due to the benefits of social support, belonging, and memory preservation. This paradox demonstrates that many parents construct their sharing strategies not only based on technical privacy settings but also through social norms and trust relations. At

this point, parents' sensitivity to their children's bodily privacy, such as obscuring faces or body parts in shared content, reveals the influence of societal norms on sharenting practices. Therefore, sharenting becomes not merely the act of sharing children's photos but also a site where gender codes are reproduced and contested.

The demographic analyses of the study reveals that digital privacy concerns are closely related to the educational level of parents. This finding indicates a particular need for increased digital literacy education among parents with lower educational attainment. Without developing such awareness and knowledge, parents may fail to anticipate the long-term consequences of sharenting, inadvertently exposing their children to the risks of the digital world. At this point, the findings on the parents' awareness of the potential negative outcomes of sharenting for their children present a stark contrast. While the vast majority believe that their sharing does not negatively affect their children, a smaller percentage expresses concerns, demonstrating awareness regarding privacy violations, digital footprints, and children's autonomy. This concern is closely linked to the concept of the digital footprint; parents argue that every shared photo, video, or text may lay the groundwork for adverse situations their children might face in their future social lives. This reflects a growing unease due to the evolving nature of digital boundaries. The quest for protection in the digital realm extends beyond physical boundaries to the level of smartphones and applications, often manifesting through restrictions on children's social media use or the blocking of certain content. This directly impacts power dynamics within families and the development of children's digital identities. Therefore, digital literacy education should encompass not only technical skills but also privacy ethics and the digital reflections of social roles, emphasizing their crucial importance.

Concerns in regard to digital privacy increase when it comes to children's privacy. Many of the participants expressed worries about the disappearance of clear boundaries between private (family) and public (social media) spheres, emphasizing that the digital world is less controllable than the physical world and that privacy tends to be lost within this endless flow. While the family is traditionally seen as a 'space' in the physical world where specific norms and boundaries are enforced and privacy is protected through control, this distinction becomes blurred in the digital realm. Although parents strive to protect their children from privacy violations, the inherently complex nature of digital environments complicates this effort. Sharenting practices and the accompanying privacy strategies illustrate that the digital space functions simultaneously as a field of dissemination and control.

Within this complex balance, it becomes clear that digital parenting is not merely a technical issue but one deeply intertwined with educational policies, gender roles, cultural norms, and legal regulations. Schools and local authorities should organize programs to raise digital literacy and privacy awareness while developing gender-sensitive digital education content. By addressing the distinct risks faced by girls and boys in the digital world, strategies to cope with gender-specific concerns could be developed. Furthermore, social media platforms must strengthen their default privacy settings and create regulations that safeguard children's online sharing. From a legal standpoint, enriching data protection laws such as the KVKK with provisions specifically addressing children's data would be an important step forward.

Conclusion

This study highlights the multidimensional nature of sharenting practices and their implications for digital privacy among parents of middle school students in Izmir. The findings reveal that digital privacy concerns are deeply intertwined with social, cultural, and gender-based factors, extending beyond mere technical considerations. Parents' awareness of potential

risks varies, underscoring the importance of enhancing digital literacy that incorporates privacy ethics and gender sensitivity. Therefore, beyond understanding the technical features of platforms, there is a need for a critical perspective aimed at transforming existing gender inequalities and cultural perceptions.

Furthermore, parent education programs focused on digital literacy and privacy awareness should be implemented alongside policy interventions aimed at creating safer digital environments. Additionally, developing gender-sensitive digital content can help address the distinct risks faced by children online.

Future research should monitor how these dynamics evolve across different geographical regions and through longitudinal designs. Moreover, by centering on children's own experiences and evaluating their digital identity development, future studies could reveal the long-term effects of sharenting more comprehensively. Such a perspective will enable a fuller understanding of both the social benefits and the inherent risks of sharenting.

References

Akpınar, B. S., Paylan, N., Etlik, Ş., Erus, B. & Karakoç, H. (2020). "*Sharenting*" konusunda ebeveynlerin farkındalık düzeyleri. *Genel Sağlık Bilimleri Dergisi*, *2*(2), 8-18.

Altman, I. (1977). Privacy regulation: Culturally universal or culturally specific?. *Journal of Social Issues*, *33*(3), 66-84.

Aslanyürek, M. (2016). İnternet ve sosyal medya kullanıcılarının internet güvenliği ve çevrimiçi gizlilik ile ilgili kanaatleri ve farkındalıkları. *Maltepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, *3*(1), 80-106.

Ayhan, H., & Öztürk, E. (2021). Dijital dünyada ebeveyn olmanın görünürde normal bir yansıması olarak paylaşan ebeveynlik (sharenting): Geleneksel bir derleme. *Turkiye Klinikleri Journal of Forensic Medicine and Forensic Sciences*, *18*(2), 165-177.

Bare, C. (2020). *The undisclosed dangers of parental sharing on social media: A content analysis of sharenting images on Instagram.* [Unpublished Master's thesis]. East Tennessee State University.

Barkuş, F.& Koç, M. (2019). Dijital mahremiyet kavramı ve ilgili çalışmalar üzerine bir derleme. *Bilim Eğitim Sanat ve Teknoloji Dergisi, 3*(1), 35-44.

Bilgi Teknolojileri ve İletişim Kurumu. (2019). *Türkiye'de internet hukuku*. Ocak 1,2023 de https://internet.btk.gov.tr/turkiye-de-internet-hukuku den erişildi

Boyar, O., & Işık, S.K. (2019). Dördüncü kuşak haklar ve bilişim teknolojilerinin doğuşunda mahremiyet kavramına karşılaştırmalı bir bakış. *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *25*(2), 602-623.

Chalklen, C., & Anderson, H. (2017). Mothering on Facebook: Exploring the privacy/openness paradox. *Social Media+ Society*, *3*(2), 1-10.

Creswell, J. W. (2016). *Araştırma deseni: Nitel, nicel ve karma yöntem yaklaşımları* (S. B. Demir, Çev.). Eğiten Kitap.

Duygulu, S. (2019). Sosyal medyada çocuk fotoğrafları paylaşmanın mahremiyet ihlali ve çocuk istismarı açısından değerlendirilmesi, *TRT Akademi*, *4*(8), 428-487.

Erişir, R. M., & Erişir, D. (2018). Yeni medya ve çocuk: Instagram özelinde "*sharenting*" "paylaşanababalık" örneği, *Yeni Medya*, (4), 50-64.

Eroğlu, Ş. (2018). Dijital yaşamda mahremiyet (gizlilik) kavramı ve kişisel veriler: Hacettepe Üniversitesi bilgi ve belge yönetimi bölümü öğrencilerinin mahremiyet ve kişisel veri algılarının analizi. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, *35*(2), 130-153.

Han, B, C. (2017). *Şeffaflık Toplumu*. Metis Yayınları.

Hübner, S.F. (1998). Privacy and security at risk in the global information society. *Information Communication & Society*, *1*(4), 420-441.

Kumar, P., & Schoenebeck, S. (2015, February). The modern day baby book: Enacting good mothering and stewarding privacy on Facebook. In D.Cosley, A.Forte, L.Ciolfi &D.

McDonald (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 18th ACM conference on computer supported cooperative work & social computing* (pp. 1302-1312). ACM Press.

Latipah, E., Kistoro, H. C. A., Hasanah, F. F., & Putranta, H. (2020). Elaborating motive and psychological impact of *sharenting* in millennial parents. *Universal Journal of Educational Research*, *8*(10), 4807-4817.

Lazard, L., Capdevila, R., Dann, C., Locke, A., & Roper, S. (2019). Sharenting: Pride, affect and the day-to-day politics of digital mothering. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *13*(4), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12443

Lipu, M., & Siibak, A. (2019). 'Take it down!': Estonian parents' and pre-teens' opinions and experiences with *sharenting*. *Media International Australia*, *170*(1), 57-67.

Marwick, A. E., & Boyd, D. (2014). Networked privacy: How teenagers negotiate context in social media. *New Media & Society*, *16*(7), 1051-1067.

Morva, O., & Ünlü, D.G. (2022). Parenting blogs and children's online privacy: On the privacy management of parent blogs in Turkey. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlef Dergisi*, *9*(1), 9–30. https://doi.org/10.24955/ilef.1073284

Omur, S., & Uyar, M. (2022). Sharenting: Türkiye'de ebeveynlerin paylaşım eğilimleri üzerine bir değerlendirme. *Kastamonu İletişim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (9), 23–45.

Otero, P. (2017). Sharenting... should children's lives be disclosed on social media. *Arch Argent Pediatr*, *115*(5), 412-413.

Ouvrein, G., & Verswijvel, K. (2019). Sharenting: Parental adoration or public humiliation? A focus group study on adolescents' experiences with *sharenting* against the background of their own impression management. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 99, 319-327.

Ranzini, G., Newlands, G., & Lutz, C. (2020). Sharenting, peer influence, and privacy concerns: A study on the instagram-sharing behaviors of parents in the united kingdom. *Social Media+ Society*, *6*(4), 1-13.

Sivak, E., & Smirnov, I. (2019). Parents mention sons more often than daughters on social media. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*(6), 2039-2041.

Tatlıoğlu, S. S. (2025). *Dijital habitus üzerinden yeni ebeveynlik modeli: Çocuk mahremiyeti ihlali bağlamında "sharenting".* [Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi]. Anadolu Üniversitesi.

Türk Dil Kurumu, *Güncel Türkçe Sözlük*. Mayıs 1, 2023 de https://sozluk.gov.tr/ den erişildi

Evrak Kayıt Tarihi: 01.03.2023	Protokol No: 495269	Tarih:28.03.2023

ANADOLU ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERÎ BİLİMLER BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMA VE YAYIN ETİĞİ KURULU
KARAR BELGESİ

ÇALIŞMANIN TÜRÜ:	BAP Projesi-Doktora Tez Çalışması
KONU:	Sosyal Bilimler
BAŞLIK:	Dijital Habitus Üzerinden Yeni Ebeveynlik Modeli: Çocuk Mahremiyeti İhlali Bağlamında "Sharenting"
~~PROJE~~/TEZ YÜRÜTÜCÜSÜ:	Prof. Dr. Fuat GÜLLÜPINAR
TEZ YAZARI:	Sevra Su TATLIOĞLU
ALT KOMİSYON GÖRÜŞÜ:	-
KARAR:	Olumlu

Prof. Dr. Saime ÖNCE
(Başkan-İkt. ve İdari Bil. Fak.)

Prof. Dr. M. Erkan ÜYÜMEZ *(Başkan Yardımcısı -İkt. ve İdari Bil. Fak.)*	**Prof. Dr. Fatime GÜNEŞ** *(Edebiyat Fak.)*
Prof. Dr. Yıldız UZUNER *(Eğitim Fak.)*	**Prof. Dr. Erkan YÜKSEL** *(İletişim Bil. Fak.)*
Prof. Dr. Hamdan DEVECİ *(Eğitim Fak.)*	**Prof. Dr. Kamil ÇEKEROL** *(Açıköğretim Fak.)*

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The authors declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazarlar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazarlar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazarlar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci S.S.T./F.G., Data Collection/Verilerin Toplanması S.S.T, Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması S.S.T./F.G., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci S.S.T./F.G.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 192-229

First Submission: 28.06.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 28.07.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

Analytical Mapping of Critical Factors Influencing Corporate Sustainability: A Network Perspective

Fatih Bıyıklı[a]

Abstract

Introduction: This study identifies and maps the critical factors influencing corporate sustainability by examining its intellectual, thematic, and social evolution within academic literature. It particularly emphasises the role of environmental, social, economic, and governance (ESG) dimensions in shaping corporate sustainability discourse.

Method: A bibliometric and network-based analysis was conducted on 1,139 academic articles published between 2003 and 2025, sourced from the Web of Science Core Collection. The analysis utilised the R-based Biblioshiny interface from the bibliometric package to perform co-occurrence mapping, thematic clustering, trend analysis, and collaboration network visualisation.

Results or Findings: The results show a consistent rise in scholarly output on corporate sustainability, with an annual publication growth rate of 17.13%. Thematic mapping identified key clusters centred on "performance," "management," and "governance." Recent trends show a growing focus on themes such as transparency, ESG reporting, and stakeholder equity. A geographical analysis revealed dominance by North American and European institutions while increasing contributions from developing countries reflect a broader global engagement.

Discussion or Conclusion: Corporate sustainability has transformed from a normative concern into a multidimensional strategic priority within organisational and academic spheres. This study offers a comprehensive analytical foundation for future research and supports efforts by scholars, practitioners, and policymakers to integrate ESG principles into sustainable corporate governance.

Keywords: ESG integration, sustainable corporate governance, data-driven sustainability research, stakeholder engagement, corporate sustainability

JEL Codes: C82, Q56, G34, O16

[a] Assist. Prof. Dr., Afyon Kocatepe University, Bolvadin Faculty of Applied Sciences, Department of Accounting and Finance Management, Afyonkarahisar/Türkiye, fatihbykli@gmail.com , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1652-7910 (Corresponding Author)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 192-229

İlk Başvuru: 28.06.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 28.07.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Kurumsal Sürdürülebilirliği Etkileyen Kritik Faktörlerin Analitik Haritalandırılması: Ağ Temelli Bir Perspektif

Fatih Bıyıklı[a]

Öz

Giriş: Bu çalışmanın amacı, kurumsal sürdürülebilirliği etkileyen kritik faktörleri belirlemek ve bu alandaki akademik literatürün entelektüel, tematik ve sosyal evrimini haritalandırmaktır. Özellikle çevresel, sosyal, ekonomik ve yönetişim (ESG) boyutlarının kurumsal sürdürülebilirlik söylemini nasıl şekillendirdiği üzerinde durulmaktadır.

Yöntem: 2003–2025 yılları arasında yayımlanan ve Web of Science Core Collection veri tabanından elde edilen 1.139 akademik makale üzerinde bibliyometrik ve ağ tabanlı bir analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. Analiz sürecinde, bibliometrix paketine entegre R tabanlı Biblioshiny arayüzü kullanılarak eş-ortaya çıkış haritaları, tematik kümelenmeler, eğilim analizleri ve iş birliği ağları görselleştirilmiştir.

Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: Kurumsal sürdürülebilirlik konusundaki akademik yayınlarda istikrarlı bir artış gözlemlenmiş olup, yıllık yayın artış oranı %17,13'tür. Tematik haritalama sonucunda "performans", "yönetim" ve "yönetişim" kavramlarının öne çıktığı tespit edilmiştir. Son yıllarda şeffaflık, ESG raporlaması ve paydaş eşitliği gibi temaların ön plana çıktığı belirlenmiştir. Coğrafi analizlerde Kuzey Amerika ve Avrupa kurumlarının baskınlığı görülmekle birlikte, gelişmekte olan ülkelerin katkısında da artış olduğu dikkate değerdir.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Kurumsal sürdürülebilirlik, etik bir kaygıdan çok boyutlu stratejik bir önceliğe dönüşmüştür. Bu çalışma, gelecekteki araştırmalara analitik bir temel sunmakta ve ESG ilkelerinin sürdürülebilir kurumsal yönetişime entegrasyonu konusunda akademisyenler, uygulayıcılar ve politika yapıcılara değerli içgörüler sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ESG entegrasyonu, sürdürülebilir kurumsal yönetişim, veri odaklı sürdürülebilirlik araştırması, paydaş katılımı, kurumsal sürdürülebilirlik

JEL Kodlar: C82, Q56, G34, O16

[a] Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, Bolvadin Uygulamalı Bilimler Fakültesi, Muhasebe ve Finans Yönetimi Bölümü, Afyonkarahisar/Türkiye, fatihbykli@gmail.com, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1652-7910 (Sorumlu Yazar)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

In today's business world, sustainability has moved beyond being solely an environmental concern to become a central component of long-term value-creation strategies for companies. This transformation necessitates the integration of environmental, social, economic, and governance (ESG) dimensions into corporate decision-making processes (Elkington, 1997; Montiel & Delgado-Ceballos, 2014). The concept of corporate sustainability, grounded in the World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) (1987) principle of intergenerational equity, advocates that businesses operate in a manner that ensures financial profitability and the protection of the planet and the well-being of society. In this context, companies are expected to perform based on the "triple bottom line" of people, planet, and profit.

Corporate sustainability's environmental, social, and economic pillars are complementary and mutually reinforcing. Environmental sustainability includes efficient use of natural resources, reduced carbon emissions, and adopting eco-friendly production systems (Hart, 1995; Kolk & Pinkse, 2005). Social sustainability involves fair labour practices, respect for human rights, community engagement, and transparent relationships with stakeholders (Freeman, 1984; Carroll, 1999). Economic sustainability aims to ensure long-term financial stability and develop business models prioritising social and environmental value creation (Dyllick & Hockerts, 2002; Porter & Kramer, 2006). This tripartite structure enables businesses to create value for shareholders and all stakeholders.

In recent years, governance has emerged as a fourth foundational pillar of corporate sustainability. Governance sustainability encompasses institutional transparency, ethical decision-making, internal audit mechanisms, board independence, and management of ESG performance (Aguilera et al., 2006; Jensen & Meckling, 1976; Davis et al., 1997). Effective governance ensures the holistic implementation and monitoring of sustainable strategies (Epstein, 2008). The increasing demands of stakeholders, tightening regulatory frameworks, and the need for compliance with international standards (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) have made governance an indispensable element of corporate strategy.

The main objective of this study is to analyse the academic production on corporate sustainability through bibliometric methods and to map the critical factors in this domain from a network-based perspective. To this end, 1,139 academic articles published between 2003 and 2025 were retrieved from the Web of Science database and analysed using the R-based biblioshiny software. This analysis aims to provide a comprehensive overview of how the environmental, social, economic, and governance dimensions are represented in the literature, which concepts are most prominent, and how research trends have evolved.

Conceptual Framework

Corporate Sustainability

Corporate sustainability (CS) is a multidimensional framework that integrates environmental, social, economic, and governance considerations into the core of corporate strategy and operations. The concept builds upon the WCED's (1987) definition of sustainable development, emphasising long-term value creation without compromising future generations. At its core, CS aims to align corporate performance with global sustainability challenges by addressing the "triple bottom line"—people, planet, and profit (Elkington, 1997). As Montiel and Delgado-Ceballos (2014) note, the contemporary understanding of corporate sustainability involves more than mere compliance or philanthropic activities; it is a strategic approach that

seeks to manage risks, improve efficiency, and build resilient organisations. The interconnected nature of environmental, social, and economic systems necessitates that companies adopt an integrated, holistic mindset to shape business decisions.

Environmental, social, and economic dimensions of sustainability are complementary and mutually reinforcing. For example, environmental sustainability efforts—such as reducing emissions or conserving resources—can lower operational costs while fulfilling regulatory obligations and enhancing corporate reputation (Hart, 1995; Kolk & Pinkse, 2005). Social sustainability, which includes fair labour practices, community engagement, and respect for human rights, enhances stakeholder trust and supports organisational legitimacy (Freeman, 1984; Carroll, 1999). Economic sustainability, in turn, ensures the long-term viability of the business by focusing on value creation for a broad array of stakeholders (Dyllick & Hockerts, 2002). As Cantele, Landi, and Vernizzi (2024) emphasise, these three pillars cannot be isolated; their synergistic implementation leads to sustainable growth and resilience in an increasingly complex global environment.

Governance has emerged as a critical fourth pillar that supports and integrates sustainability's environmental, social, and economic aspects. Effective governance mechanisms ensure that sustainability principles are embedded within strategic planning, risk management, and performance monitoring (Aguilera et al., 2006). Agency theory (Jensen & Meckling, 1976) and stewardship theory (Davis et al., 1997) underscore the role of governance in aligning managerial behaviour with long-term stakeholder interests. Transparent governance structures, including independent boards, stakeholder engagement practices, and ESG oversight, are associated with better sustainability performance and accountability (Epstein, 2008; OECD, n.d.). According to Pazienza, de Jong, and Schoenmaker (2022), integrating governance into sustainability frameworks improves coherence and impact, enabling firms to respond more effectively to stakeholder expectations and regulatory pressures. In this sense, governance sustainability is the institutional backbone that enables environmental, social, and economic goals to be pursued simultaneously and effectively.

Environmental Sustainability

Environmental sustainability constitutes a fundamental dimension of corporate sustainability and refers to the organisational practices and strategies aimed at mitigating ecological degradation and promoting the responsible use of natural resources. Rooted in the firm's natural resource-based view (NRBV), environmental capabilities are posited as strategic assets that can foster long-term competitive advantage (Hart, 1995). This perspective aligns with the principles laid out in the WCED in 1987.

Organisational practices that reflect environmental sustainability include adopting energy-efficient technologies, implementing waste reduction programs, utilising renewable energy sources, and integrating sustainable supply chain practices (Bansal & Roth, 2000; Kolk & Pinkse, 2005). The Global Reporting Initiative (GRI, 2021) offers a standardised framework for reporting these practices, enabling industry transparency and benchmarking.

The theoretical foundation for environmental sustainability is also supported by stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984), which emphasises the organisation's accountability to various stakeholders, including communities and future generations. Moreover, institutional theory suggests that firms are influenced by societal norms and environmental regulations, leading to the adoption of green strategies for legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Lozano, 2015).

As global climate concerns escalate, corporate engagement in environmental sustainability is increasingly scrutinised by investors, governments, and consumers. This scrutiny is reflected in the proliferation of ESG metrics, which evaluate environmental performance alongside social and governance factors (Eccles et al., 2014). Ultimately, environmental sustainability contributes to achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), notably Goals 6, 7, 12, and 13.

Social Sustainability

Social sustainability pertains to the capacity of organisations to manage their social impacts responsibly and ethically while contributing positively to the well-being of internal and external stakeholders. Carroll's (1999) Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) model, which encompasses economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic responsibilities, provides a foundational framework for understanding this dimension. Social sustainability extends beyond compliance to proactive engagement in diversity and equality.

Stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) provides a conceptual basis for social sustainability by advocating the inclusion of diverse stakeholder voices in organisational governance. Clarkson's (1995) stakeholder performance model furthers this by offering measurable criteria for evaluating corporate responsiveness to stakeholder needs. Waddock and Graves (1997) also underscored the importance of social sustainability and empirically linked positive social performance with enhanced financial performance.

In institutional contexts, firms often adopt socially sustainable practices to align with cultural expectations and maintain legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Matten & Moon, 2008). However, Jamali and Mirshak (2007) caution that CSR strategies in developing countries face unique implementation barriers, including weak governance and cultural resistance.

Global initiatives such as the UN Global Compact (2021) and the SDGs emphasise social sustainability through principles related to labour rights, gender equality, and inclusive development (Goals 5, 8, and 10). As such, firms that prioritise social responsibility are fulfilling ethical obligations and positioning themselves for long-term viability in increasingly conscientious markets.

Governance Sustainability

Governance sustainability refers to establishing robust systems, structures, and processes that ensure ethical, transparent, and accountable organisational decision-making. Effective governance enables firms to manage risks, align strategic objectives with sustainability goals, and respond to stakeholder expectations (Aguilera et al., 2006; Epstein, 2008). It is a critical enabler of environmental, social, and economic sustainability.

Agency theory (Jensen & Meckling, 1976) and stewardship theory (Davis et al., 1997) offer theoretical underpinnings for governance sustainability. While the former emphasises the need for oversight mechanisms to mitigate conflicts between managers and shareholders, the latter promotes collaborative leadership and long-term stakeholder value creation. Clarkson (1995) adds that transparent stakeholder engagement is essential to effective governance.

The UN Global Compact (2021) articulates governance principles focused on anti-corruption, human rights, and labour standards, which firms are encouraged to internalise. Governance sustainability also encompasses board diversity, executive accountability, and ESG integration into corporate oversight (Matten & Moon, 2008; Schaltegger & Burritt, 2005).

Institutional pressures further drive the adoption of governance practices that conform to international norms and enhance organisational legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Governance sustainability aligns directly with SDG 16, which advocates for peace, justice, and strong institutions.

In sum, governance is not merely a compliance function but a strategic pillar that ensures the integrity and effectiveness of sustainability initiatives across the organisation.

Circular Economy and Dynamic Capabilities

Recent scholarship on sustainability strategy has increasingly emphasised frameworks such as the circular economy, dynamic capabilities, and sustainability transitions. The circular economy paradigm advocates for closed-loop systems that minimise waste and resource use by promoting reuse, recycling, and regeneration (Geissdoerfer et al., 2017). This approach aligns with the co-occurrence of keywords such as “waste,” “pollutants,” and “decarbonisation strategy” observed in the network analysis, reflecting a shift in sustainability discourse towards systemic resource efficiency.

In parallel, the dynamic capabilities framework (Teece, Pisano, & Shuen, 1997) offers insights into how organisations develop, integrate, and reconfigure internal and external competencies to adapt to rapidly evolving sustainability demands. The results demonstrate increasing attention to terms like “innovation,” “resilience,” and “strategic management,” which directly reflect this capability-based orientation.

Additionally, the concept of sustainability transitions—focusing on the systemic transformation of socio-technical systems (Markard, Raven, & Truffer, 2012)—provides a macro-level lens through which emerging clusters such as “governance,” “policy influence,” and “stakeholder equity” can be interpreted. These linkages show that the field is increasingly integrating strategic and institutional dimensions beyond traditional ESG frameworks.

Methodology

This study adopts a bibliometric analysis approach, supported by science mapping techniques, to explore the critical factors influencing corporate sustainability from a multidimensional and network-based perspective. The analysis was conducted using the biblioshiny interface of the bibliometrix R package (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017), which enables comprehensive, reproducible, and visually intuitive bibliometric analyses. This tool was selected for its capacity to analyse large bibliographic datasets, generate dynamic network visualisations, and map scientific trends across multiple dimensions of sustainability.

The data for this research were extracted from the Web of Science Core Collection, a leading multidisciplinary database of peer-reviewed academic publications. The search strategy was carefully constructed to reflect the multifaceted nature of corporate sustainability, with two overarching keyword themes: (1) general sustainability constructs (e.g., "corporate sustainability," "firm sustainability") and (2) detailed sub-factors representing environmental, social, economic, and governance dimensions (e.g., "climate strategy," "waste," "labour practices," "corporate governance," "business ethics," etc.). This structured search resulted in a final dataset comprising 1,139 articles published between 2003 and 2025, drawn from 331 academic sources, and authored by 2,878 researchers. The dataset included 3,074 author keywords and over 54,000 cited references, ensuring a comprehensive representation of the field's evolution.

Using biblioshiny, the study first performed descriptive analyses, including annual scientific production, authorship patterns, citation counts, and international collaboration rates. Subsequently, co-occurrence keyword analysis was used to detect thematic clusters and emerging concepts. Three-field plots, co-authorship networks, and collaboration world maps were generated to understand the intellectual and social structure of the research landscape. Conceptual structure maps, thematic evolution diagrams, and trend topic analyses were used to examine how corporate sustainability discourses have changed. These visualisations provided insight into dominant research streams, high-impact contributors, and the evolving interrelationship between sustainability dimensions. By leveraging the full capabilities of biblioshiny, this methodology enables a robust, data-driven understanding of the corporate sustainability literature and highlights pathways for future academic inquiry.

In the network-based analyses (co-occurrence, collaboration, and conceptual mapping), the default Louvaine clustering algorithm embedded in the Biblioshiny interface of the bibliometrix R package (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017) was employed. For co-occurrence analysis, a minimum frequency threshold of 5 for author keywords was applied to reduce noise and ensure analytical clarity. The network layout was generated using the Fruchterman-Reingold algorithm, which optimises spatial distribution for visual clarity.

The modularity resolution parameter was set at 0.75, a mid-range value suitable for detecting thematically coherent clusters without excessive fragmentation. Network density was calculated at 0.042, indicating a moderately sparse network typical for conceptual mapping in diverse thematic fields.

To ensure the robustness of the clustering solution, the modularity class outputs were cross-validated with thematic map results, and a sensitivity analysis was performed by lowering the frequency threshold to 3 and increasing it to 8. The core structure remained stable across these thresholds, indicating reliability of the observed clusters. In addition, the co-occurrence analysis was replicated using Keywords Plus (ID field) as a robustness check, which yielded consistent thematic clusters aligned with the author keyword-based network.

Findings

Table 1 outlines the thematic structure and specific search terms for constructing the bibliometric dataset. The table categorises the keywords into two main themes: Corporate Sustainability and Sub-Factors Affecting Corporate Sustainability. Under the first theme, broad terms like Corporate Sustainability and Firm Sustainability are listed, reflecting the overarching focus of the study. The second theme breaks down the concept into detailed sub-factors such as Governance Dimension, Transparency, Business Ethics, Sustainable Finance, and Climate Strategy, among many others. This comprehensive keyword selection ensures that the dataset captures a broad and representative spectrum of the sustainability discourse, spanning governance, environmental, and social dimensions, as well as risk and crisis management issues.

The detailed decomposition into sub-factors signals a deliberate methodological effort to cover the multifaceted nature of corporate sustainability by including terms related to environmental impact (e.g., Energy, Waste, Pollutants), social concerns (e.g., Labor Practices, Human Rights, Financial Inclusion), and governance issues (e.g., Corporate Governance, Policy Influence, Tax Strategy), the keyword set ensures a holistic retrieval of literature. Moreover, emerging areas such as the decarbonisation strategy and privacy protection indicate an awareness of contemporary challenges and the evolving landscape of sustainability research. This structured approach enhances the relevance and comprehensiveness of the bibliometric

analysis, enabling robust insights into how various facets of corporate sustainability are addressed across the academic literature.

Table 1

Keywords Used in Creating the Data Set

Theme 1: Corporate Sustainability	**Theme 2: Sub-Factors Affecting Corporate Sustainability**
Corporate Sustainability Firm Sustainability	Governance Dimension, Economic Dimension, Transparency, Reporting, Corporate Governance, Materiality, Risk Management, Crisis Management, Business Ethics, Policy Influence, Tax Strategy, Information Security, Sustainable Finance, Environmental Dimension, Energy, Waste, Pollutants, Water, Climate Strategy, Decarbonization Strategy, Social Dimension, Labor Practices, Human Rights, Human Capital Management, Occupational Health, Occupational Safety, Financial Inclusion, Customer Relations, Privacy Protection

Note. This table was created by the author.

Table 2 provides an overview of the fundamental bibliometric parameters characterising the dataset. The study spans 2003 to 2025, covering more than two decades of academic production. It includes 331 sources and 1,139 articles, indicating a substantial and diverse body of literature. The annual growth rate of 17.13% demonstrates a robust upward trajectory in scholarly interest, suggesting that the field of corporate sustainability and its sub-factors have been gaining considerable momentum over time. This consistent increase signals a dynamic and expanding research area responding to evolving global sustainability challenges and corporate practices.

Additional metrics provide insights into the research community's structure and the dataset's richness. With 2,878 authors, the field is highly collaborative, and an international co-authorship rate of 31.61% indicates a significant level of cross-border collaboration, essential for addressing global issues like sustainability. Furthermore, the dataset includes 3,074 author keywords, reflecting thematic diversity and complexity. The large number of 54,155 references underscores the field's profound intertextuality, suggesting that the research is heavily grounded in existing literature and that cumulative knowledge-building is a prominent feature. These descriptive statistics portray a mature and rapidly evolving field characterised by increasing scholarly engagement, thematic diversity, and global collaboration.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptives	**Statistics**
Timespan	2003-2025
Sources	331
Articles	1139
Annual Growth Rate	%17.13
Authors	2878
International Co-Authorship	%31.61
Author's Keywords	3074
References	54155

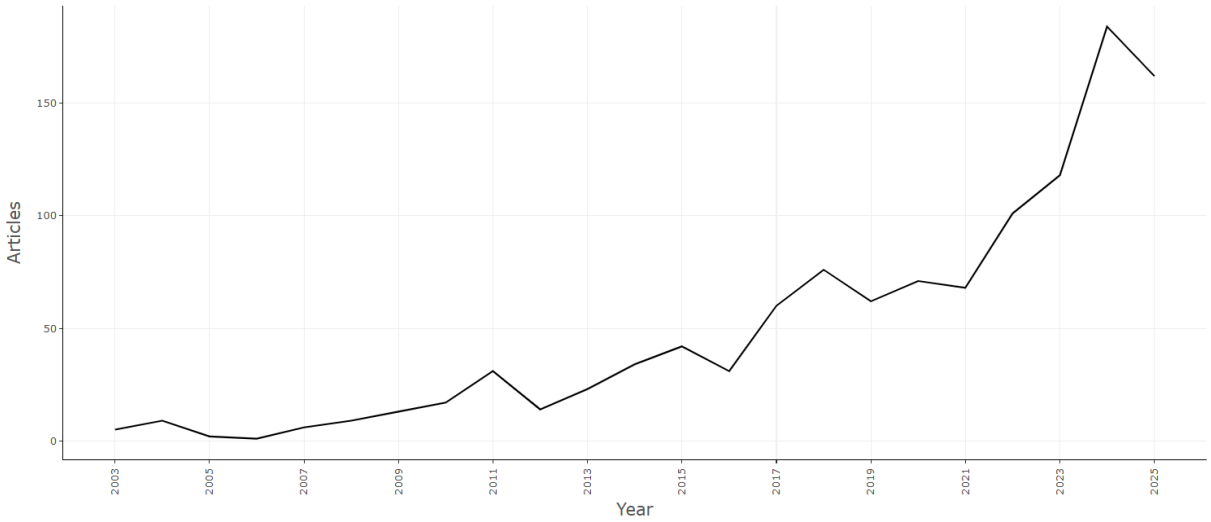
Note. This table was created by the author.

The trend depicted in Figure 1, titled Annual Scientific Production, shows the evolution of the number of articles published over the years. From 2003, scientific output was relatively low, with fewer than 10 articles per year until around 2010. After this point, a modest but steady growth can be observed, with slight fluctuations until 2017. From 2018 onwards, the increase becomes more pronounced, peaking notably in 2024. This upward trend suggests a growing academic interest in the field under study, likely driven by increasing awareness, policy developments, and global emphasis on related research themes.

The sharp rise in publications from 2021 to 2024 reflects a broader trend of intensifying scholarly engagement, which may be attributed to various factors, such as advancements in data availability, funding opportunities, and interdisciplinary collaboration. The slight dip observed after the peak could result from regular publication cycles or shifting research priorities. This figure indicates that the field is in a growth phase, characterised by heightened scientific productivity and expanding academic discourse, pointing to its maturation and relevance within the broader research ecosystem.

Figure 1

Annual Scientific Production



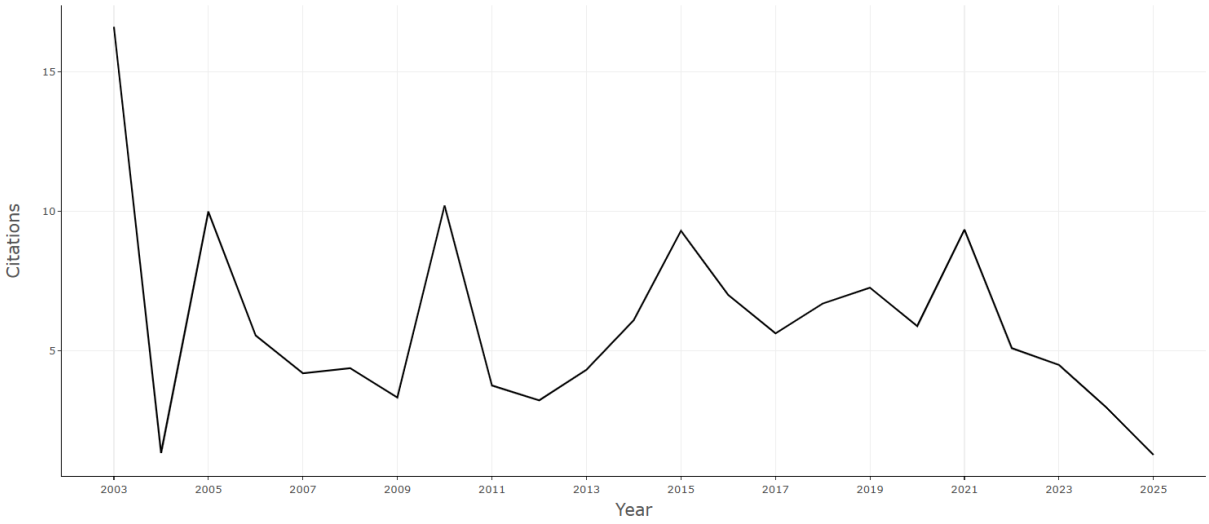
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 2, titled Average Citations Per Year, illustrates the temporal evolution of citation impact. The figure reveals that in the early years, notably around 2003, articles achieved the highest average citations, peaking at approximately 17 citations per article. This early surge can often be attributed to the "first-mover advantage," where pioneering studies garner significant attention due to their novelty. However, the subsequent sharp decline indicates the field's gradual expansion, leading to a dilution effect where newer papers face increasing competition for citations. The intermittent peaks, notably around 2005, 2010, and 2015, reflect periods when landmark studies or special issues might have reinvigorated scholarly attention, boosting citation rates temporarily.

There has been a noticeable declining trend in average citations per article in recent years, particularly after 2021. Despite the increasing number of publications observed in Figure 1, this decline suggests a saturation effect where the proliferation of articles reduces the per-article citation potential. It may also reflect the shorter citation windows available for recent publications, as newer articles require time to accumulate citations. The pattern highlights a typical bibliometric phenomenon where early seminal works enjoy a citation premium. At the same time, newer contributions face heightened competition, necessitating higher quality, novelty, or interdisciplinary relevance to achieve significant citation impact.

Figure 2

Average Citations Per Year



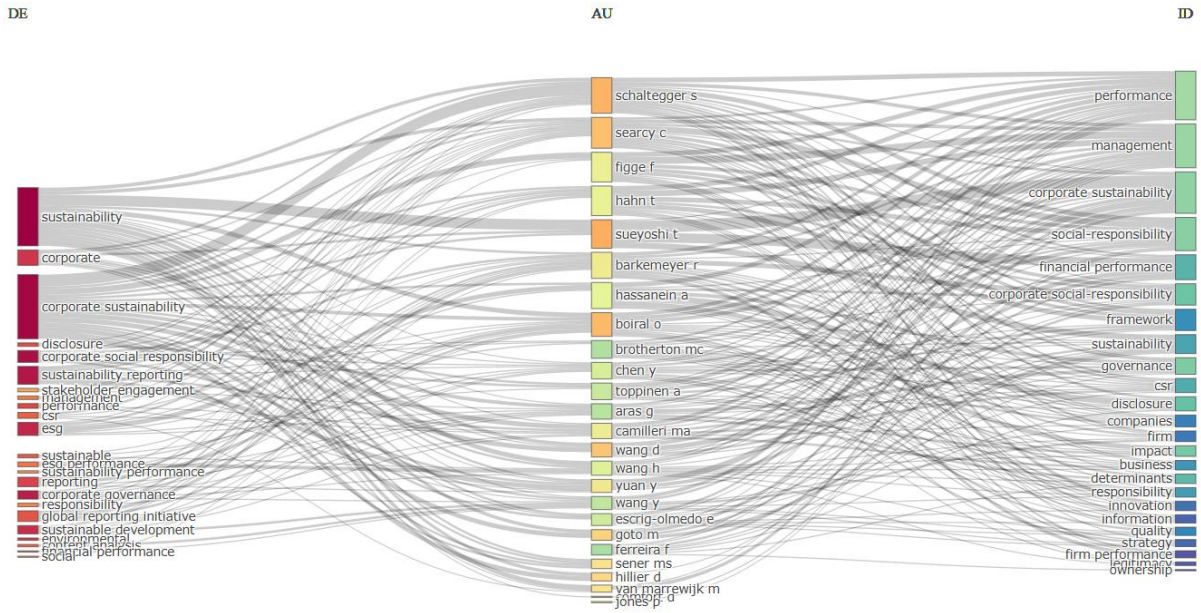
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 3, titled Three-Field Plot, illustrates the relational mapping among keywords (DE), authors (AU), and topics (ID) within the field. On the left, dominant keywords such as "sustainability," "corporate," and "corporate sustainability" reveal the thematic foci guiding the research. In the centre, leading authors like Schaltegger S., Searcy C., and Figge F. emerge as influential contributors, linking multiple thematic areas to critical research outputs. On the right, frequently addressed topics such as "performance," "management," and "corporate sustainability" demonstrate the conceptual alignment between the author's expertise and research objectives. The dense interconnections suggest a well-integrated academic network where prominent scholars continuously engage with core topics, ensuring thematic consistency across the field.

The visualisation highlights the structural cohesiveness of the research landscape. Scholars are connected to high-frequency keywords and contribute to a broad array of subtopics, suggesting multidimensionality in their research contributions. The convergence of sustainability and corporate responsibility themes reflects the field's maturation and intersection with business performance and governance concerns. The three-field plot effectively underscores the concentration of intellectual leadership and the diversity of applied research areas, indicating a robust and dynamic scholarly environment where key authors play a pivotal role in shaping evolving research directions.

Figure 3

Three-Field Plot



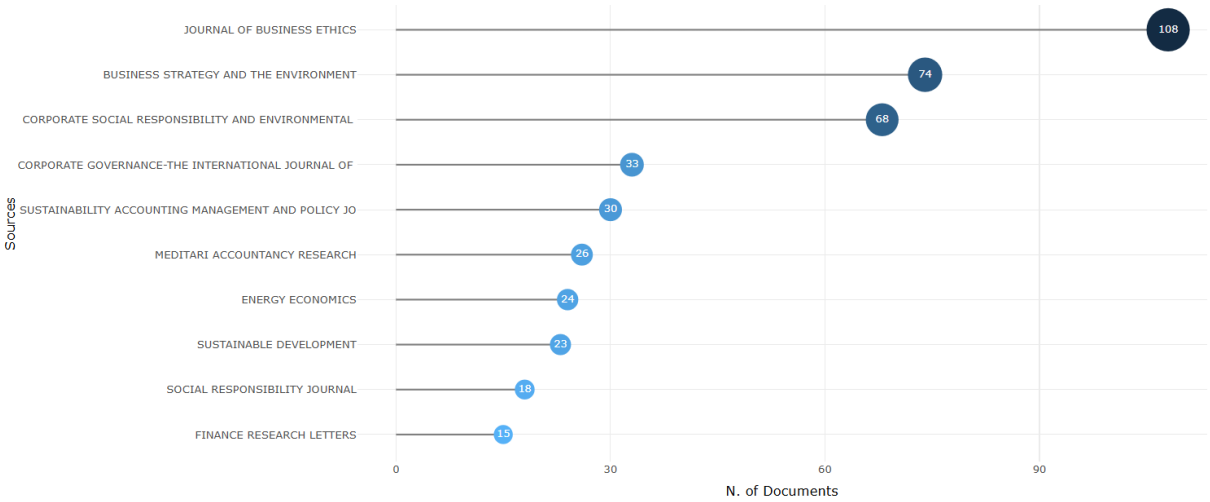
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 4, titled Most Relevant Sources, provides an overview of the journals that have published the most articles within the analysed field. Leading the list is the Journal of Business Ethics with 108 publications, followed by Business Strategy and the Environment with 74 articles, and Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management with 68 articles. These journals' dominance underscores the interdisciplinary nature of the research area, which intersects business ethics, environmental management, and corporate responsibility. The prominence of such journals suggests that the field is anchored in addressing ethical considerations and sustainability strategies within corporate contexts, reflecting broader academic and societal priorities.

The presence of other journals, such as Corporate Governance: The International Journal of Business in Society and Sustainability Accounting, Management and Policy Journal, highlights the diversity of scholarly outlets contributing to the field's development. This range indicates that the field extends into the domains of governance, accounting, and energy economics. The diversity of sources also suggests a healthy and vibrant research ecosystem where interdisciplinary dialogue is encouraged. Moreover, the dispersion of document numbers among different journals points to a decentralised but thematically cohesive body of literature, enhancing the field's resilience and adaptability to emerging sustainability and corporate governance challenges.

Figure 4

Most Relevant Sources



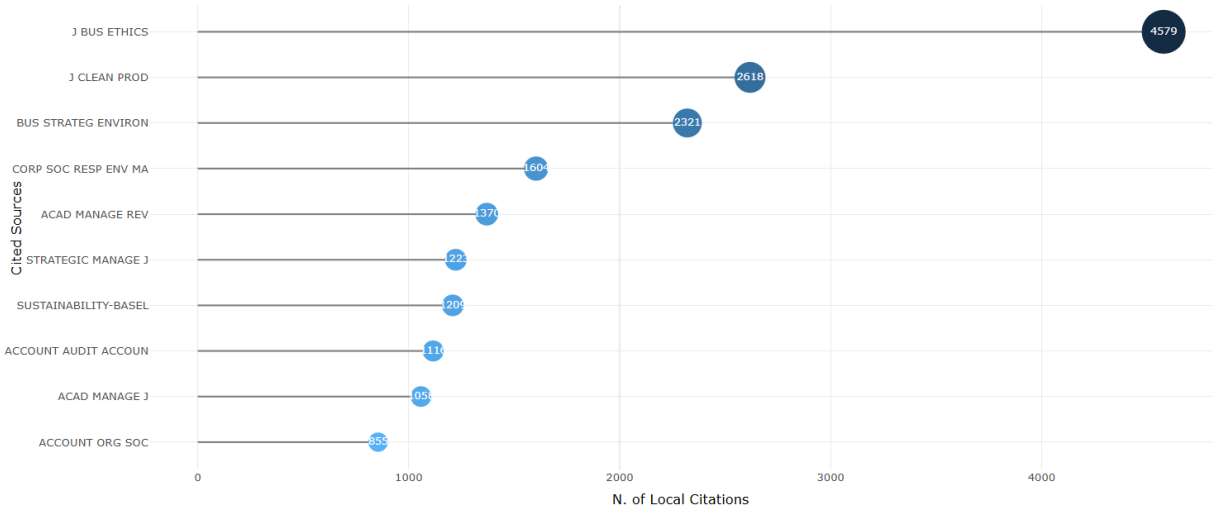
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 5, titled Most Local Cited Sources, displays the journals most frequently cited within the analysed corpus. The Journal of Business Ethics stands out prominently with 4,579 citations, significantly surpassing the second most cited source, the Journal of Cleaner Production with 2,618 citations, and Business Strategy and the Environment with 2,321 citations. This dominant citation performance suggests that the Journal of Business Ethics is a foundational reference point for researchers in this domain, emphasising the centrality of ethical considerations in sustainability and corporate governance studies. The citation concentration in these top journals reflects their role in shaping theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches widely adopted by subsequent research.

The broader citation distribution indicates a diverse intellectual base, with journals such as Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management, Academy of Management Review, and Strategic Management Journal also making substantial contributions. These journals span disciplines, including business strategy, environmental management, organisational studies, and sustainability science, reflecting the field's interdisciplinary nature. High-impact, generalist management journals alongside specialised sustainability and ethics outlets underscore the cross-cutting relevance of sustainability and governance issues across various management and organisational disciplines. This pattern of citation consolidation around a few influential journals also suggests a maturing research field with well-established scholarly anchors.

Figure 5

Most Local Cited Sources



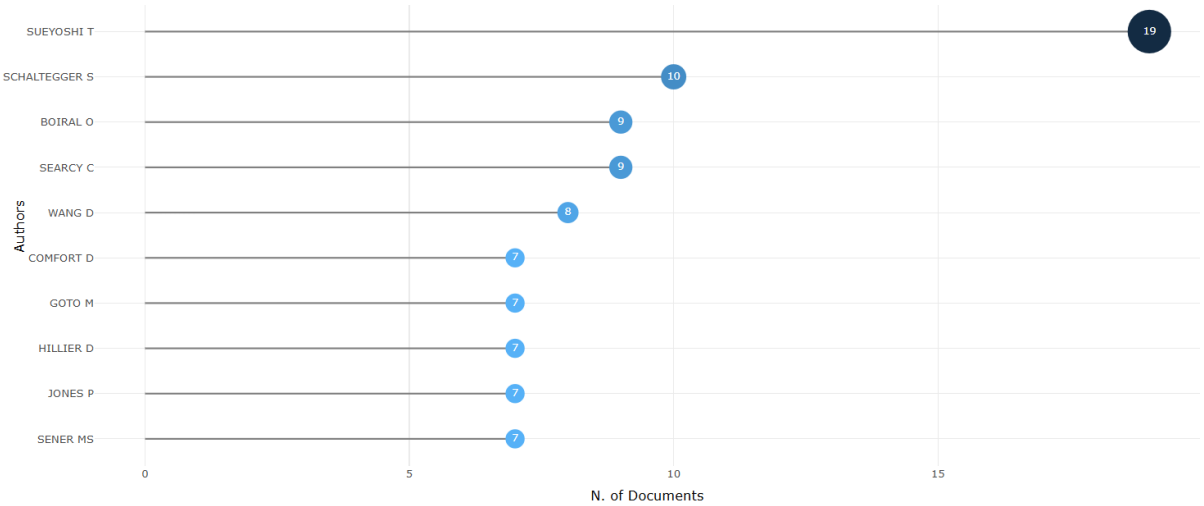
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 6, titled Most Relevant Authors, presents the leading contributors based on the field's published documents. At the top of the list, Sueyoshi T. stands out with 19 publications, demonstrating a significant scholarly influence and sustained research activity. Following him, Schaltegger S. has 10 publications, while Boiral O. and Searcy C. have nine publications. This pattern highlights a core group of prolific authors who have consistently contributed to the body of knowledge on sustainability, corporate responsibility, and related topics. Their high publication counts suggest they play a pivotal role in setting research agendas and advancing theoretical and empirical debates in the field.

The presence of additional scholars such as Wang D., Comfort D., Goto M., Hillier D., Jones P., and Sener MS., each with 7 or 8 publications, indicates a moderately distributed authorship landscape. Although there is some concentration among a few highly productive researchers, the field also benefits from contributions by a broader pool of active scholars. This prolific authors and wider participation combination suggests a vibrant academic community with a balanced mix of thought leadership and diverse perspectives. It reinforces that the field is expanding steadily, supported by sustained individual efforts and collaborative research networks.

Figure 6

Most Relevant Authors



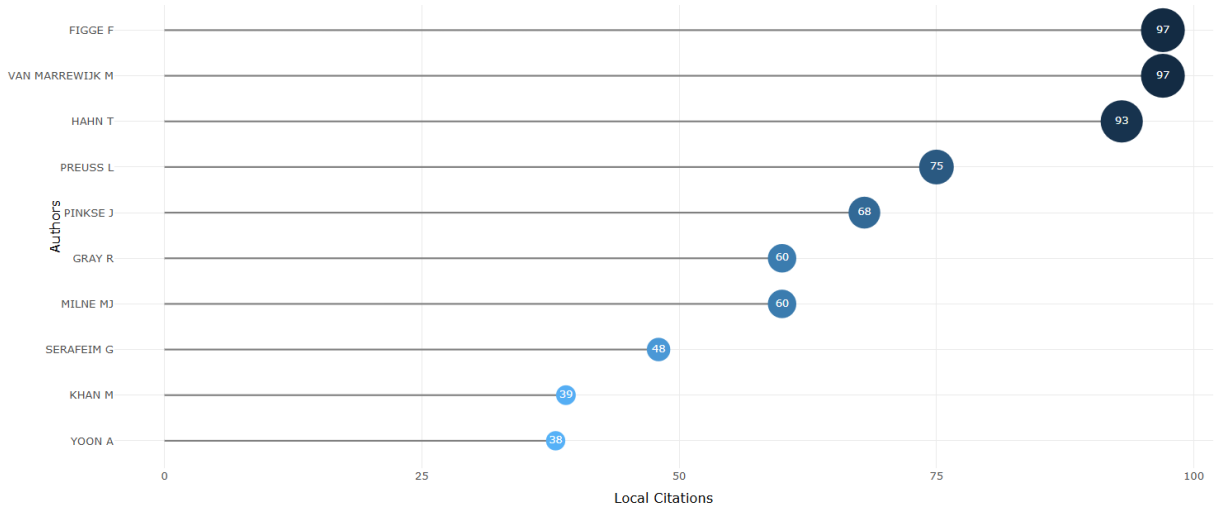
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 7, titled Most Local Cited Authors, illustrates the scholars whose works have received the highest number of local citations within the dataset. Figge F. and Van Marrewijk M. are tied at the top, each with 97 local citations indicating their pivotal influence and their studies' foundational role in the research domain. Close behind is Hahn T., with 93 citations, followed by Preuss L. and Pinkse J., who have 75 and 68 citations, respectively. The high citation counts of these authors reflect their significant intellectual contributions, signalling that their research has been instrumental in shaping the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and governance studies.

Interestingly, while publication counts (as seen in previous figures) show productivity, citation counts emphasise scholarly impact. Authors such as Gray R., Milne M.J., and Serafeim G., despite fewer publications compared to the most prolific authors, appear prominently here due to the high impact of their work. This distinction highlights that quality and influence, measured by citations, are not always directly proportional to publication quantity. Overall, this figure demonstrates that a select group of scholars has produced substantial research output and significantly shaped academic discourse, serving as key reference points for ongoing research within the field.

Figure 7

Most Local Cited Authors



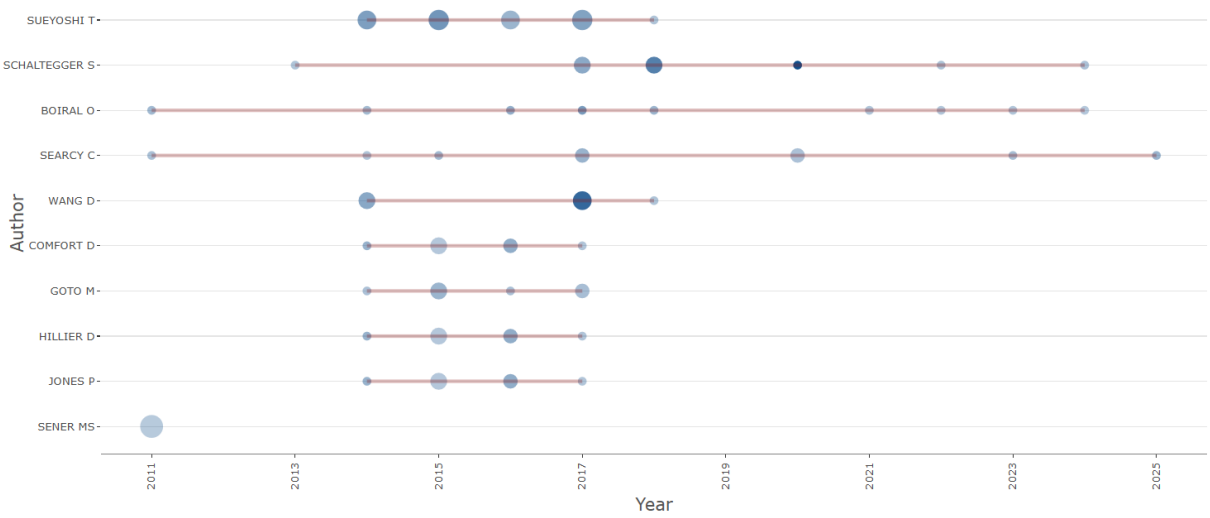
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 8, titled Authors' Production over Time, traces the publication activity of the most productive authors across different years. Sueyoshi T., Schaltegger S., Boiral O., and Searcy C. exhibit a consistent research output, with noticeable clusters of publications, particularly between 2014 and 2018. The size of the bubbles indicates the volume or impact of their work in a given year, showing that certain years were particularly productive or influential for specific authors. For instance, Sueyoshi T. and Wang D. have relatively larger bubbles in specific years, indicating not just steady productivity but also notable peaks in research impact or volume. The extended horizontal lines for some authors, like Schaltegger S. and Searcy C., suggest sustained engagement over a more extended period than others.

This figure reflects not only the productivity patterns but also suggests the evolving prominence of individual scholars in the field. Authors like Sener MS., although having significant early contributions, do not show continued activity in the later years, implying either a shift in research focus or a reduced engagement. Meanwhile, Schaltegger S. and Boiral O. demonstrate enduring presence, indicating leadership roles in setting the research agenda or mentoring newer scholars. The temporal distribution of publications reveals how research leadership and scholarly influence are maintained over time, providing insight into the dynamic evolution of the intellectual community in sustainability and corporate responsibility research

Figure 8

Authors' Production over Time



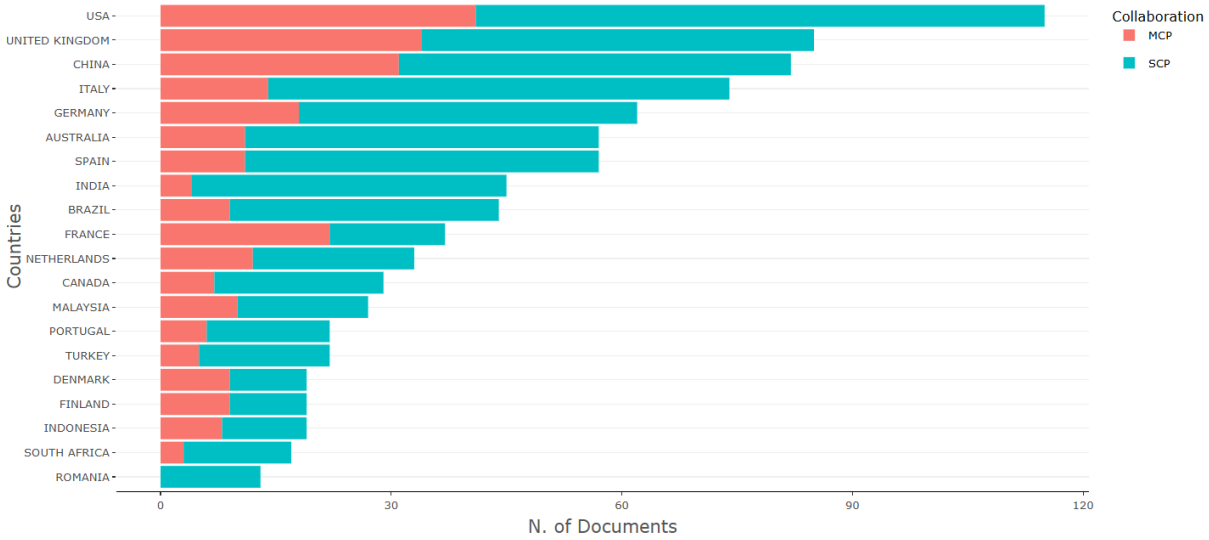
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 9, titled Corresponding Author's Countries, presents the distribution of scientific production based on the country affiliation of corresponding authors, further distinguishing between single-country publications (SCP) and multiple-country collaborations (MCP). The United States leads by a wide margin, followed by the United Kingdom and China, confirming the dominant role of these countries in driving global research output in sustainability and corporate responsibility. The significant portion of blue (SCP) for most countries indicates that much of the research is conducted within national borders, with relatively fewer international collaborations. Nevertheless, countries like the United Kingdom and Germany show a higher share of MCPs (red), reflecting a greater tendency for international research partnerships.

The broader distribution also reveals active research engagement from European countries such as Italy, Germany, Spain, and France, alongside emerging economies like India, Brazil, and Malaysia. The participation of countries like Turkey, South Africa, and Indonesia, although at lower volumes, signifies the expanding global interest in the field. The predominance of single-country studies highlights a potential limitation in the field: the need for broader cross-national collaboration to enrich research perspectives and enhance the generalizability of findings. Encouragingly, the presence of MCPs among top-producing countries suggests growing international connectivity, which is vital for addressing global sustainability challenges through diverse and inclusive research approaches.

Figure 9

Corresponding Author's Countries



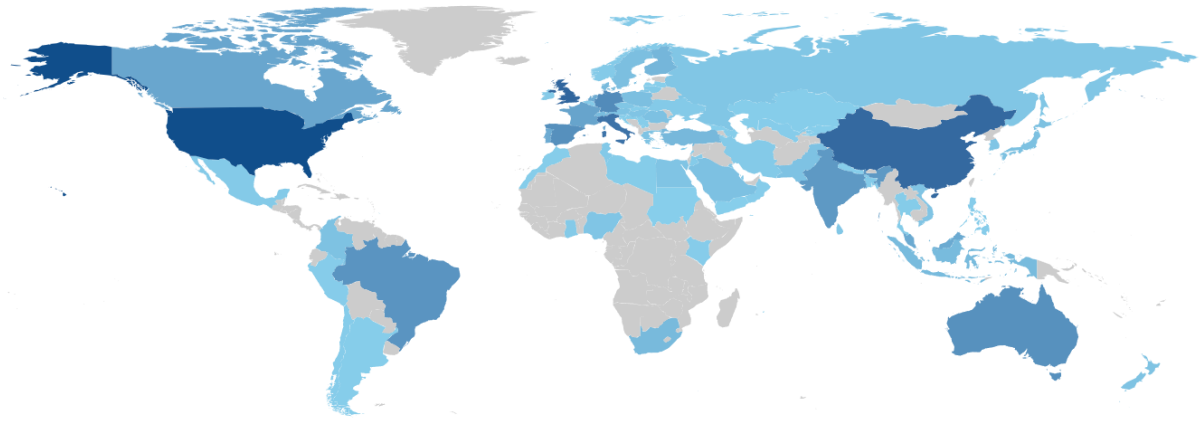
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 10, titled Countries' Scientific Production, presents a global heat map reflecting the geographical distribution of scholarly output in the field. Darker shades of blue represent higher production levels, with the United States, the United Kingdom, and China prominently highlighted as the leading contributors. Other countries with significant output include Australia, Germany, Canada, Italy, and India, suggesting a concentration of research activity in North America, Europe, and Asia-Pacific. The widespread distribution of scientific production across continents reflects the global importance of sustainability and corporate governance research, transcending regional boundaries.

However, the map also reveals notable gaps in scientific production, particularly in large parts of Africa, the Middle East, and some parts of Southeast Asia and Latin America, where countries are shaded in grey, indicating minimal or no contribution. This geographical imbalance suggests disparities in research infrastructure, funding availability, and academic prioritisation of sustainability-related topics. Addressing these disparities through capacity building, international collaboration, and funding initiatives would be crucial to ensuring a more globally representative body of research. Overall, the map highlights the widespread interest and the persistent geographic inequalities in the scholarly exploration of sustainability and corporate responsibility issues.

Figure 10

Countries' Scientific Production



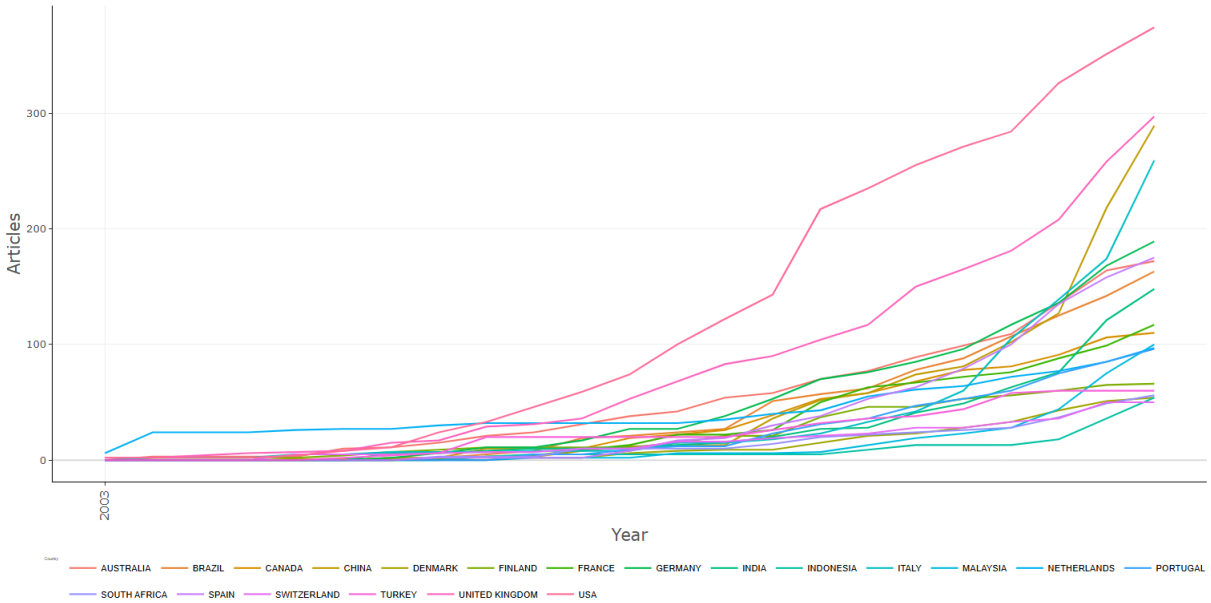
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 11, titled Countries' Production over Time, illustrates the longitudinal trends in scholarly output for different countries from 2003 to 2025. The United States consistently leads with a sharply rising trajectory, especially after 2010, surpassing 350 articles in recent years. The United Kingdom and China follow closely behind, demonstrating significant production growth, particularly after 2015. This surge indicates that these countries have substantially intensified their research focus on sustainability and corporate responsibility in the last decade, likely fueled by increasing policy pressures, funding availability, and growing public and corporate interest in sustainability issues.

Other countries such as Germany, Italy, Canada, and Australia also exhibit steady upward trends, though at a lower scale than the leading trio. Emerging economies like India and Brazil show gradual but consistent increases, reflecting their growing engagement in global sustainability discourse. The data suggest that research in this field is expanding in traditionally research-intensive nations and developing economies. This collective upward trend underscores the globalisation of sustainability research. However, the gap between leading and other countries remains wide, signalling the need for broader research capacity and resource dissemination to ensure a more balanced global academic contribution.

Figure 11

Countries' Production over Time



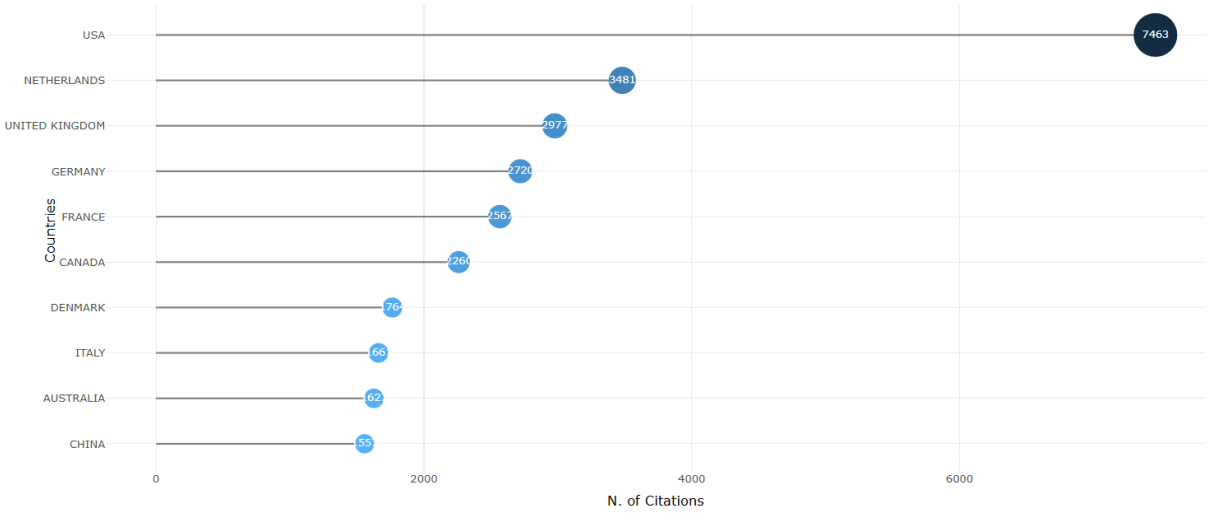
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 12, titled Most Cited Countries, ranks countries by the total number of citations their publications have received. The United States dominates with 7,463 citations, followed by the Netherlands (3,481 citations) and the United Kingdom (2,977 citations). This substantial lead suggests that not only is the USUS highly productive in terms of the number of articles (as shown in previous figures), but it also exerts significant influence on the academic community, with its research widely referenced and built upon by other scholars. Despite a smaller absolute publication volume, the Netherlands' high citation count highlights the country's ability to produce high-impact research, indicative of a focus on quality and relevance.

The distribution further shows that other major European nations — Germany, France, Denmark—and Canada, Australia, and China- contribute meaningfully to the citation landscape. The relatively high citation counts of countries with moderate publication numbers, such as Denmark and the Netherlands, imply that their research outputs are particularly valued and influential. Meanwhile, the lower citation counts for countries like China, despite high production, suggest a citation gap that could be due to factors such as language barriers, publication venue visibility, or the recency of their research contributions. Overall, this figure highlights the importance of quantity and citation quality in establishing a country's academic leadership in sustainability and corporate governance.

Figure 12

Most Cited Countries



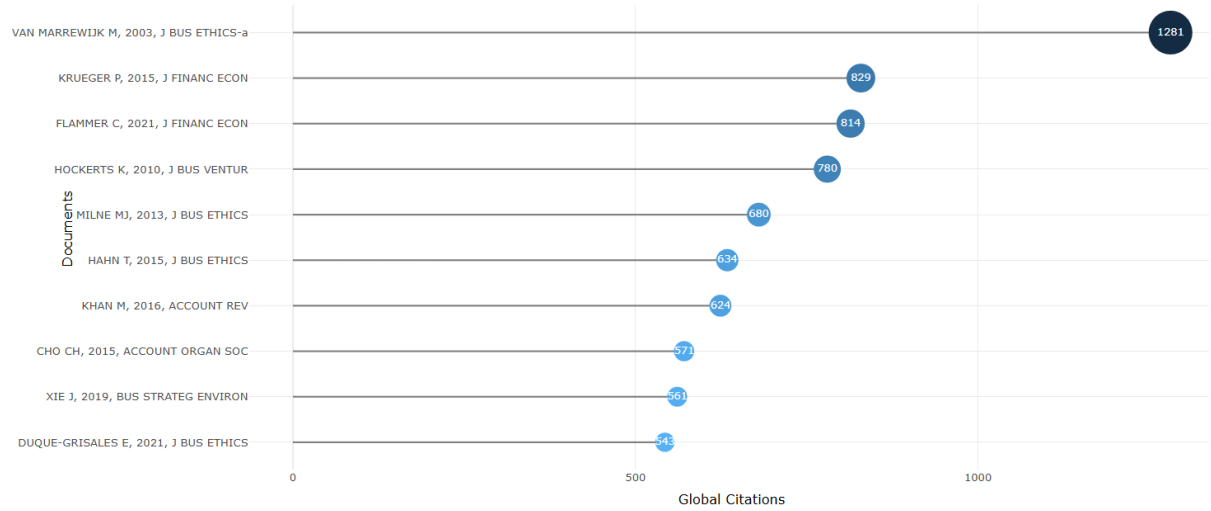
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 13, titled Most Global Cited Documents, highlights the individual publications with the highest global citations. Leading the list is Van Marrewijk's (2003) article in the Journal of Business Ethics, which has an impressive 1,281 citations, indicating its seminal status in the field. Krüger's (2015) and Flammer's (2021) works in the Journal of Financial Economics follow, with 829 and 814 citations, respectively, showcasing the interdisciplinary reach of sustainability and corporate responsibility research into finance. Other highly cited works include Hockerts (2010) on sustainable entrepreneurship and Milne (2013) on critical perspectives in business ethics, reflecting the diversity of influential topics driving citation impact in the field.

The various journals and topics among the top-cited documents reveal the field's interdisciplinary nature, blending business ethics, finance, management, and entrepreneurship studies. Notably, the frequent appearance of articles from the Journal of Business Ethics reinforces the journal's dominant position in shaping scholarly discourse. These highly cited documents are foundational texts widely recognised for their theoretical contributions or empirical insights. Their significant citation numbers also imply that they have catalysed subsequent research developments as key references for new studies exploring the evolving landscape of corporate sustainability, governance, and social responsibility.

Figure 13

Most Global Cited Documents



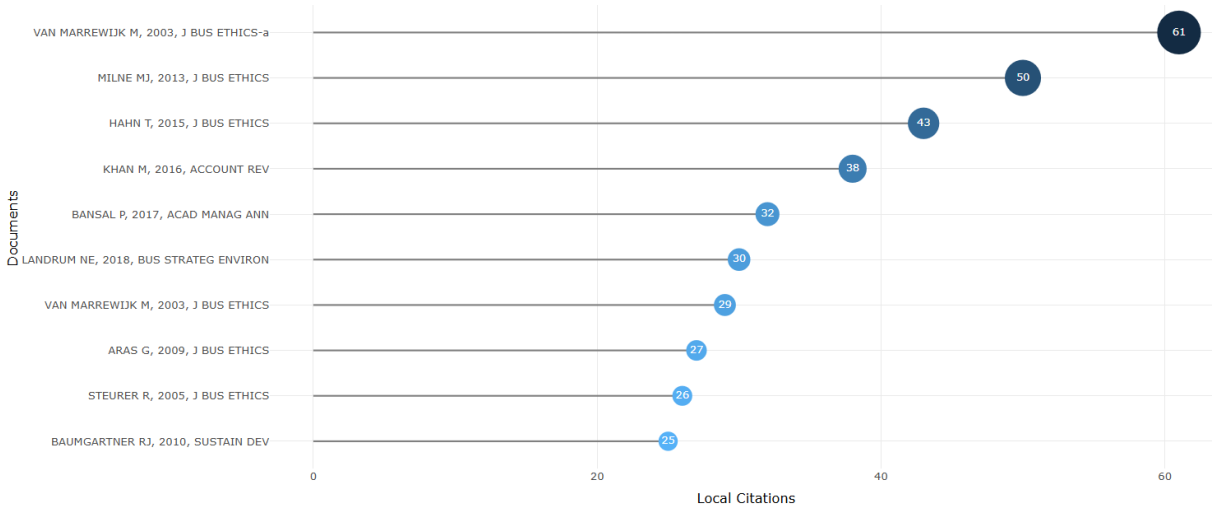
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 14, titled Most Local Cited Documents, ranks documents based on the number of citations they have received within the dataset (local citations). Once again, Van Marrewijk's (2003) publication in the Journal of Business Ethics stands out with 61 local citations, reaffirming its foundational influence within this specific research corpus. Milne (2013) and Hahn (2015), published in the Journal of Business Ethics, follow closely with 50 and 43 citations, respectively. This journal's concentration of top-cited works underscores its role as the central outlet for scholarship in sustainability and corporate responsibility. It also signals that these studies are globally influential and highly referenced within their direct academic community.

The remainder of the list includes articles by Khan (2016), Bansal (2017), and Landrum (2018), among others, showcasing a mix of classic and more recent influential contributions. The relatively high local citation counts for more recent articles, such as those from 2017 and 2018, indicate their rapid uptake and relevance within the field. This pattern indicates an evolving but stable intellectual foundation where seminal works coexist with newer influential studies. Local citation analysis thus offers a lens into the internal dynamics of the field, reflecting which contributions are most frequently relied upon by active researchers to frame or advance their work.

Figure 14

Most Local Cited Documents



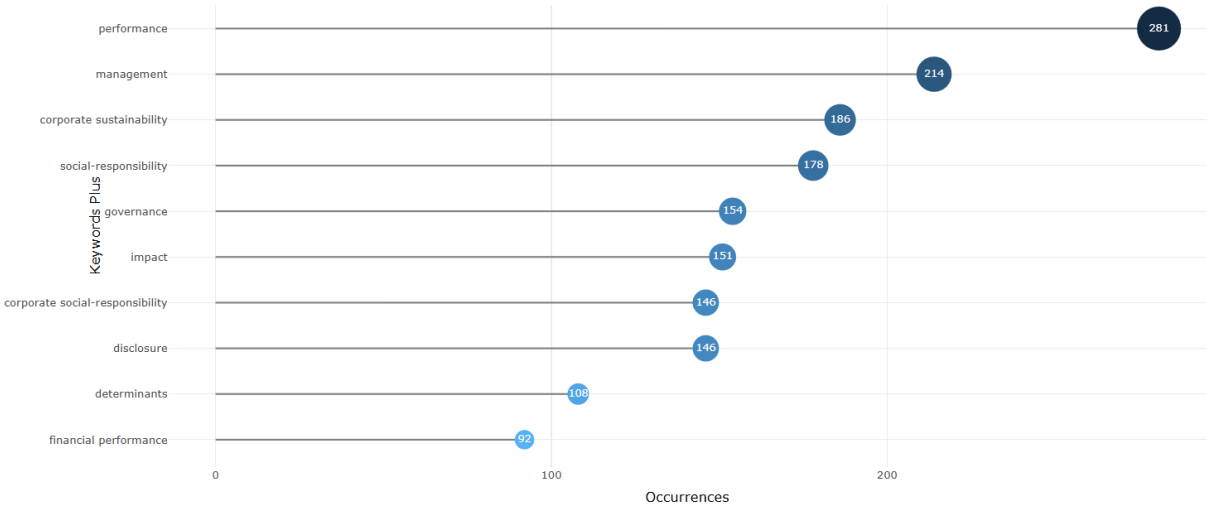
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 15, titled Most Frequent Words, displays the top recurring keywords in the literature analysed. "Performance" emerges as the most frequent term, with 281 occurrences, followed by "management" (214 occurrences) and "corporate sustainability" (186 occurrences). These results suggest that the central research concerns revolve around assessing organisational outcomes, managerial practices, and the strategic pursuit of sustainability goals. The high frequency of "performance" also reflects an ongoing emphasis on measurable impacts, particularly how sustainability initiatives affect corporate outcomes. Furthermore, the appearance of "corporate sustainability" and "social responsibility" underscores a dominant thematic convergence on corporate actions to balance profit with social and environmental considerations.

Other frequently occurring terms like "governance," "impact," "corporate social responsibility," "disclosure," and "financial performance" indicate the multifaceted nature of the field, intertwining strategic management, accountability, and stakeholder engagement. "Governance" and "disclosure" suggest that transparency and ethical leadership are recurrent focal points. In contrast, the recurrence of "impact" and "determinants" indicates a strong interest in understanding causal relationships and evaluating effectiveness. Overall, the keyword analysis reveals that research in this area is widespread and thematically rich, emphasising both the operational (performance, management) and ethical (governance, responsibility) dimensions of sustainability discourse in corporate contexts.

Figure 15

Most Frequent Words



Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 16, titled WordCloud, visually represents the most frequently occurring keywords in the literature, with the size of each word proportional to its frequency. The largest terms — "performance," "corporate sustainability," "management," "governance," and "social responsibility" — dominate the image, indicating their centrality to the research field. The prominence of "performance" reflects the scholarly preoccupation with evaluating the outcomes of sustainability efforts. In contrast, "corporate sustainability" and "social responsibility" signal the thematic backbone around which discussions of sustainable business practices and ethical corporate behaviour revolve. "Governance" and "disclosure" further reinforce the importance of transparency and accountability in corporate actions.

Surrounding these dominant terms are a wide variety of related concepts such as "determinants," "impact," "financial performance," and "framework," suggesting a multidisciplinary approach that spans organisational behaviour, finance, and strategy. Words like "innovation," "quality," and "business" hint at the expanding scope of sustainability research into areas of competitive advantage and operational excellence. The WordCloud thus encapsulates the field's broad yet interconnected thematic network, confirming that sustainability research is not confined to environmental issues alone but deeply intertwined with strategic management, performance measurement, and corporate governance discourses.

Figure 16

Word Cloud

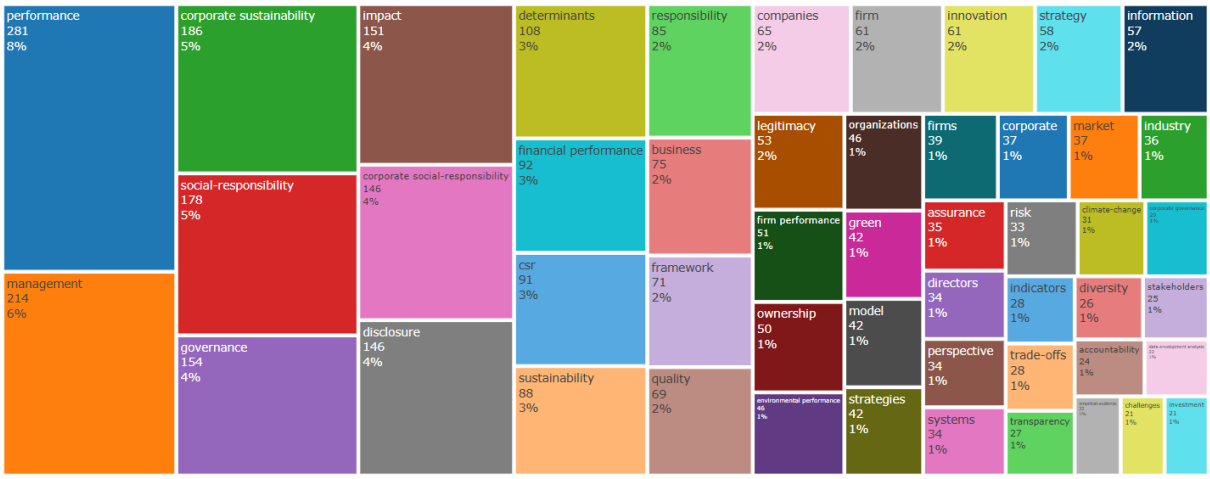
Note. Word cloud of search results. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 17, titled TreeMap, offers a hierarchical visualisation of the most frequent keywords based on their occurrence. The size of each block corresponds to the relative frequency of the keyword, with "performance" occupying the largest space (8%), followed by "management" (6%), "corporate sustainability" (5%), and "social-responsibility" (5%). This distribution reinforces the prominence of performance measurement and managerial practices in sustainability research while highlighting the central focus on corporate social responsibility and sustainability strategies. The TreeMap format allows for a more intuitive grasp of the thematic weight of each concept, illustrating the layered complexity and relative emphasis within the literature.

Additionally, keywords such as "governance," "impact," "disclosure," and "financial performance" each contribute 3-4%, showcasing important subfields that complement the core themes. Smaller but still significant terms like "determinants," "legitimacy," "innovation," and "quality" illustrate the multifaceted nature of sustainability studies, reflecting broader concerns with organisational legitimacy, technological advancement, and operational excellence. The variety of keywords displayed, from "climate change" to "accountability" and "stakeholders," points to an interdisciplinary and evolving research agenda, capturing the diverse scholarly interest in how businesses integrate sustainability into their core strategies and operations.

Figure 17

Tree Map



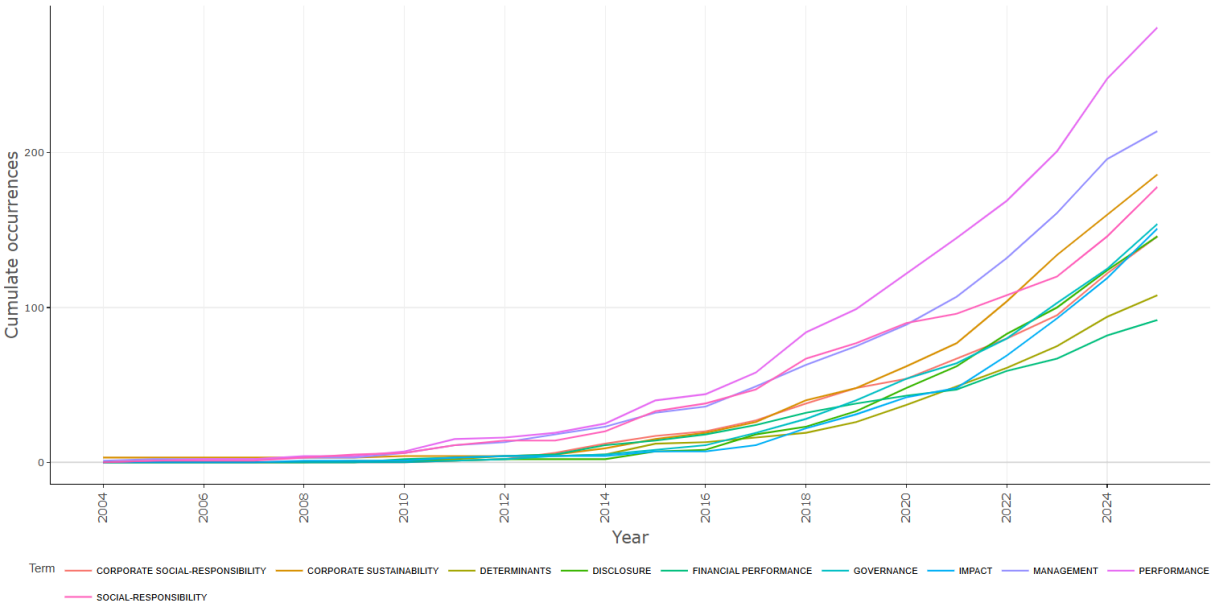
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 18, titled Words' Frequency over Time, shows the cumulative occurrences of key terms from 2003 to 2025. "Performance" and "Management" stand out with the steepest upward trajectories, particularly after 2015, indicating a growing research emphasis on evaluating corporate effectiveness and managerial strategies related to sustainability. "Social responsibility" and "Corporate sustainability" also show substantial, steady increases, reflecting the enduring importance of ethical obligations and long-term environmental and social objectives in corporate practices. The sharp acceleration of these terms in recent years suggests an intensified scholarly interest in how sustainability initiatives are integrated into organisational operations and measured for effectiveness.

Other terms such as "Governance," "Impact," "Disclosure," and "Financial performance" also exhibit upward trends, albeit at a more moderate pace. The consistent rise in "Governance" indicates an ongoing concern with how corporate structures and leadership influence sustainability outcomes. At the same time, "Disclosure" reflects the growing emphasis on transparency and accountability in sustainability reporting. The gradual increase in "Determinants" suggests an expanding inquiry into the factors driving corporate sustainability behaviour. Overall, this figure highlights the increasing volume of research in the field and a maturing focus on tangible outcomes, strategic management practices, and the broader societal and organisational implications of corporate sustainability efforts.

Figure 18

Words' Frequency over Time



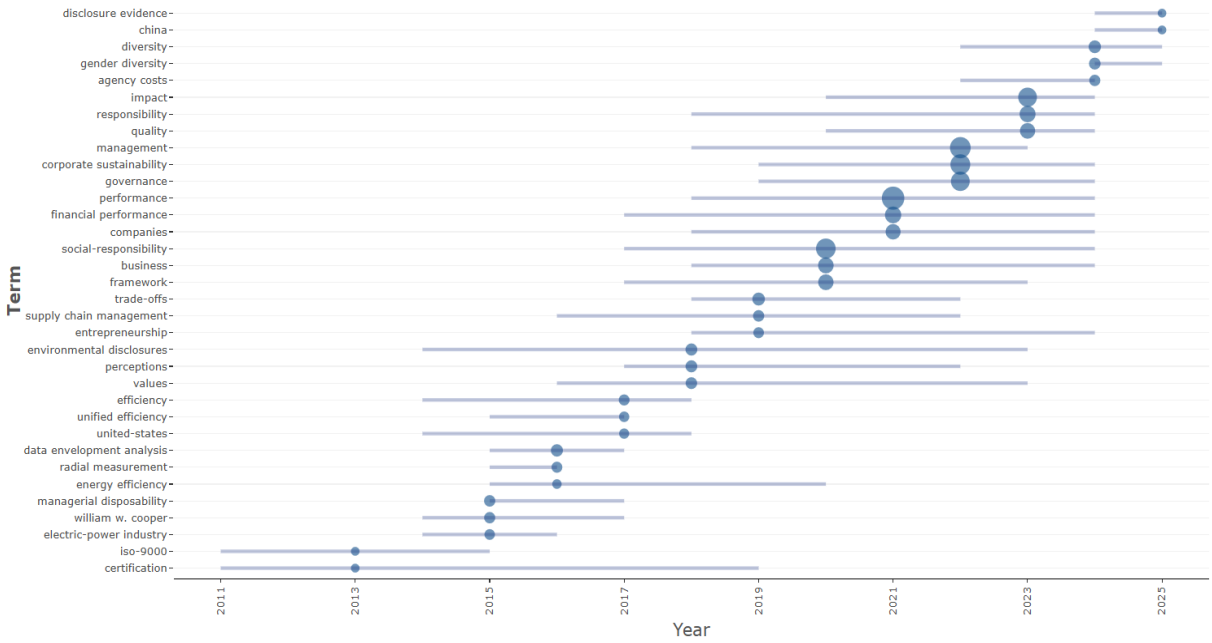
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 19, titled Trend Topics, captures the evolution of research themes over time by plotting the appearance and persistence of key terms. Larger circles indicate more prominent terms or have higher usage at specific time points. Early terms such as "certification," "iso-9000," and "energy efficiency" appeared around 2011–2013 but did not maintain long-term prominence. In contrast, terms like "performance," "management," "corporate sustainability," and "social responsibility" have shown sustained importance, persisting steadily into recent years. This long-term presence suggests that these topics form the backbone of the sustainability research field.

More recent trends highlight the emergence of contemporary themes such as "gender diversity," "agency costs," "impact," and "disclosure evidence" around 2022–2025, reflecting a growing focus on inclusion, financial efficiency, and transparency. The emergence of topics like "supply chain management" and "environmental disclosures" also suggests an expansion of the field into operational and reporting dimensions of sustainability. This figure demonstrates that while the field is anchored in long-standing core concepts, it is simultaneously evolving to incorporate emerging social, environmental, and governance concerns. This dynamic evolution underscores sustainability research's responsiveness to academic advancements and real-world global challenges.

Figure 19

Trend Topics



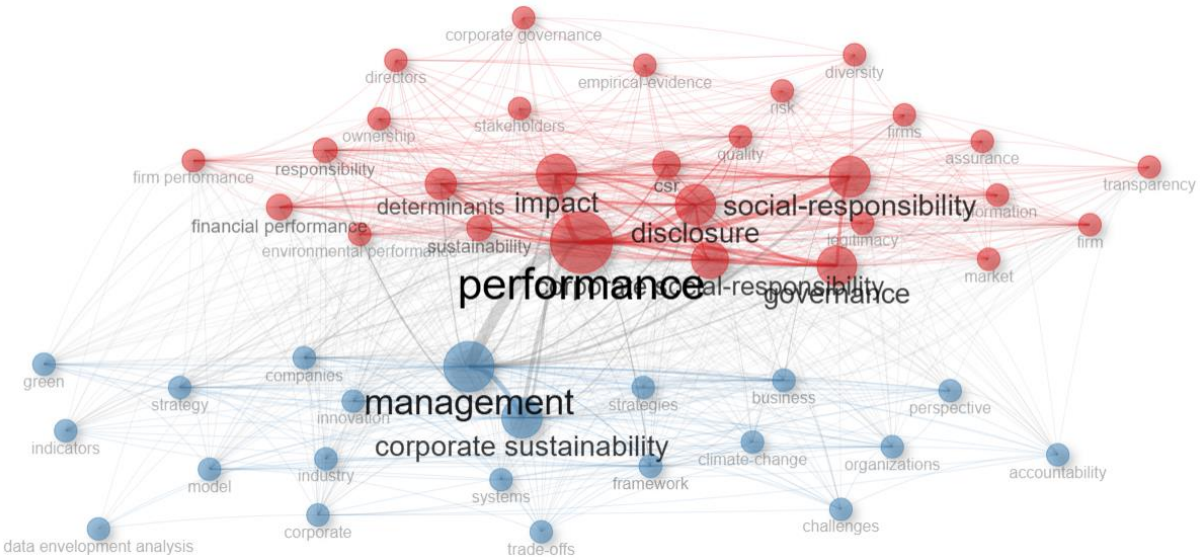
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 20, titled Co-occurrence Network, presents a network visualisation of keyword co-occurrences, illustrating the relationships and thematic clusters within the research field. The nodes represent keywords, while the edges (lines) indicate co-occurrence relationships, with larger nodes signifying more frequent terms. The network reveals two prominent clusters: the red cluster, focused on social responsibility, disclosure, governance, and determinants, and the blue cluster, centred around management, corporate sustainability, and business-related themes. "Performance" emerges as the most interconnected node, bridging the two clusters and indicating its central role across different thematic areas.

The red cluster emphasises ethical, reporting, and governance dimensions of sustainability research, suggesting a strong focus on transparency, legitimacy, and accountability. In contrast, the blue cluster is more oriented toward strategic management, innovation, and corporate operational practices. The clear division of clusters indicates a thematic bifurcation between social responsibility concerns and managerial-strategic approaches to sustainability. Additionally, the network density and strong linkages between key concepts demonstrate the interdisciplinary and interconnected nature of the research, where discussions on governance, responsibility, and performance are deeply intertwined with management practices and sustainability strategies.

Figure 20

Co-occurrence Network



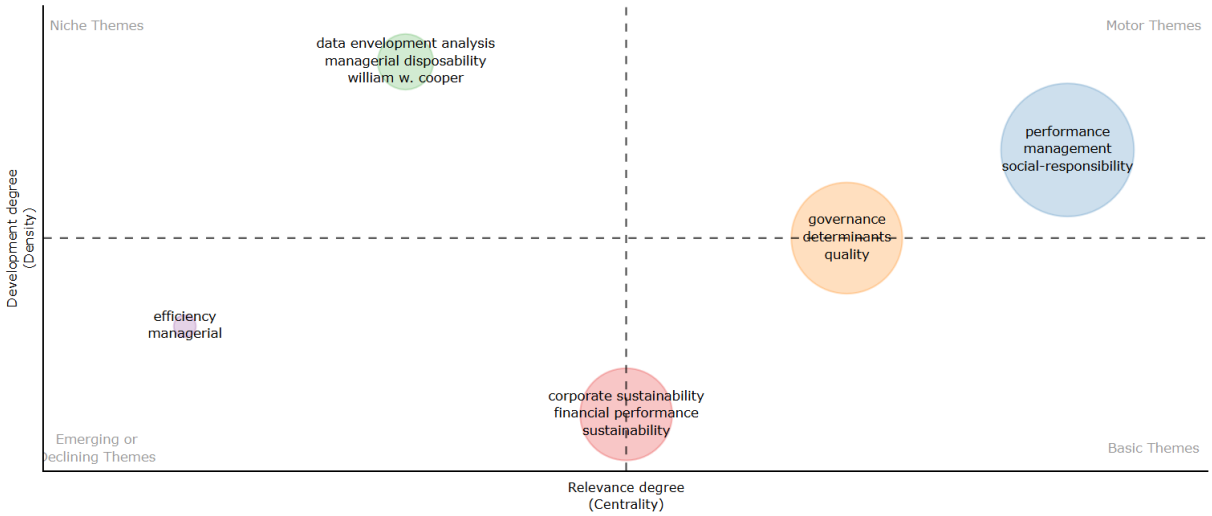
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 21, titled Thematic Map, provides a strategic diagram plotting research themes according to centrality (relevance degree) and density (development degree). In the top-right quadrant, performance, management, and social responsibility are positioned as motor themes—highly developed and important for structuring the field. Their high centrality and density indicate that these themes are both mature and critical to the intellectual structure, reflecting a well-integrated body of research with strong theoretical and empirical foundations. They represent the mainstream discourse in corporate sustainability research, encompassing core concepts that drive the field forward.

On the other hand, corporate sustainability, financial performance, and sustainability appear in the bottom-right quadrant as basic themes. Although these topics have high centrality (indicating broad relevance across studies), they have a lower density, suggesting that while important, their internal development may still be expanding. In the upper-left quadrant, data envelopment analysis and managerial disposability are considered niche themes—specialised and internally developed topics but less central to the field. Finally, in the bottom-left quadrant, efficiency and management are positioned as emerging or declining themes, indicating lower development and relevance, potentially representing nascent or fading research areas. This thematic distribution offers insight into the maturity and interconnectedness of different research areas, showing where the field is robust and may need further exploration or revitalisation.

Figure 21

Thematic Map



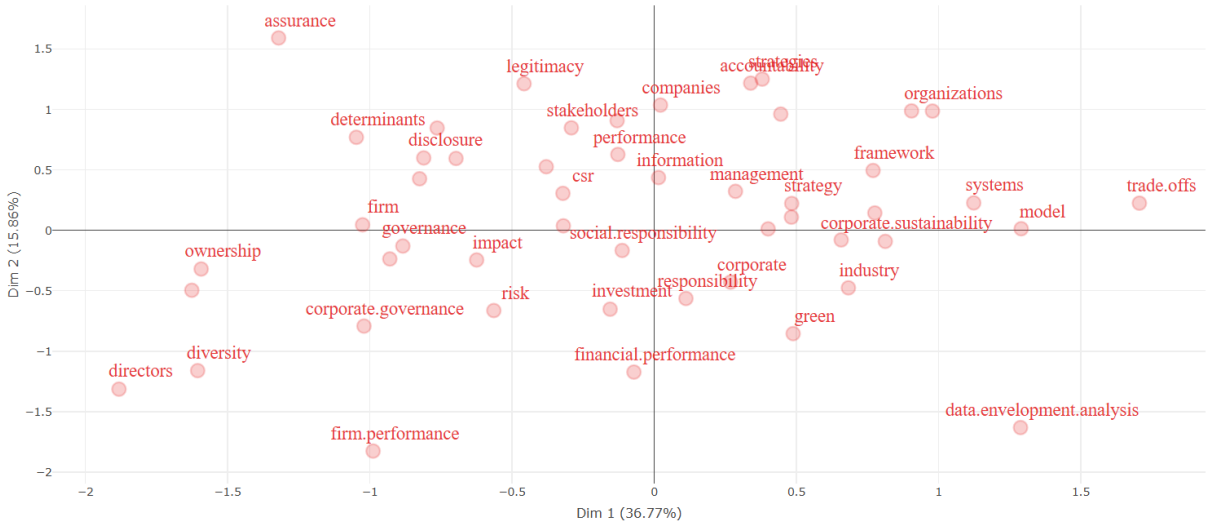
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 22, titled Factorial Analysis, presents a two-dimensional correspondence analysis map that spatially arranges keywords based on their co-occurrence patterns. Dimension 1 (horizontal axis) explains 36.77% of the variance, while Dimension 2 (vertical axis) explains 15.86%, capturing major underlying structures in the data. Keywords that are closer together share stronger semantic relationships. For instance, performance, social responsibility, management, and corporate sustainability are closely grouped near the centre, reflecting their interconnectedness and core position within the field's discourse. These centrally located terms act as thematic anchors, indicating that most studies discuss these concepts in close relation.

In contrast, terms like data envelopment analysis and firm performance are situated on the periphery, suggesting they are less integrated into the central research discourse, potentially representing more specialised or emerging areas of study. Similarly, directors, ownership, and diversity cluster on the left side, indicating a distinct sub-theme focused on corporate governance and diversity issues. The spatial dispersion of terms reveals the multidimensional and interdisciplinary nature of the research field, where clusters of related concepts coexist around a central core, reflecting both established and evolving areas of academic interest in corporate sustainability and responsibility.

Figure 22

Factorial Analysis



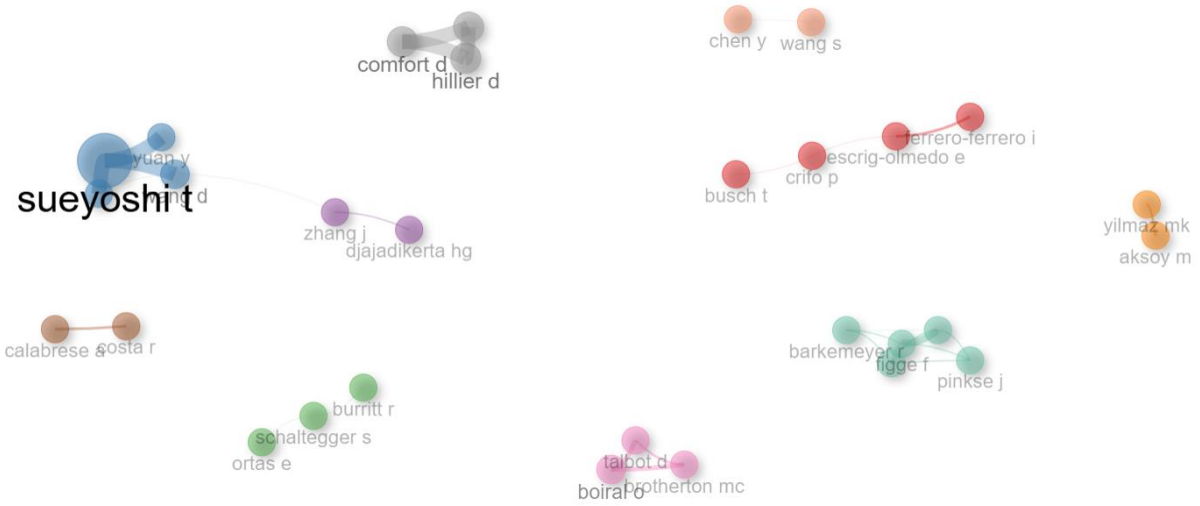
Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Figure 23, titled Collaboration Network, visualises the co-authorship relationships among researchers in the field. Each node's size represents an author's productivity or prominence, while the lines connecting them indicate collaborative ties. Sueyoshi T. stands out with the largest node and the densest network, signifying a leading publication volume and collaboration intensity position. His network is notably larger and more connected than others, suggesting a central role in fostering collaborative research within corporate sustainability and responsibility. Other smaller but distinct clusters form around authors like Schaltegger S., Boiral O., and Barkemeyer R., reflecting localised but active collaboration groups.

The figure also highlights a fragmented collaboration structure, with many clusters in relative isolation. For instance, pairs such as Calabrese A. and Costa R. or Chen Y. and Wang S. represent dyadic collaborations rather than broader networks. This fragmented nature suggests that while there are key hubs of cooperation, much of the research is conducted in smaller, tight-knit groups rather than in large, interconnected networks. Encouraging more cross-cluster collaboration could enhance knowledge exchange and foster a more integrated research community, facilitating more prosperous and diverse academic contributions in the field.

Figure 23

Collaboration Network



Note. This figure was created via Biblioshiny, where Arial font customization is not supported.

Results and Discussions

This study contributes to the growing body of knowledge on corporate sustainability by offering a comprehensive bibliometric and network-based analysis of the field between 2003 and 2025. Using R-based biblioshiny tools and data from the Web of Science, the research systematically mapped sustainability research's intellectual, thematic, and social structure within corporate contexts. The results affirm corporate sustainability's evolving complexity and multidimensionality, emphasising its transition from a predominantly conceptual and ethical concern to a strategic imperative embedded across governance, operational, and financial domains.

The findings demonstrate that corporate sustainability is increasingly shaped by an integrated perspective combining environmental, social, economic, and governance (ESG) dimensions. The co-occurrence of keywords such as "performance," "governance," "management," and "financial disclosure" indicates that sustainability is no longer treated as a peripheral responsibility but is positioned as a central component of corporate strategy. This aligns with existing literature emphasising the convergence of ethical accountability, stakeholder engagement, and long-term value creation (Dyllick & Hockerts, 2002; Eccles et al., 2014). Furthermore, the thematic evolution of keywords such as "gender diversity," "tax strategy," and "agency cost" reflects the expansion of sustainability into areas of equity, transparency, and economic governance—suggesting that future research may increasingly draw from disciplines like finance, public policy, and behavioural economics.

Geographically, the dominance of North American and European scholars underscores existing inequalities in global research output. While countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany maintain leadership in scholarly production, the underrepresentation of developing regions signals a critical gap in inclusive sustainability discourse. This calls for deeper transnational research collaboration and funding mechanisms that amplify voices and contexts from the Global South. The fragmented structure of

international co-authorship networks identified in this study further underscores the need for integrated global partnerships in addressing sustainability challenges.

The presence of high-frequency terms related to “waste,” “innovation,” and “resilience” indicates the rising influence of strategic frameworks such as circular economy and dynamic capabilities in the literature. These thematic trends suggest a transition towards systemic and adaptive models of sustainability implementation, aligning with emerging concepts in sustainability transitions theory.

While this study adopts a bibliometric and network-based methodology, the findings align with and complement recent qualitative and mixed-methods research in corporate sustainability. For instance, the observed emergence of themes such as "stakeholder equity," "transparency," and "governance reform" echoes the emphasis on dynamic materiality—the evolving nature of ESG issues based on stakeholder salience—as explored in qualitative studies by Khan et al. (2021) and Eccles & Krzus (2022). Similarly, the growing academic attention to performance, innovation, and leadership reflects broader concerns highlighted in case-based corporate transformation research (e.g., Whiteman et al., 2021), which documents the internal cultural and strategic shifts organisations undertake to operationalise sustainability. These convergences suggest that bibliometric mapping and interpretive case research can jointly enrich the understanding of how sustainability transitions are conceptualised, institutionalised, and practiced over time.

Compared to prior bibliometric studies such as Schaltegger and Burritt (2005), and Montiel and Delgado-Ceballos (2014), this research offers a more granular mapping of thematic evolution, particularly by integrating the ESG dimensions within a longitudinal network framework. Unlike earlier reviews that focused on conceptual synthesis, the findings draw attention to the emerging salience of issues like gender equity, tax strategy, and digital accountability—trends that remain underexplored in earlier models. Additionally, the dominance of North American and European institutions is consistent with earlier geographic patterns, yet the results highlight a gradual rise of Global South participation, reflecting a more diversified research ecosystem. This comparative positioning strengthens the unique value of the analysis.

In sum, by integrating bibliometric mapping with thematic and geographic analysis, the study not only reveals the evolving intellectual structure of corporate sustainability literature but also translates these insights into strategic entry points for scholarly and policy engagement. These contributions distinguish the present analysis from previous reviews and offer a roadmap for future cross-disciplinary dialogue.

In conclusion, this research highlights the maturing nature of corporate sustainability as both a scholarly domain and a corporate practice. The increasing convergence of ESG pillars and the diversification of thematic clusters suggest that the field is entering a phase of strategic refinement and interdisciplinary integration. For academics, this presents opportunities to bridge existing gaps through empirical research on underexplored topics such as digital sustainability, social equity, and climate resilience. For practitioners and policymakers, the findings provide evidence of the growing necessity to embed sustainability within corporate governance and performance frameworks. Future research may benefit from triangulating bibliometric insights with case studies, interviews, or econometric models to unpack further the dynamics driving sustainable corporate transformation.

Practical Implications for PolicyMakers

The findings of this study carry actionable implications for policymakers, particularly in emerging economies seeking to enhance their corporate sustainability agendas. First, the underrepresentation of developing countries in sustainability research underscores the need for government-supported international research collaborations. National research councils and development agencies are encouraged to incentivize co-authorship and joint projects with institutions in the Global North through bilateral grant schemes or academic mobility programs.

Second, the fragmented ESG discourse observed in the co-occurrence and thematic maps suggests a lack of harmonized standards. This challenge may be addressed by adopting or localizing international ESG reporting frameworks, such as the GRI Standards or IFRS Sustainability Disclosure Standards, and by mandating ESG disclosure for listed and large firms. In parallel, investing in national ESG data repositories can facilitate benchmarking and enable evidence-based policy evaluation.

Third, the dominance of keywords like "performance" and "management" in emerging clusters indicates a shift toward strategic integration of sustainability. Accordingly, governments should support capacity-building programs for corporate managers and board members, promoting ESG training, sustainability leadership, and sector-specific implementation roadmaps.

Lastly, the low modularity of collaboration networks in many regions suggests siloed knowledge production. National science policy strategies should therefore prioritise regional sustainability research hubs and cross-border knowledge-sharing platforms, enabling researchers and practitioners to co-create locally relevant sustainability solutions.

Recommendations for Key Stakeholders

The findings of this study offer several insights for key stakeholder groups:

Researchers are encouraged to explore underrepresented themes (e.g., tax governance, stakeholder equity, data privacy) using mixed-method approaches to complement bibliometric insights. There is also a need to conduct in-depth qualitative investigations on emerging clusters identified through this analysis.

Practitioners—especially sustainability officers and CSR professionals—may use the identified thematic clusters as a benchmarking tool to align internal strategies with evolving stakeholder expectations and reporting norms.

Policymakers, particularly in emerging economies, should invest in ESG capacity-building programs, data standardization efforts, and regional research hubs to close the geographical research gap.

References

Aguilera, R. V., Williams, C. A., Conley, J. M., & Rupp, D. E. (2006). Corporate governance and social responsibility: A comparative analysis of the UK and the USUS. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*, *14*(3), 147–158. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8683.2006.00495.x

Aria, M., & Cuccurullo, C. (2017). Bibliometrix: An R-Tool for comprehensive science mapping analysis. *Journal of Informetrics*, *11*(4), 959–975. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.Joi.2017.08.007

Bansal, P., & Roth, K. (2000). Why companies go green: A model of ecological responsiveness. *Academy of Management Journal*, *43*(4), 717–736. https://doi.org/10.2307/1556363

Bansal, P., & Song, H. C. (2017). Similar but not the same: Differentiating corporate sustainability from corporate responsibility. *Academy of Management Annals*, *11*(1), 105–149. https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2015.0095

Cantele, S., Landi, S., & Vernizzi, S. (2024). Measuring corporate sustainability in its multidimensionality: A formative approach to integrate esg and triple bottom line approaches. *Business Strategy and The Environment*, *33*(7), 7383–7408. https://doi.org/10.1002/Bse.3872

Carroll, A. B. (1999). Corporate social responsibility: Evolution of a definitional construct. *Business & Society*, *38*(3), 268–295. https://doi.org/10.1177/000765039903800303

Clarkson, M. E. (1995). A stakeholder framework for analysing and evaluating corporate social performance. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(1), 92–117. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1995.9503271994

Davis, J. H., Schoorman, F. D., & Donaldson, L. (1997). Toward a stewardship theory of management. *Academy of Management Review*, *22*(1), 20–47. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1997.9707180258

Dimaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organisational fields. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(2), 147–160. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101

Dyllick, T., & Hockerts, K. (2002). Beyond the business case for corporate sustainability. *Business Strategy and The Environment*, *11*(2), 130–141. https://doi.org/10.1002/bse.323

Eccles, R. G., Ioannou, I., & Serafeim, G. (2014). The impact of corporate sustainability on organisational processes and performance. *Management Science*, *60*(11), 2835–2857. https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2014.1984

Eccles, R. G., & Krzus, M. P. (2022). The Nordic model: An analysis of leading ESG disclosures. *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance,* 34(2), 63–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/jacf.12236

Elkington, J. (1997). *Cannibals with forks: The triple bottom line of 21st century business*. Capstone Publishing.

Epstein, M. J. (2008). *Making sustainability work: Best practices in managing and measuring corporate social, environmental and economic impacts*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Flammer, C. (2021). Corporate green bonds. *Journal of Financial Economics*, *142*(2), 499–516. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2021.01.010

Freeman, R. E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*.Pitman.

Geissdoerfer, M., Savaget, P., Bocken, N. M. P., & Hultink, E. J. (2017). The circular economy – A new sustainability paradigm? *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 143, 757–768. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2016.12.048

Global Reporting Initiative. (GRI) (2021, October). *Universal Standards 2021*. https://www.globalreporting.org/standards/

Hahn, T., Pinkse, J., Preuss, L., & Figge, F. (2015). Tensions in corporate sustainability: Towards an integrative framework. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *127*(2), 297–316. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-014-2047-5

Hart, S. L. (1995). A natural-resource-based view of the firm. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(4), 986–1014. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1995.9512280033

Hockerts, K., & Wüstenhagen, R. (2010). Greening Goliaths versus emerging Davids: Theorizing about the role of incumbents and new entrants in sustainable entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *25*(5), 481–492. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusvent.2009.07.005

Jamali, D., & Mirshak, R. (2007). Corporate social responsibility (Csr): Theory and practice in a developing country context. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *72*(3), 243–262. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-006-9168-4

Jensen, M. C., & Meckling, W. H. (1976). Theory of the firm: Managerial behavior, agency costs and ownership structure. *Journal of Financial Economics*, *3*(4), 305–360. https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-405X(76)90026-X

Khan, M. N., Serafeim, G., & Yoon, A. (2016). Corporate sustainability: First evidence on materiality. *The Accounting Review*, *91*(6), 1697–1724. https://doi.org/10.2308/accr-51383

Kolk, A., & Pinkse, J. (2005). Business responses to climate change: Identifying emergent strategies. *California Management Review*, *47*(3), 6–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/41166304

Krüger, P. (2015). Corporate goodness and shareholder wealth. *Journal of Financial Economics*, *115*(2), 304–329.https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2014.09.008

Landrum, N. E. (2018). Stages of corporate sustainability: Integrating the strong sustainability worldview. *Organization & Environment*, *31*(4), 287–313. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026617717456

Lozano, R. (2015). A holistic perspective on corporate sustainability drivers. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, *22*(1), 32–44. https://doi.org/10.1002/csr.1325

Markard, J., Raven, R., & Truffer, B. (2012). Sustainability transitions: An emerging field of research and its prospects. *Research Policy,* 41(6), 955–967. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2012.02.013

Matten, D., & Moon, J. (2008). “Implicit” and “explicit” Csr: A conceptual framework for a comparative understanding of corporate social responsibility. *Academy of Management Review*, *33*(2), 404–424. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2008.31193458

Milne, M. J., & Gray, R. (2013). W(h)ither ecology? The triple bottom line, the global reporting initiative, and corporate sustainability reporting. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *118*(1), 13–29. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-012-1543-8

Montiel, I., & Delgado-Ceballos, J. (2014). Defining and measuring corporate sustainability: Are we there yet?. *Organization & Environment*, *27*(2), 113–139. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026614526413

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (n.d.). *Corporate sustainability.* Retrieved June 2, 2025, from https://www.oecd.org/en/topics/sub-issues/corporate-sustainability.html

Pazienza, M., De Jong, M., & Schoenmaker, D. (2022). Clarifying the concept of corporate sustainability and providing convergence for its definition. *Sustainability*, *14*(13), 7838. https://doi.org/10.3390/su14137838

Porter, M. E., & Kramer, M. R. (2006). Strategy and society: The link between competitive advantage and corporate social responsibility. *Harvard Business Review*, *84*(12), 78–92.

Schaltegger, S., & Burritt, R. (2005). Corporate sustainability. In H. Folmer & T. Tietenberg (Eds.), *The International Yearbook of Environmental and Resource Economics 2005/2006: A Survey of Current Issues* (1st ed., pp. 185–222). New Horizons in Environmental Economics. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Teece, D. J., Pisano, G., & Shuen, A. (1997). Dynamic capabilities and strategic management. *Strategic Management Journal,* 18(7), 509–533. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199708)18:7<509::AID-SMJ882>3.0.CO;2-Z

UN Global Compact. (2021). Ten principles of the UN global compact. Retrieved June 2, 2025, from https://www.unglobalcompact.org/what-is-gc/mission/principles

Van Marrewijk, M. (2003). Concepts and definitions of CSR and corporate sustainability: Between agency and communion. *Journal of Business Ethics, 44*(2–3), 95–105. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023331212247

Waddock, S., & Graves, S. B. (1997). The corporate social performance–financial performance link. *Strategic Management Journal*, *18*(4), 303–319. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0266(199704)18:4

Whiteman, G., Walker, B., & Perego, P. (2021). Planetary boundaries and corporate sustainability: When custom meets science. *Nature Sustainability*, 4(7), 561–568. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2012.01073.x

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). (1987). *Our common future*. Oxford University Press.

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The author declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The author have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci F.B., Data Collection/Verilerin Toplanması F.B, Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması F.B., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci F.B.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 230-242

First Submission: 02.06.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 19.07.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

The Role of Media in Crimes Against Humanity: A Comparative Analysis of Rwanda and Ukraine

Selin Başer Özgen[a] & Yaşar Onay[b]

Abstract

Introduction: This study explores the dual role of media in crimes against humanity. Media may at times amplify hate and incite violence (as in Rwanda), while at other times it may expose truth and contribute to the pursuit of justice and accountability (as in Ukraine). Understanding this dual capacity is essential for developing legal and ethical safeguards in the digital age.

Method: Using a qualitative methodology, the study conducts a comparative analysis of the Rwandan genocide and the war in Ukraine. Based on court judgments, print and visual media sources, and NGO reports, it analyzes how media functioned either to fuel violence or support accountability.

Findings: In Rwanda, RTLM radio played a central role in spreading hate speech and orchestrating mass violence. In Ukraine, open-source investigations and citizen journalism have aided in documenting war crimes and verifying them through digital tools. The contrasting roles illustrate that media's impact depends heavily on its ownership, values, and the political environment in which it operates.

Discussion or Conclusion: The role of media in crimes against humanity is shaped not by the medium itself but by how and by whom it is used. These findings call for stronger international standards to regulate incitement and promote responsible media. Media literacy, press freedom, and digital evidence protocols play a critical role in preventing future atrocities.

Keywords: media, crimes against humanity, hate speech, propaganda, peace journalism, digital verification

JEL Codes: K33, K14, D83, L82, O35

[a]Asst. Prof. Dr., İstanbul University, International Institute for Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, İstanbul/Türkiye, selinbaser@istanbul.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1267-6254 (Corresponding Author)

[b]Prof. Dr., Istanbul Kent University, Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, İstanbul/Türkiye, yasar.onay@kent.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0009-0166-4128

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 230-242

İlk Başvuru: 02.06.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 19.06.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Medyanın İnsanlığa Karşı Suçlardaki Rolü: Ruanda ve Ukrayna Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz

Selin Başer Özgen[a] & Yaşar Onay[b]

Öz

Giriş: Bu çalışma, medyanın insanlığa karşı suçlardaki ikili rolünü incelemektedir. Medya kimi zaman nefret söylemini yayarak şiddeti körükleyebilir (Ruanda örneği), kimi zaman ise gerçekleri ortaya çıkartarak adalet ve hakikat arayışına katkı sağlayabilir (Ukrayna örneği). Bu ikili doğanın anlaşılması, dijital çağda hukuki ve etik önlemler geliştirmek açısından önemlidir.

Yöntem: Çalışmada, nitel bir yöntem kullanılarak Ruanda soykırımı ve Ukrayna savaşı örnekleri karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. Mahkeme kararları, yazılı ve görsel basın kaynakları ve STK raporları temel alınarak, medyanın ya şiddeti körükleyen ya da hesap verebilirliği destekleyen bir araç olarak nasıl işlediği analiz edilmiştir.

Bulgular: Ruanda'da RTLM radyosu, nefret söylemini yayarak ve soykırımı koordine ederek kitleleri harekete geçirmiştir. Ukrayna'da ise açık kaynak araştırmaları ve yurttaş gazeteciliği, savaş suçlarının belgelenmesine ve dijital araçlarla doğrulanmasına katkı sağlamıştır. Medyanın etkisi, sahiplik yapısı, etik normları ve bulunduğu siyasal ortama bağlı olarak büyük ölçüde farklılık göstermektedir.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Medyanın insanlığa karşı suçlardaki rolü, aracın kendisinden değil, nasıl ve kim tarafından kullanıldığından etkilenmektedir. Bu durum, nefret söylemini düzenleyecek uluslararası standartlara ve sorumlu medya pratiklerini teşvik edecek mekanizmalara duyulan ihtiyacı ortaya koymaktadır. Medya okuryazarlığı, basın özgürlüğü ve dijital delil protokolleri gelecekteki vahşetlerin önlenmesinde kritik rol oynamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: medya, insanlığa karşı suçlar, nefret söylemi, propaganda, barış gazeteciliği, dijital doğrulama

JEL Kodlar: K33, K14, D83, L82, O35

[a] Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Uluslararası Soykırım ve İnsanlığa Karşı İşlenen Suçlar Enstitüsü, İstanbul/Türkiye, selinbaser@istanbul.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1267-6254 (Sorumlu Yazar)

[b] Prof. Dr., İstanbul Kent Üniversitesi, İktisadi, İdari ve Sosyal Bilimler Fakültesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, İstanbul/Türkiye, yasar.onay@kent.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0009-0009-0166-4128

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

We often think of media as something simple — a tool that reports, informs, maybe entertains. We turn it on, scroll through it, or listen to it without much thought. In daily life, media seems harmless and even helpful. But during times of war, genocide, or political violence, this same tool can become dangerous. Media does not always stay neutral. It can be a witness — or it can become an active player.

In 1994, during the Rwandan genocide, the radio station Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) broadcast hate-filled messages calling Tutsis "cockroaches" and encouraging Hutus to kill them. These broadcasts were not formal government statements, but casual, conversational shows that used jokes, music, and simple language. Yet their impact was deadly. More than 800,000 people were killed in just 100 days (Des Forges, 1999; United Nations, 1999). The journalists did not fire any guns, but their words helped to organize and motivate the killing (Thompson, 2007; Kellow & Steeves, 1998).

Almost thirty years later, a very different media landscape appeared in Ukraine in 2022. This time, instead of state-run hate radio, we saw decentralized, digital networks. Civilians used their smartphones to record bombings and destruction in real time. Investigative journalists, like those from Bellingcat, used satellite images and geolocation tools to verify attacks and report war crimes. Platforms such as Twitter (currently named “X”), Telegram, and YouTube were filled with both raw evidence and propaganda. The same digital technology that spreads lies and hate also became a tool to seek truth and accountability (Higgins, 2022; Toler, 2020).

These examples raise an important question: Can media help protect life and dignity, or can it lead to mass destruction? When does media cross the line from being a passive observer to becoming an active instigator of crimes against humanity? What role does the structure of the media system — whether free and open or tightly controlled — play in these outcomes?

This study explores these questions through two main case studies: Rwanda and Ukraine. It compares how media functioned in each situation, who controlled it, and what impact it had on violence and justice. By doing so, we aim to understand how media can either fuel or resist crimes against humanity depending on the political, technological, and ethical context.

Despite extensive research on media's influence during conflicts, a comprehensive framework specifically addressing its pivotal and often contradictory role in inciting versus documenting crimes against humanity remains underexplored, particularly through a comparative lens that bridges distinct historical and technological contexts like Rwanda and Ukraine. This study, therefore, aims to address this critical gap by providing a nuanced comparative analysis that examines media's multifaceted impact on mass violence and accountability across these contexts.

Hypothesis

Media systems that are controlled by authoritarian governments or by strong ideological groups often do more harm than good. These kinds of media are usually not free to report the truth. Instead, they spread hate, lies, or extreme political messages that support the goals of those in power. In many past cases, such as in Rwanda or Nazi Germany, state-controlled media helped turn normal people against their neighbors and encouraged them to take part in violence.

The media in these cases did not simply reflect what was happening; it helped to create the conditions for mass killings and serious crimes (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

On the other hand, when the media is independent — meaning it is not under the control of the government or political parties — it can play a very different role. Free and honest journalism can warn the public and the world early when human rights are being violated. It can help gather evidence and shine a light on crimes that some actors want to hide. This kind of reporting can make it harder for governments or armed groups to carry out abuses in secret. It can also increase international pressure, which sometimes forces leaders to stop violence or change their actions (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

So, the way media is organized — who owns it, who controls it, and how much freedom it has — plays a key role in how it affects human life during conflict. Media can be a tool for peace and justice, but only when it is allowed to work freely and responsibly.

Literature Review

Crimes against humanity are not random or isolated events. They include systematic acts such as mass murder, torture, sexual violence, and the forced movement of people. These crimes are usually carried out with some degree of planning and coordination, often by state actors or powerful groups. According to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998), such acts must be directed against civilians and carried out as part of a widespread or organized attack. Understanding how media interacts with these kinds of crimes requires both legal and communication-based frameworks.

One of the most influential theories about media and power comes from Herman and Chomsky (1988), who developed the "propaganda model." This model argues that when media systems are controlled by governments or large corporations, they tend to support the interests of those in power. Instead of holding power accountable, such media often repeat official narratives and ignore or downplay uncomfortable truths. Especially during times of war or political unrest, media can act as a filter that shapes how the public understands events, often leaving out the voices of victims or marginalized groups.

In response to this problem, some scholars have proposed alternative models. One of the most notable is peace journalism, developed by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), building on Galtung's (2002) original framework that reimagines journalism as a tool for conflict resolution rather than escalation. Peace journalism encourages reporters to move beyond the usual "who is winning?" frame. Instead, it suggests journalists should focus on the human costs of conflict, report on the causes of violence, give space to civilian voices, and highlight efforts to resolve disputes peacefully. This kind of reporting does not ignore conflict, but it treats it as a complex issue rather than a battle between good and evil. Peace journalism challenges the idea that neutrality means repeating both sides equally; it argues for ethical responsibility.

However, while the normative value of peace journalism is widely recognized, its practical application presents several challenges:

Operational Risks: In conflict zones, journalists often lack the freedom or safety to challenge dominant narratives. They may face censorship, surveillance, or even physical danger when attempting to adopt a peace-focused lens (Hanitzsch, 2007).

Perceived Bias: Peace journalism may sometimes be interpreted as advocacy journalism, leading to accusations of bias. In polarized environments, even balanced and ethical reporting may be seen as taking sides.

Structural Constraints: Commercial pressures, limited newsroom resources, and editorial policies often favor simplified, sensational content. These realities can make it difficult for journalists to provide the kind of in-depth, nuanced coverage that peace journalism demands.

Audience Expectations: Long-form, context-rich reporting promoted by peace journalism may not align with the fast-paced media consumption habits shaped by digital platforms, reducing its reach and impact.

Despite these limitations, peace journalism continues to provide a crucial framework for more humane and responsible reporting. When combined with new verification technologies and supported by institutional protections, it can offer a meaningful alternative to war reporting that reinforces cycles of violence.

Real-world examples show how media can either support or resist violence. In Rwanda in 1994, the media was used as a weapon. The radio station RTLM played a central role in preparing the public for genocide, and in creating the conditions necessary for the commission of a wide range of crimes against humanity. Its broadcasts made hatred seem normal and violence acceptable. Listeners were told that Tutsis were "cockroaches" who had to be eliminated. These messages were delivered in a relaxed, even humorous tone, making them easier to absorb and act upon (Kellow & Steeves, 1998).

By contrast, in more recent conflicts such as Syria and Ukraine, new forms of media have played a different role. Platforms like Bellingcat, which rely on open-source intelligence (OSINT), have shown how digital tools can be used to document human rights abuses and challenge official lies. OSINT investigators use satellite images, metadata, and social media posts to verify what is happening on the ground. This approach has helped uncover war crimes and provide material for international legal investigations (Toler, 2020). It also allows ordinary citizens to take part in truth-telling, even when traditional media is censored or absent.

This participatory role of ordinary individuals in documenting and verifying human rights violations aligns with what Allan (2013) conceptualizes as “citizen witnessing”. In his view, non-professional actors using smartphones, social media, and publicly available tools are transforming how crises are reported and understood. By taking on the role of real-time observers, these individuals challenge the monopoly of traditional journalism and contribute to a more decentralized form of truth production.

Taken together, these studies suggest that media can be both dangerous and lifesaving. Its influence depends on who controls it, what values guide it, and how it is used in practice. The literature calls for deeper attention to media structures, ethical standards, and new technologies that can either support or resist crimes against humanity.

Methodology

The study employs a qualitative comparative case study method to explore the contrasting roles of media in contexts of mass violence. Two cases were selected: the Rwandan genocide (1994) and the Russian invasion of Ukraine (2022). These were chosen to represent different historical periods, media structures, and outcomes regarding the role of media in either inciting or documenting crimes against humanity.

Case Selection Criteria

The selection of cases was based on the following considerations:

Historical and legal significance: Both cases have been subject to international legal scrutiny and involve serious human rights violations.

Documented media involvement: Each case features substantial evidence of media activity—either as a tool of incitement or documentation.

Data accessibility: Sufficient media records (e.g., radio transcripts, social media posts, journalistic reports) were available for analysis.

Data Collection

Data was gathered from multiple sources:

For Rwanda: archival transcripts and translated content from RTLM, court records from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), and academic analyses.

For Ukraine: publicly available digital content such as social media posts, videos, satellite images, and reports by investigative journalism groups (e.g., Bellingcat), as well as statements by human rights organizations and international observers.

Content Analysis

A qualitative content analysis was conducted to examine the role of media in each case. The steps included:

Reviewing and categorizing the content based on recurring themes such as hate speech, dehumanization, calls for violence (Rwanda), or efforts to verify and document crimes (Ukraine).

Identifying narrative frames, such as whether the media portrayed groups as threats, victims, heroes, or enemies.

Comparing the role and structure of media institutions: state-controlled vs. independent, centralized vs. decentralized, analog vs. digital.

Analyzing the broader impact of the media in terms of either contributing to mass violence or supporting transparency and accountability.

Reliability and Ethics

To enhance reliability, findings from media content were cross-checked with official reports, NGO publications, and academic sources. Ethical sensitivity was maintained by using only publicly available or already verified material and avoiding the exposure of sensitive personal data. This approach is in line with broader principles of criminal law methodology, especially concerning evidentiary reliability and legal admissibility in international proceedings (Ambos, 2013).

Case Study I: Rwanda – Radio as a Weapon

The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 stands as one of the most tragic examples of how media, especially radio, can be used not just to spread information, but to spread hate and fuel mass violence. At the center of this tragedy was RTLM, a privately owned radio station that became an active tool of propaganda and incitement. Its broadcasts were not presented in a formal, news-like manner. Instead, they used casual language, local dialects, jokes, popular music, and even storytelling — all of which made the hate-filled messages more familiar, accessible, and powerful to ordinary listeners (Thompson, 2007).

RTLM did not appear dangerous at first. It presented itself as a popular, youth-oriented station with lively shows and humor. But underneath this surface was a deadly message. The station regularly described Tutsis as “inyenzi,” meaning cockroaches, and called on the Hutu majority to "do their duty" — a coded reference to participating in the killings. What made RTLM especially effective was how it blended entertainment with ideology. Music and mock interviews were followed by clear calls to violence. Over time, repetition and normalization made these calls seem acceptable, even necessary, to many listeners.

Scholars argue that RTLM’s influence was not passive. It did not merely reflect existing tensions in society — it actively shaped them and contributed directly to the genocidal process, which international criminal law scholars have since analyzed in depth (Schabas, 2009). It directed people where to go, whom to target, and when to act. It gave names, locations, and instructions. In this sense, RTLM operated more like a command center than a typical radio outlet. Its daily broadcasts contributed directly to the speed and coordination of the genocide, which claimed over 800,000 lives in just three months (Kellow & Steeves, 1998).

The role of RTLM has also been addressed in international courts. The ICTR found that RTLM was not only morally responsible but legally liable for its part in the genocide. The court ruled that media figures who used their platforms to incite mass killing were found guilty of genocide and crimes against humanity. This was a landmark judgment — one of the first times in international law where journalists were held accountable not for what they did with weapons, but for what they did with words (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2003).

This case illustrates how media can become a weapon when it loses its ethical foundation and serves a violent political agenda. It also shows the importance of media literacy, regulatory oversight, and early international response to hate speech — especially when it is being broadcast under the mask of entertainment.

Case Study II: Ukraine – Media as Documentation

The war in Ukraine, which began with Russia's full-scale invasion in February 2022, has brought about a new era in how conflicts are recorded and understood. Unlike in earlier wars, where information was tightly controlled by governments or traditional media outlets, Ukraine's information landscape is highly decentralized. There is no single voice or dominant broadcaster. Instead, thousands of voices—citizens, journalists, activists, and volunteers—are actively documenting events as they unfold.

Social media platforms like X (formerly “Twitter”), Telegram, and YouTube play a key role in this process. They are not only used to share breaking news but also serve as digital archives of potential war crimes. Videos of bombed schools, destroyed apartment buildings, and civilian casualties are uploaded within minutes. This kind of real-time documentation, often carried out by people on the ground, gives the world immediate access to evidence that might otherwise be hidden or delayed.

What makes the Ukrainian case unique is the widespread use of OSINT. Civil society groups such as Bellingcat and the Center for Information Resilience (CIR) are leading efforts to verify and analyze the flood of digital content. These organizations use advanced tools such as geolocation, satellite imagery, metadata analysis, and timestamp matching to confirm the authenticity of videos and images. Their work has helped uncover deliberate attacks on civilian targets, the use of banned weapons, and the destruction of critical infrastructure (Bellingcat & Global Legal Action Network, 2022).

Importantly, these findings are not just for public awareness—they have legal impact. Verified digital content has been submitted as part of reports to the United Nations and has contributed to preliminary investigations by the International Criminal Court (Columbia Journalism Review, 2023). In this way, media in Ukraine has moved beyond storytelling. It has become a form of digital witness—collecting, organizing, and preserving data that may one day serve as evidence in international trials.

Unlike Rwanda, where media was used to incite and direct violence, in Ukraine, the media has largely become a tool for resistance and accountability. This does not mean all media is truthful—there is still disinformation, especially from state-sponsored actors. But the presence of independent journalists and digital verification networks makes it harder for false narratives to go unchallenged.

The Ukrainian experience shows that when people are empowered with technology, they can help document war in ways that were impossible just a decade ago. It also demonstrates the need for ethical standards in using and sharing such content—because while media can expose crimes, it must also protect dignity.

Digital Tools and Media Verification

In today's digital age, documenting war crimes and crimes against humanity increasingly depends on the ability to verify visual and audio content. With smartphones, drones, and social media being widely available, massive amounts of data are generated during conflicts. But raw footage alone is not enough. For this material to be useful in legal or investigative contexts, it must be verified, authenticated, and properly stored. This is where digital tools—and especially artificial intelligence (AI)—play a critical role.

AI technologies are now being used to detect deepfakes, analyze metadata, and track the origins of photos and videos. Deepfakes, which are manipulated videos that make people appear to say or do things they never did, pose a serious threat to truth and accountability. Specialized software can analyze facial movements, audio inconsistencies, and pixel-level data to determine whether a video has been altered. These tools are not perfect, but they provide a valuable first layer of defense against misinformation (Juskalian, 2021).

Metadata—the hidden information attached to digital files such as GPS location, time, and device type—can also be analyzed to establish where and when a piece of content was created. This is especially useful in conflict zones where there are competing narratives about what happened and who was responsible. In many cases, metadata has helped confirm the timing of missile strikes, the location of mass graves, or the movements of military vehicles.

However, verifying content is only half the battle. The next step is to ensure that this digital evidence is admissible in legal proceedings. International courts, such as the ICC, require strict standards for what counts as reliable and valid evidence. Simply showing a YouTube video is not enough. Investigators must be able to prove the chain of custody, the authenticity of the file, and that it has not been tampered with in any way.

To meet this need, the Berkeley Protocol on Digital Open Source Investigations was developed in 2020 by the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR) in partnership with the University of California, Berkeley. This document outlines both legal and technical guidelines for collecting and analyzing digital content in a way that is compatible with international human rights investigations. It provides standards on everything from file storage and verification to ethical considerations when handling sensitive

material (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights & University of California, Berkeley, 2020).

What this means in practice is that journalists, activists, and investigators must now act not only as storytellers, but also as digital archivists. The success of their work depends not only on what they uncover, but on how carefully they handle and present the information. As technology continues to evolve, so too must the methods we use to protect the truth.

Discussion

The case studies of Rwanda and Ukraine reveal two very different faces of media in times of mass violence. On one hand, the Rwandan example shows how media—when guided by hate, state ideology, or unchecked power—can become a direct instrument of genocide. RTLM did not simply reflect public opinion; it shaped it, weaponized it, and helped coordinate acts of killing. The voices coming through the radio were familiar, local, and persuasive. That is what made them so dangerous. Media, in this context, was not passive. It was active, intentional, and deadly.

In contrast, the situation in Ukraine highlights how media, especially in its decentralized digital form, can serve as a tool for truth, resistance, and documentation. Platforms like X (formerly Twitter), Telegram, and YouTube have allowed civilians to become witnesses, journalists to verify evidence, and the global public to observe in near real time. The availability of open-source intelligence methods has helped break down the monopoly of official state narratives and brought transparency to a complex and evolving war. In Ukraine, media has not ended violence—but it has helped uncover it, resist denial, and support calls for justice.

What these cases show is that the power of media lies not only in its content but in who controls it, how it is used, and within what political system it operates. State-run or politically captured media often loses its ethical compass and becomes a tool for propaganda, demonization, and repression. In contrast, independent media—though not perfect—has the potential to protect human dignity by challenging lies, exposing abuse, and amplifying voices that are often silenced.

Yet between these two extremes lies a broad and often dangerous grey zone. For instance, in Myanmar, Facebook was widely used to spread hate speech against the Rohingya minority, contributing to mass displacement and violence (Amnesty International, 2022). Similarly, in Ethiopia, inflammatory posts on social media have intensified ethnic tensions and led to real-world harm (Mozur, 2018). These examples remind us that even platforms designed for connection and communication can be weaponized if left unregulated.

This brings us to the issue of responsibility. The burden of ethical communication does not rest solely on journalists. Tech companies, whose algorithms often promote the most extreme and emotionally charged content, must do more to moderate harmful speech and protect vulnerable groups. Recent developments raise urgent legal questions about platform liability and freedom of expression under international human rights law. As Douek (2020) argues, content moderation by powerful tech companies now operates as a form of "quasi-constitutional governance," yet remains largely unaccountable in contexts like Myanmar, where real-world harm resulted from algorithmically amplified hate speech.

Other actors, like tech companies, also have critical responsibilities. Governments must support press freedom, not suppress it under the guise of national security. Educational institutions have a role in teaching media literacy, helping citizens learn how to analyze,

question, and verify what they see and hear. International organizations must continue developing legal and ethical frameworks for digital evidence and speech accountability (Sadat, 2005).

In the end, media is a reflection of the society that shapes it—but it is also a tool that can shape society in return. If left unexamined and unregulated, it can easily become a force for harm. But when guided by ethical values, transparency, and critical inquiry, it has the power to protect truth, challenge injustice, and uphold our shared humanity – and, as it is seen, achieving this in today's technological landscape is anything but easy.

Conclusion

Media is never neutral. In times of peace, it may inform, entertain, or educate. But in times of conflict, its role becomes far more serious—and far more dangerous. It can ignite violence or help prevent it. It can amplify voices of hate or give a platform to those seeking justice. What determines this outcome is not simply the technology or the format, but the people who control the message and the ethical choices they make.

As the case of Rwanda has shown, media can be turned into a tool of destruction. With just words, a radio station encouraged neighbors to kill each other, spreading fear, dehumanization, and obedience to violence. By contrast, the example of Ukraine shows that media—especially when decentralized and supported by civil society—can become a form of digital resistance, documenting war crimes and exposing lies in real time. These two cases remind us that media is not just a mirror reflecting reality; it can actively shape it.

Preventing crimes against humanity in the future will require much more than international treaties or court rulings. It is unfortunate that legal systems often act too late. What is needed is a proactive, responsible, and ethical media culture. This means investing in media literacy, supporting independent journalism, and creating global standards for digital evidence and content verification. It also means holding both governments and technology platforms accountable for how information is produced, shared, and used.

At its best, media can act as a shield—protecting the vulnerable, raising awareness, and triggering international action. At its worst, it can become a weapon more powerful than any gun—capable of fueling genocide, silencing truth, and destroying entire communities through words alone.

The challenge moving forward is not to silence media, but to strengthen its role as a force for justice. This requires truth. It requires transparency. And above all, it requires courage—from journalists, from institutions, and from every citizen who chooses to listen, to speak, or to remain silent. This collective endeavor calls for putting aside personal interests, prioritizing the protection of human life and rights above all else.

References

Allan, S. (2013). *Citizen witnessing: Revisioning journalism in times of crisis*. Polity Press.

Ambos, K. (2013). *Treatise on international criminal law: Volume I – Foundations and general part*. Oxford University Press.

Amnesty International. (2022, September 29). *The social atrocity: Meta and the right to remedy for the Rohingya.* https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa16/5933/2022/en/

Bellingcat & Global Legal Action Network. (2022, December). *Justice and Accountability Unit methodology for Ukraine investigations: Methodology for online open source investigations into incidents taking place in Ukraine since 24 February 2022*. https://www.bellingcat.com/app/uploads/2022/12/JA-Manual-for-PUBLICATION.pdf

Columbia Journalism Review. (2023). *Open-source journalism and the future of war coverage*. Retrieved May 15, 2025, from https://www.cjr.org

Des Forges, A. (1999). *Leave none to tell the story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved May 20, 2025, from https://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1999/rwanda/rwanda0399.htm

Douek, E. (2020, February). *The rise of content cartels*. The Knight First Amendment Institute Working Paper, Retrieved May 5, 2023, from https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3572309

Galtung, J. (2002). Peace journalism – A challenge. In W. Kempf & H. Luostarinen (Eds.), *Journalism and the new world order*:*Vol. 2. Studying War and the Media* (pp. 259–272). Nordicom.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: A critical appraisal. *Conflict & Communication Online, 6*(2), 1–9.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. Pantheon Books.

Higgins, A. (2022, April 2). In Ukraine, phones become tools of war crimes investigation. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/02/world/europe/ukraine-war-crimes-investigation.html

International Criminal Court. (1998). *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*. Retrieved May 22, 2025, from https://www.icc-cpi.int/resource-library/Documents/RS-Eng.pdf

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. (2003). *Judgment: Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze (ICTR-99-52-T)*. Retrieved May 22, 2025, from https://www.refworld.org/jurisprudence/caselaw/ictr/2003/en/91852

Juskalian, R. (2021, October 4). How AI is changing war crimes investigation. *MIT Technology Review*.https://www.technologyreview.com/2021/10/04/1036331/ai-war-crimes-investigations/

Kellow, C. L., & Steeves, H. L. (1998). The role of radio in the Rwandan genocide. *Journal of Communication, 48*(3), 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1998.tb02762.x

Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005*). Peace journalism*. Hawthorn Press.

Mozur, P. (2018, October 15). A genocide incited on Facebook, with posts from Myanmar's military. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/technology/myanmar-facebook-genocide.html

Sadat, L. N. (2005). *The International Criminal Court and the transformation of international law: Justice for the new millennium*. Transnational Publishers.

Schabas, W. A. (2009). *Genocide in international law: The crime of crimes* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, A. (2007). *The media and the Rwanda genocide*. Pluto Press.

Toler, Aric. (2020). *The rise of open-source investigations in international justice. Bellingcat*. Retrieved May 10, 2023, from https://www.bellingcat.com/resources/how-tos/2020/01/15/open-source-investigations-and-justice/

United Nations Human Rights Council. (1999, December 15). *Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/report-of-independent-inquiry-actions-of-united-nations-during-1994-genocide-rwanda-s19991257

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR) and University of California, Berkeley. (2020, December 2). *The Berkeley Protocol on Digital Open Source Investigations: A New Standard for Human Rights and War Crimes Reporting*. https://humanrights.berkeley.edu/publications/berkeley-protocol-on-digital-open-source-investigations/

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The authors declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazarlar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazarlar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The authors declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazarlar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci S.B.Ö./Y.O., Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması S.B.Ö./Y.O., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci S.B.Ö./Y.O.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 243-266

First Submission: 08.07.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 28.08.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

The Position of the Concept of God in Kant's Theoretical and Pratical Philosophy[a]

Emin Oral[b]

Abstract

Introduction: This study is concerned with Immanuel Kant's understanding of God. Our study aims to reveal the position of God in Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy.

Method: In our study, we examine the antinomy of the necessary being, the ideal of pure reason, the criticisms against the speculative proofs in favor of the unique existence of the object of the ideal of pure reason, and the theme of the moral postulate.

Results or Findings: The main finding of our study is that to the extent we take the ideal of pure reason as an ideal whose theoretical meaning is the transcendental ideal of pure reason and whose practical meaning is God, and thus as an ideal with both theoretical and practical manifestations, God occupies a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy. With this aim, function and claim, we believe that we will make a efficacious contribution to the Kantian literature.

Discussion or Conclusion: In order to accept the main conclusion of our study, we need to pursue the matter quite sensitively. Accepting this conclusion demands fidelity to the infallible limits Kant sets through his theoretical and practical criticism. When it comes to God, we have neither the right to violate the prohibitions of Kantian theory nor to ignore the demands of Kantian practice.

Keywords: Kant, God, antinomies, the ideal of pure reason, postulate

JEL Codes: Y4, Z10, Z12

[a] This study is derived from the Ph.D. dissertation titled "The Position of the Concepts of God and Freedom in Kant's Theoretical and Pratical Philosophy" completed by the author under the supervision of the Prof. Dr. Nazile Kalaycı at the Department of Philosophy, Institute of Social Sciences, Hacettepe University.

[b] Research Assistant Dr., Anadolu University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Philosophy, Eskişehir/Türkiye, eminoral@anadolu.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3329-4204 (Corresponding Author)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 243-266

İlk Başvuru: 08.07.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 28.08.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Kant'ın Teorik ve Pratik Felsefesinde Tanrı Kavramının Konumu[a]

Emin Oral[b]

Öz

Giriş: Bu çalışmada Immanuel Kant'ın Tanrı anlayışıyla ilgilenilmektedir. Çalışmamız Tanrı'nın Kant'ın teorik ve pratik felsefesindeki konumunu ortaya koyma amacını taşımaktadır.

Yöntem: Çalışmamızda zorunlu varlık antinomisi, saf aklın ideali, saf aklın idealinin nesnesinin varlığı lehine öne sürülen spekülatif nitelikteki argümanlara karşı ortaya konulan eleştiriler ve ahlaki koyut teması incelenmektedir.

Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: Çalışmamızın temel sonucu, saf aklın idealini teorik anlamı saf aklın transzendental ideali, pratik anlamı Tanrı olan, böylelikle hem teorik hem de pratik görünümleri olan bir ideal olarak aldığımız ölçüde, Tanrı'nın yalnızca Kant'ın pratik felsefesinde değil ama aynı zamanda teorik felsefesinde de olumlu anlamda merkezi bir konuma sahip olduğudur. Bu amaç, işlev ve iddiaya sahip olan çalışmamızla Kant literatürüne etkili bir katkı sunacağımıza inanıyoruz.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Çalışmamızın temel sonucunu kabul edebilmek için konuyu oldukça hassas bir biçimde takip etmemiz gerekmektedir. Bu sonucu kabul etmek, Kant'ın teorik ve pratik eleştirisi aracılığıyla ortaya koyduğu şaşmaz sınırlara sadık kalmayı talep etmektedir. Tanrı söz konusu olduğunda ne Kantçı teorinin yasaklarını çiğneme ne de Kantçı pratiğin taleplerini görmezden gelme hakkımız bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kant, Tanrı, antinomi, saf aklın ideali, koyut

JEL Kodlar: Y4, Z10, Z12

[a] Bu çalışma Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Felsefe Anabilim Dalı'nda yazar tarafından Prof. Dr. Nazile Kalaycı'nın danışmanlığında tamamlanmış olan "Kant'ın Teorik ve Pratik Felsefesinde Tanrı ve Özgürlük Kavramlarının Konumu" başlıklı doktora tezinden türetilmiştir.

[b] Arş. Gör. Dr., Anadolu Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Felsefe Bölümü, Eskişehir/Türkiye, eminoral@anadolu.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3329-4204 (Sorumlu Yazar)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

There are four interrelated themes that a study aiming to determine the position of the concept of God in Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy must necessarily address. These are, respectively, the antinomy of necessary being, the ideal of pure reason, the criticism of speculative proofs in favor of the being of the object of the ideal of pure reason, and the theme of the practical postulate. As far as I have observed, there is no article in the literature that deals with these four themes together in detail. Apart from this deficiency, another point that attracts my attention is that the positive aspects of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God are often overshadowed by the negative aspects or the positive aspects are not discussed strongly. At this point I argue the following: Kant has given God a central position in a positive sense not only in his practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy. Therefore, I think that this study is important in two respects. First, it will clearly demonstrate the positive aspects of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God. Secondly, through the relevant themes I will address, a holistic understanding of the theoretical and practical aspects of Kant's conception of God will be obtained.

In his theoretical philosophy, Kant problematized God in terms of the possibility of his being and his theoretical meaning. Kant first problematizes the possibility of God's being in the antinomy of necessary being (in the fourth antinomy of pure reason) under the title 'Antinomy of Pure Reason' in the 'Transcendental Dialectic' section of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Secondly, it is brought up under the heading 'The Ideal of Pure Reason' in the same chapter (through the criticism of speculative proofs aiming to justify the claim of God's being). Both in the resolution of the antinomy of necessary being and in the critique of speculative proofs (ontological, cosmological and physico-theological proofs), Kant declares that God's being is unknowable. This declaration is the negative aspect of the theoretical dimension of Kant's understanding of God: God's being cannot be known through theoretical reason. However, for Kant, this declaration does not mean that God's being is theoretically impossible. God's being cannot be known, but this does not mean that he does not exist, that his being is unthinkable. We have the theoretical right to assume that God exists. This right is the first positive aspect of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God. The second and relatively more important positive aspect is the theoretical meaning given to God. The theoretical meaning of God is that he is the transcendental ideal of pure reason: the ideal of pure reason as the representation of a singular object whose idea, not its unique existence, can be assumed.

On the other hand, in his practical philosophy, Kant problematized God in terms of the realization of our moral goals and thus in terms of its practical meaning, function or role. In his practical philosophy, Kant posited the being of God as one of the conditions for the possibility of the highest good. God is a practical postulate that must be assumed for the realization of the highest good, which is the necessary object of practical reason. As a matter of fact, happiness in accordance with moral perfection, which is the first element of the highest good, is only possible by taking God's being as a postulate. In this respect, according to Kant, affirming God's being is a subjectively valid moral imperative. More precisely, God is a belief of pure reason. Therefore, while theoretically God is in a position whose being cannot be known but can be assumed, practically God is in a position whose being can be believed. Thus, Kant justifies our right to assume God's being through practical reason. This is the positive aspect of the practical dimension of Kant's conception of God. This positive aspect reveals the practical meaning of God, that is, it affirms that God can be taken as a practical postulate. Accordingly, while the theoretical meaning of God is the transcendental ideal of pure reason, its practical meaning is that it is a practical postulate.

Necessary Being Antinomy and Solution

In the *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant raised God primarily as a matter of antinomy in terms of the possibility of his being. In general, antinomies are examples of dialectical reasoning. Dialectics, on the other hand, is a logic of delusion, a logic of illusion, which arises because the transcendental conditions of experience are ignored. Kant put forward the paralogisms about the thinking subject, the four fundamental antinomies of pure reason, and speculative proofs aimed at justifying the being of the ideal of pure reason as examples of dialectical reasoning. The antinomy of necessary being corresponds to the fourth antinomy of pure reason. This antinomy consists of two thesis that give opposing answers to the unique existence of necessary being. The thesis is that there is a necessary being that belongs to the universe. The antithesis is that there is a necessary being that is the cause of this universe, neither in the universe nor outside it. After laying out the argumentation of these two theses, Kant tried to resolve the antinomy. Let us now examine this process.

According to the thesis, there is a necessary being that belongs to the universe. As a matter of fact, there is a sequence of changes in the universe as the totality of appearances. If this sequence of changes did not exist, time or the representation of temporal sequence as the condition that makes the sensible universe possible would not exist either. But within subjective and objective relations, there is time and therefore a temporal sequence of changes. On the other hand, every change is under the influence of a condition that precedes it in terms of time. Accordingly, every conditional (change) has a condition (the cause of change). But this series of conditions must continue until there is an uncondition that exists in an absolute sense. Indeed, without such an uncondition, a given sequence of change could not occur as a result. If there were no unconditioned being that initiates the conditions to affect each other in the backward progression/investigation of conditions, the change we take as given could not exist. Therefore, there is a necessary being that is itself unconditioned and initiates the series of conditions. Moreover, this being belongs to the sensible universe. For it is impossible to assume that this being is outside the universe. As a matter of fact, the beginning of the series of changes is only possible because of a cause that precedes this beginning with respect to time. Therefore, this first cause belongs to time and to the sum total of appearances, whether it is considered as the whole series of the universe itself or only a part of this series (Kant, 1998).

In his note on the thesis, Kant stated that the thesis was not legitimate. In fact, as we shall see below, the thesis is similar to the cosmological proof put forward to justify the unique existence of the ideal of pure reason. The reason why the demonstration is illegitimate is that it rises from the conditional in appearance to the unconditioned in concept. It is rightly assumed that there is a dependence from the changes in the universe to the causes that determine these changes. But every condition in the series of causes that condition each other must be dependent on another condition. Therefore, there is no first beginning (uncaused cause) or highest member in the series of causes. This is why the demonstration is illegitimate. For although it starts from a set of empirically determined conditions, i.e., contingent concepts, according to the principles of experience, it moves on to a comprehensible set that finds the unique existence of a necessary cause that cannot be empirically determined and that does not depend on any sensory conditions (Kant, 1998).

On the other hand, according to the anti-thesis, there is a necessary being neither in the universe nor outside the universe that can be seen as the cause of this universe. The anti-thesis arrives at this conclusion by first showing a double contradiction that we would fall into if we were to argue that there is a necessary being that belongs to the universe. In this sense, we can defend the unique existence of a necessary being either by thinking that there must be an

unconditionally necessary, uncaused beginning to the sequence of changes in the universe, or by thinking that although the sequence lacks a beginning and is contingent and conditional in all its parts, it is absolutely necessary and unconditional in its whole. However, both cases involve a contradiction. The first possibility contradicts the dynamic law of the determination of all appearances in time: every appearance or chain of change has a beginning. The second possibility is also contradictory, since if at least one member of the multiplicity in the sequence does not have a necessary existence, the sequence itself cannot be thought to have a necessary existence. But these two contradictions arise when the necessary being is thought to belong to the universe. In that case, we can think of the necessary being as a being that causes the universe but is outside of it. But this third option would also contain a contradiction. Indeed, if we assume such a being, we will think that it initiates the existence of the series of changes. However, this being would also have to be able to initiate action. If this is the case, the causality of this cause would belong to time and therefore to the universe. This would contradict our assumption that puts necessary being outside the universe (Kant, 1998).

In his note for the antithesis, Kant drew attention to the strange contradiction he observed in the antinomy. This contrast is the inference of two different conclusions with equal soundness on the same ground of demonstration. The supporter of the thesis deduces the unique existence of an absolutely necessary being. Indeed, he believes that he finds both conditional conditions and an unconditioned condition in the regress in the series of appearances. The supporter of the antithesis, on the other hand, concludes that there is no necessary being at all. Indeed, he believes that in the regress in the series of appearances he finds all conditions conditioned, and hence there is no unconditioned. According to Kant, this is because the supporter of the thesis sees the absolute unity of the sequence of conditions that belong to time and determine each other in time, and hence the unconditioned/necessary, whereas the supporter of the antithesis sees only those conditions that determine each other contingently in a temporal sequence, between which there is no unconditioned or absolutely necessary being (Kant, 1998). Under the influence of dialectical reasoning, reason thus falls into an antinomy by means of two conclusions that, although they contradict each other, appear equally plausible.

Now, we can begin to see how Kant provides a solution to this antinomy. Strictly speaking, Kant resolves this antinomy by considering that the condition and the conditional may not always be in the same sequence. Therefore, both the thesis and the antithesis can be true at the same time but in different relations. Accordingly, necessary being can be assumed to exist, but on condition that we put it as an intelligible, not a sensory, cause, as a being of the faculty of understanding (noumenon/thing-in-itself). That is to say, when we think in terms of appearances, we would have to say that everything is changeable under the influence of a condition. Among these conditions, no unconditioned member can be found. Everything will depend on a sensory condition that itself depends on another condition. But dynamic regression is different from mathematical regression. Mathematical regression is based on the decomposition of an intuitional whole into its parts, or on the combination of parts into a whole. For example, I might think that the pencil in my hand constitutes a whole and can be decomposed into its parts. However, each part that emerges in this decomposition must be identical to the whole of the pen to which it belongs. Each part has to be an appearance. But in dynamic regression, it is essential that a condition is derived from the cause on which it depends, or that a substance with a contingent existence is derived from a necessary existence. Therefore, the condition need not necessarily form an empirical series with its subordinate conditional (Kant, 1998). In other words, the condition need not be identical with the conditional. When we bring this distinction (the distinction between mathematical and dynamic regress) into the context of the antinomy of necessary being, in relation to the unconditioned existence of the

substance itself, we are entitled to assume that the regress in the series of appearances can be grounded in an intelligible, not sensible, being that can be assumed a priori to all appearances. In this respect, it can be assumed that the sequence of members in the sensible universe has an existence that is contingent or empirically conditional, but that on the other hand this sequence arises due to a non-empirical, unconditional necessary being. This shows not the possibility of necessary being, but not its impossibility. In such a way that the unconditioned condition, which itself does not depend on a condition, can be thought of as a non-sensory condition, a condition that exists outside the sequence.

On the other hand, this assumption is an arbitrary assumption. Kant clearly states that he does not aim to ground the unconditional existence or possibility of necessary being with this assumption (Kant, 1998). With this resolution of the antinomy, Kant only aims to show that necessary being cannot be considered impossible.[1] For this purpose, a limit is drawn to both reason and the faculty of understanding. The limit imposed on reason prevents it from leaving the pursuit of empirical conditions and deviating into a transcendent realm that cannot be given in concreto. On the other hand, the limit imposed on the faculty of understanding, which has only an empirical use, prevents it from deciding on the possibility of things in general and from declaring things that are intelligibly/thinkably valid as impossible because it cannot find them in appearance (Kant, 1998). It is therefore essential to state the following: the assumption of an intelligible condition outside the sequence, despite the fact that the conditions for the conditioned are sensory, would still not imply that this intelligible condition is known. In this sense, one cannot claim to have knowledge either that necessary being exists or that it does not exist. What is important here is that necessary being is not theoretically impossible and therefore can be assumed. On the other hand, this conclusion does not mean that its being can be known. As a matter of fact, according to Kant, this intelligible reason, which can be assumed in terms of ends, in terms of the pure, not empirical, use of reason, satisfies the transcendental ground of the possibility of the sensory series, which cannot be known by us (Kant, 1998).[2]

As can be seen, the solution of the antinomy of necessary being reveals both the positive and negative aspects of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God. This solution has a negative aspect because it declares that God's being is unknowable. On the other hand, this solution also has a positive aspect, because it shows that God's being is not impossible, but can be accepted as an assumption. In this way, we can think that the basic claim of our study has been grounded to a certain extent. Indeed, with the resolution of the antinomy of necessary being, the first positive aspect of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God has emerged. We can now move on to the second and relatively more important aspect of the theoretical dimension of Kant's conception of God. At this point, we will need to turn our attention to the ideal of pure reason. With this step, we will see that Kant gives God a central position in his theoretical philosophy in a positive sense, and we will have fully justified the main claim of our study.

The Theoretical and Practical Meaning of the Ideal of Pure Reason: The Transcendental Ideal of Pure Reason and God

Just after the resolution of the antinomy of necessary being, Kant begins to investigate an absolutely necessary being, the ideal of pure reason, from which the concepts of all things

[1] Indeed, as Şahabettin Yalçın states, "according to Kant, not having theoretical knowledge about something does not mean that it does not exist" (Yalçın, 2011, p. 16).

[2] As Necmettin Tan states, the necessary being "is by no means a being that is within the limits of time and space as formulated by Kant, or that can be observed and sensed within those limits. This excludes it from being an object of knowledge in the Kantian sense" (Tan, 2011b, p. 158).

can be derived. So, what is the ideal of pure reason, which is subject to the effects of the dialectical illusion and therefore must be handled by trying to carefully distinguish it from these effects? At this point, it is useful to first see what an ideal means in general. As a matter of fact, Kant first explains what the ideal of pure reason is through what an ideal is in general. This explanation is provided through a comparative narrative initiated through categories. We can now follow this path.

Accordingly, as is well known, the categories of the faculty of understanding are pure forms of thought. On the other hand, the ability to represent an object with these forms of thought depends on the accompaniment of the conditions of the faculty of sensation. If the conditions of the faculty of sensation do not accompany the conception of the object, the categories will have no objective reality. In other words, the objective reality of categories can be ensured through their application to an appearance. Through such an application, the faculty of understanding provides itself with the necessary material for its own concepts and presents these concepts in concreto as a presentable concept of experience.

But in the case of a theoretical idea, it is not entirely possible to provide the necessary material. Ideas are always incomplete in terms of objective reality compared to categories. This is because no empirical knowledge can ensure the completeness of an idea or exemplify this completeness. Take, for example, the idea of the universe. This idea actualizes itself in every division of the universe. However, each division remains within the scope of this universe idea. Since the idea of the universe cannot be given in its whole, or, for example, a house cannot give the whole universe, this idea exceeds the possibility of experience. Therefore, we can say that through an idea, reason aims only at a sequential unity. This unity is provided by the position of the parts in relation to each other, by the range of the many, in a certain unity, through ideas. However, even though the reason strives to bring the unity that it creates through empirical knowledge closer to the sequential unity provided by the ideas, it never succeeds in achieving this sequential unity in its wholeness (Kant, 1998).

On the other hand, in the case of an ideal, which, according to Kant, is a singular thing determined by ideas, objective reality is even further removed from the idea. Indeed, while the idea gives a rule, the ideal offers an origin-image. Kant stated that by the term ideal he meant not only an idea *in concreto* but also an idea *in individuo*, a singular thing that can be determined only through the idea. For example, the human wisdom that goes with virtue is an idea, but the (Stoic) wise man is an ideal. The ideal of the wise man is a regulative principle that carries in itself a practical power and underlies the possibility of the completeness of our actions. This ideal is in complete harmony with the idea of wisdom and exists only in thought. Accordingly, the ideal of the wise man, which implies a divine person, is the origin-image of our actions. Although we will never reach the fulfillment demanded by this ideal, we strive to better ourselves by comparing ourselves to it (Kant, 1998). According to Kant, however, we cannot attribute objective reality (existence) to ideals, even though they are not the delusions of the human mind. Ideals offer a measure to reason. With this measure we determine the degree and incompleteness of the incomplete. In this respect, someone who has made progress in his or her virtuous life measures his or her own deficiencies according to the ideal of the wise man. Therefore, we cannot realize an ideal that serves only as a measure in the realm of appearance. Accordingly, the concept of an ideal must be seen as something completely transcendent to experience (Kant, 1998).

After explaining what ideal means in general, Kant moves on to describe the ideal of pure reason. At this point, Kant first presents us with the principles of ‘determinability’ and ‘complete determination’. In Kant’s eyes, every concept stands first under the ‘principle of

determinability'. According to this principle, we can think that only one of two contradictory predicates belongs to the concept in question. For example, A cannot take upon itself both the predicates B and non-B. Either the rose is red or it is not. This fundamental principle, based on the proposition of contradiction, abstracts the entire content of the knowledge at hand and analyzes it in terms of its logical form. On the other hand, Kant also argues that every thing stands, according to its possibility, under a determination that goes from beginning to end, under the 'principle of complete determination'. This second principle is not based solely on the proposition of contradiction. For whereas the principle of determinability sets as a condition that only one of two opposing predicates can belong to the concept, the principle of complete determination determines things in terms of all the predicates that belong to them. In this case, the thing itself is determined by considering its total possibility. All possible predicates of the thing are considered together with their opposites, and accordingly it is stated that either the first total predicates or the opposite total predicates belong to the thing. Obviously, Kant assumes the totality of predicates belonging to the thing as an a priori condition. Each thing acquires its possibility through its derivation from this total possibility, which is assumed as an a priori condition. It must be said, then, that the principle of complete determination is different from the principle of determinability. Indeed, while the principle of determinability abstracts the knowledge/concept from all its content and determines it only in terms of its logical form, the principle of complete determination determines everything by taking its content into account. Accordingly, the principle of complete determination constitutes the complete concept of something. It achieves this by being the principle of the synthesis of all predicates of the thing, differentiating itself from the principle of determinability, which has an analytic characteristic and represents only one of two opposing predicates as belonging to the thing. The principle of complete determination, then, rests on a transcendental assumption, that is, it rests on the assumption of the data, the means necessary for all possibility, which a priori includes the data necessary for each thing to acquire its particular possibility.

Accordingly, "the proposition that everything that exists is determined from beginning to end implies that not only one of each pair given in opposition to each other, but one of all possible predicates [pairs] always belongs to the thing" (Kant, 1998, p. 554). Therefore, for the complete determination of a thing or for the complete knowledge of a thing, all possible things must be known. Accordingly, in fact, complete determination is a mere concept, which can never be given *in concreto* in a complete form, but finds its place in an idea in the reason. This idea, which is a fundamental concept, is the idea of the ground/sum of all possibility (all reality/omnitudo realitatis). Through this idea we think the sum of all possible predicates, despite the predicates not yet given. Every given predicate witnesses the subjective reality of this idea.

The ideal of pure reason is the concept of a singular representation determined by the idea of the ground/sum of all possibility. In this respect, similar to the way human wisdom determines the ideal of the wise man, the idea of the ground/sum of all possibility determines the ideal of pure reason. All possibility is not only under this concept, but also within it. Everything derives its share of possibility from the ideal of pure reason, which is determined by the idea of the ground of all possibility. Accordingly, the ideal of pure reason (more precisely, the transcendental ideal conceived as a thing-in-itself) underlies the complete determination of everything that exists. It satisfies the highest and complete contentual

condition of the possibility of all things. It is such a condition that all thoughts of things in general are traced back to it in terms of their content (Kant, 1998).[3]

According to Kant, the object of the ideal of pure reason that can only be found in it is called the originary being (*ens originarium*). Since there is nothing above the ideal of pure reason, it is also called the highest being (*ens summum*). Moreover, since everything is conditionally dependent on it and stands below it, the ideal of pure reason is also seen as the being of all beings (*ens entium*). According to Kant, however, despite all these statuses, the relation of the ideal of pure reason to things is not like the relation of an actual object to other objects. The relation here should be thought of as the relation of an idea, which has an organizing function, to concepts. It must be said, then, that we are in complete ignorance of the unique existence of the ideal of pure reason, which is not an actual object (Kant, 1998).

Now, precisely at this point, one might ask whether Kant, with his conception of the ideal of pure reason, is referring to the concept of God that has been influential since the beginning of civilization. For Kant, is God the ideal of pure reason? It can be said that this pioneering question is quite useful for revealing at least the theoretical aspect of Kant's conception of God. Moreover, this question is in direct connection with the claim we put forward at the beginning of our study. So much so that this question leads us to explain or justify this claim. In fact, it would be correct to try to answer the question before us by justifying our claim. Indeed, our claim is that God satisfies the practical meaning, if not the entire meaning, of the ideal of pure reason, and thus, to the extent that the ideal of pure reason (which bears the influence of practical reason) is viewed as God in terms of the totality of pure reason, God occupies a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy.

On the other hand, when we follow Kant, contrary to what we might expect, we get the feeling that this claim of ours is not supported in any way. Accordingly, one might think that the answer to the question before us must be entirely negative, and that therefore our claim (which has already made it clear that God is a concept that belongs to morality, not to theoretical reason) does not receive any support from Kant. As a matter of fact, after all the explanations we have quoted, which reveal the theoretical function of the ideal of pure reason, according to Kant:

> Now if we pursue this idea of ours so far as to hypostatize it, the we will able to determine the original being through the mere concept of the highest reality as a being that is singular, simple, all-sufficient, eternal, etc., in a word, we will be able to determine it in its uncondicitioned completeness through of in a transcendental sense, and thus the ideal of pure reason is the object of a transcendental theology, just as I have introduced it above. Meanwhile this use of the transcendental idea would already be overstepping the boundaries of its vocation and its permissibility. For on it, as the

[3] As Wood puts it, "what is meant here by the complete determination of the individual concept is the precise binding of the perfections (or 'realities') that will be included in the concept and the perfections (or 'negations') that will not" (Wood, 2020, p. 170). For this kind of synthesis, one can conceive of many examples, each describing a process of complete determination. For example, Guyer gives the following example: "While any object may or may not be an animal, this object is an animal; while any animal may or may not be a mammal, this animal is a mammal; while any mammal may or may not be a human being, this mammal is a human being; while any human being may or may not be male or female, this human being is a female; and so on until we have a complete determination of a particular person, for example Kant's eldest sister. To think particular things in this way, we must think of 'the totality of possibility as the sum total of all the predicates of things in general', as if it were a pool of possibilities from which actual things are constituted by making choices" (Guyer, 2022, pp. 248-249).

> concept of all reality, reason only grounded the thoroughgoing determination of things in general, without demanding that this reality should be given objectively, and itself constitute a thing. (Kant, 1998, p. 558)

As can be seen, in order to say that the ideal of pure reason satisfies God, it is as if we need to make certain interventions in the ideal of pure reason, in a sense to transform this representation into God. But are these interventions, this attempt at transformation, legitimate? The answer to this question forces us to answer no to the above question. Because Kant clearly stated that these interventions are not theoretically acceptable, as we have seen. In this respect, in fact, this most realistic ideal of being is theoretically only a representation. It is not an object, it is not hypostatic, nor does it have a personality. But this ideal, which legitimately exists as a mere representation, is first realized under the influence of dialectical thinking. Here, the ideal, of which only the idea is assumed, is brought to the position of an object. Then it is hypostatized. In the last step, it is accepted as a person (Kant, 1998). However, according to Kant, for the purpose of determining precisely the necessary determinations of things, reason does not presuppose the existence of a being corresponding to this ideal, but only the idea of it. Because of such an assumption, we can think that all these interventions (objectification, hypostatization, or personification interventions) in the ideal of pure reason under the influence of dialectical thinking lead us to misunderstand the representation, and that in fact the ideal of pure reason in no way corresponds to God.

But does this conclusion mean to say that Kant never or in any way gave God one of the most important positions he could have given God in his theoretical philosophy? In other words, does it follow that we should think that Kant problematized God in his theoretical philosophy (in the context of the antinomy of necessary being, discussed above, or the critique of speculative proofs, discussed below) only in terms of the possibility of God's being? We will return to the negative and positive consequences of this problematization later. But what needs to be decided here is under a different topic. Our question, in the first step, is this: Does Kant only bring God to the issue in terms of the possibility of his being? In a further step, our question becomes this: Does Kant in his theoretical philosophy in no way give God a different meaning or a positive function, a role that is positively central? The final point of our question would be the following: Should it be said that in Kant's representation of the ideal of pure reason, the search for God in positive steps is a futile effort? Obviously, it is imperative to answer these questions without being led into conclusions as superficial or false as those of the opposing camp, which tends to immediately transform the ideal of pure reason into God.

Indeed, it is clear that trying to transform the ideal of pure reason into God by walking down the wrong paths that Kant diagnoses would be of no use in Kant's eyes. Kant has already admitted that it is impossible to know the being of God theoretically, either before (in the antinomy of necessary being) or after (in the axis of speculative proofs) coming to the issue of the ideal of pure reason. Therefore, it can be seen immediately that Kant would not approve of any attempt to transform the ideal of pure reason into God through theoretically unacceptable interventions, ignoring the negative aspect of the solution to the problem of God's being. On the other hand, does this definitive conclusion mean that Kant did not think of a correct way to bring the ideal of pure reason into relation with God, that he did not think it possible, or that he thought it impossible? Kant accepted that it is impossible to know the being of God. This is the negative aspect of the theoretical solution to the problem of the possibility of God's being. However, Kant also argued that God's being is not theoretically impossible, but can be assumed, even if arbitrarily. This is the positive aspect of the theoretical solution of the problem in question. At this point, therefore, one might wonder whether Kant left the door open to a way of bringing the representation of the ideal of pure reason into a more positive relation with God,

or even whether he himself established this relation. Or, more humbly, one might ask whether this positive relation is implicitly, if not explicitly, assumed by Kant.

In our opinion, when it comes to Kant's philosophy, these questions can be answered not only within theoretical limits, but also with a meaningful or partial accuracy that takes into account practice. Accordingly, in order to put forward the answers to our questions in a more general perspective, it will be useful to reach the point where the progress of theory can no longer take a step further and then turn to Kant's practical philosophy, his metaphysics of morality. What we will ultimately see on this path in comparison with practice is that Kant accepts the being of God as a practical postulate and puts it forward as the practical correlate of the transcendental ideal of pure reason, which is a theoretical concept. Therefore, we can think that there is a positive answer to our basic question. Accordingly, it can indeed be said that Kant gives the theoretical meaning of the transcendental ideal of pure reason to God, which he includes as a given in his practical philosophy. But how is this realized? How can it still be argued that the representation of the ideal of pure reason has a positive relation to God after having identified what the theory mistakenly fails to do? How can this positive relation be shown?

In our opinion, it can be argued that, in Kant's eyes, God satisfies the practical meaning of the representation of the ideal of pure reason, and therefore there is a positive relation between this representation and God. We can see this positive relation by affirming the practical needs or capabilities of the theoretically progressive reason. In fact, there does not seem to be much point in arguing that this positive relation is from practice to theory and that theory has no door that opens voluntarily to such a relation, and that this relation is established as a compulsion of practice to theory. For such a claim would be based on a failure to correctly evaluate Kant's understanding of both reason and God.

Thus, first of all, theoretical and practical reason are different parts or uses of one and the same reason, supported by common principles, processes or requirements. Kant's conception of reason presupposes a reason whose parts are peaceful or supportive of each other. According to Kant, reason is capable of providing answers to the problems at hand that are theoretically and practically compatible with each other. In this respect, for example, the theoretical reason, while it connects the being of God to the unknowable with certainty, also preserves an indeterminacy. Indeed, according to Kant, neither natural nor speculative knowledge of God's being is possible. It cannot be asserted epistemologically that God exists, but on the other hand, it cannot be theoretically denied that such a being can be thought or arbitrarily assumed. God's being is neither theoretically possible nor impossible, so even if it cannot be known that God exists, it can be thought –God can be assumed as a thing-in-itself. Within all these limits and tolerances of the theory, reason can arbitrarily assume God as a being that is neither possible nor impossible. In order to open at least a neutral line to this problem, which reason has theoretically condemned to unknowability, Kant gave reason the theoretical right to assume the being of God. This right is gained from an uncertainty. Indeed, the fact that neither the being nor the non-being of God can be theoretically demonstrated includes the fact that the final decision about his being or non-being depends on the arbitrary attitude of the researcher. It is precisely at this point, in this unknowability or modest uncertainty, that reason can be given another non-theoretical, practical support, another light. The neutral attitude of theoretical reason can be linked to the positive choice of practice. By giving up every illegitimate claim that it cannot theoretically assert, and by protecting every legitimate right it has acquired, reason can bring a final practical solution to this problem it finds before it. In this respect, reason in Kant's eyes can, so to speak, add a practical eye that believes in God's being

to its theoretical eye that does not see God's being as impossible - even though it is neither theoretically nor practically compelled to do so.

On the other hand, what needs to be clarified at this point is, to put it more precisely, whether reason, theoretically and practically unified by Kant on the question of the possibility of God's being, can be unified in a way that allows for a unified, coherent position on the meaning, function or role of God. Obviously, in the end, there seems to be no problem with the second part of this question. For, indeed, for Kant, God has a positively central position, meaning, function or role in practical philosophy, in practical reason. As we mentioned above, God is seen by Kant as a concept that belongs to morality, not to theoretical reason. In Kant's practical philosophy, God satisfies one of the basic conditions and principles of the possibility of the highest good, which we aim to practically attain through the ideas of freedom and moral laws. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the correspondence between our will, which we determine according to a priori rules or laws, and nature can be built on a reliable ground without God as a practical postulate. More precisely, in Kant's view, to the extent that we choose to do what we ought to do in order to be deserving of happiness, we need to accept God as a necessary condition for the second element of the highest good, namely, for our hope to share in this happiness to arise. Thus, in his practical philosophy, Kant presents God as the wise, just, and omnipotent creator of the order of intelligible things. This is the position, meaning, role or appearance of God in Kant's practical philosophy. In this position, the limits of theoretical reason are set aside and no epistemic claim is made that God exists. As a matter of fact, the subject of pure reason in its entirety can at most have an assumption or belief about the being of God. Kant, too, included God only as a belief of pure reason, as the condition for the realizability of our moral goals, the happiness that constitutes the necessary object of our will. God is a benevolent power, the cause of the order of intelligible things and of nature, who is able to provide them with a just distribution of the happiness that rational beings set aside in the realization of what ought to be, but which they can expect as a matter of hope as a result of their actions. It is precisely on this practical basis that one can believe in the being of God. But can it be said that this clarity for the second part of our question is also present for the first part? It would be right to try to answer this now.

Accordingly, as we might expect for the accuracy of our claim, to argue that God is taken as a problem in Kant's theoretical philosophy only in terms of the possibility of his being, and to suggest that the original representation of the ideal of pure reason free from the effects of dialectics has nothing to do with God, is not supported by Kant in the first place. On the contrary, Kant argues that:

> The necessary tendency to the highest good through respect for the moral law and the resulting recognition of the objective reality of the moral law ... leads through the postulates of practical reason to concepts - concepts that theoretical reason can posit as problems, but cannot resolve. (Kant, 2014, p. 144)

And that at the end of this path, what theoretical reason can think but leaves vague as a transcendental ideal, namely, the theological concept of the first being, is given a practical meaning as the highest principle of the highest good in the intelligible order and through the positing of the moral law (Kant, 2014).

Therefore, after this passage, it becomes difficult to think that Kant has severed all contact between the transcendental ideal, or the ideal of pure reason in general, and the concept of God. One might even think that there is a positive connection between the transcendental ideal, which Kant posits as a theoretical concept, and God, which he posits as a belief, a practical

postulate of pure reason, and that they satisfy the theoretical and practical meaning, appearance or position of the ideal of pure reason.

In our opinion, the ideal of pure reason is an inclusive representation formed by the concepts of the transcendental ideal and God. While the transcendental ideal is the theoretical counterpart of the ideal of pure reason, God can be taken as its practical counterpart. On the other hand, the ideal of pure reason cannot be given the meaning of God on the basis of a theoretical authority. The ideal of pure reason can only be given the meaning of God practically, according to a practical authority. When we believe in God practically, what the theoretical reason leaves indeterminate as a transcendental ideal, without wanting it to constitute something, becomes something, God, with a practical eye/will. Therefore, by establishing a relation of correspondence, not a relation of addition, between the concepts of the transcendental ideal and God, we can make sense of the ideal of pure reason as the transcendental ideal or God with a relative eye. Accordingly, it can be said that the ideal of pure reason can be reduced neither to the transcendental ideal nor to God. But at the same time, the ideal of pure reason can be thought to correspond to both the transcendental ideal and God. For this reason, Kant does not speak of the ideal of pure theoretical reason or pure practical reason, but of the ideal of pure reason in general. The ideal of pure reason corresponds to the representation of a thing-in-itself formed by the transcendental ideal, a theoretical concept, and God, a practical concept, in a relation of theoretical and practical correspondent.

Kant, both in philosophy and in the history of thought in general, does not regard the creative power called God as a theoretical concept, but recognizes it as a practical concept. Kant's argument to the contrary, that is, that God can be taken as a theoretical concept, is fraught with many impossibilities, and we do not have to go down this road at all. Theory does not necessarily need the concept of God, because it has another concept that corresponds to this concept on theoretical grounds, namely, the concept of the transcendental ideal. It is practical reason, not theoretical reason, that brings the concept of God in front of pure reason. Pure reason calls what its theoretical part calls the transcendental ideal and what its practical part calls God, an ideal of itself, that is, the ideal of pure reason. Therefore, we argue that by taking God as the practical counterpart of the ideal of pure reason, it is possible to say that God, through the ideal of pure reason, occupies a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy. But can it not be said that this association, this matching and unification, and this acceptance of the ideal of pure reason as God at the same time as a practical choice, free from illusion, would lead to an inconsistency in the Kantian system? How can it be said, even implicitly, that there is still an acceptable relation between the ideal of pure reason and God, after it has been shown that theory can falter in a dialectical illusion and that it's unacceptable interventions into the ideal of pure reason do not succeed in transforming it into God? How can this association, this matching and unification, be approved?

Now, it seems to us that if it is true that reason is one despite its different parts or uses, then we might expect that what is present for reason in theory must have a counterpart in practice, or what is present for reason in practice must have a counterpart in theory. Indeed, Kant did not avoid mentioning an aspect of the harmony between theoretical and practical reason that often amazed him. In this respect, it seems difficult for us to think that God, whom Kant includes in his practical philosophy (and according to an important function or role), is merely a nothingness for theoretical reason. If Kant offers a central position for God from the practical side of reason, he might have thought of a similar position from the theoretical side. Now, if we are only talking about a possibility here and are immune to a dialectical illusion, there is no harm in considering with which theoretical concept such a similar position could be established.

Thus, without going too far, it turns out that we can liken God to the transcendental ideal of pure reason, which is among the concepts of theoretical reason. Accordingly, it can be said that the vague counterpart of the concept of God, which Kant sees as belonging to morality and not to theoretical reason, corresponds to the transcendental ideal of pure reason. But how is this possible? In our opinion, this requires, first of all, not to take the wrong path opened by the dialectical steps taken by a delusional reasoning to transform the ideal of pure reason into God, and to abandon the wrong steps taken under the influence of dialectical thinking. In other words, it presupposes not to realize/objectify, hypostatize, or personify the ideal of pure reason. Therefore, when it is said that God satisfies the ideal of pure reason, or rather is its practical meaning or appearance, it is imperative to note that to the extent that the ideal of pure reason is not theoretically realized/objectified, hypostatized, or personified, God satisfies the practical meaning or appearance of this ideal. In this respect, the first stage can be thought of as a neutralization that returns to the natural attitude of a clear mind, free from illusion, towards all questions. This neutralization is a theoretical neutralization, free from the effects of dialectical illusion, and it reintroduces all the limits of theoretical reason about God, simultaneously with the ambiguity Kant introduced in the resolution of the antinomy of necessary being. It is precisely at this moment of neutralization that it can be seen that it is not through theoretical reason that the ideal of pure reason is given the meaning of God. Theoretical reason cannot say that the ideal of pure reason is God, because theory has no explanation to right such a proposition. On the other hand, the theoretical reason, in union with the practical reason, cannot say that the ideal of pure reason is not God, because it does not have the authority to make such a signification, which the practical reason generally puts in front of pure reason, impossible. In this respect, the second stage gives us a practical point of view in which we no longer need to be content with what theoretical reason sees. This view does not shed a second light on the way of using theoretical reason. This path in question is already illuminated by the entire authority of the theoretical reason. More precisely, this view does not create an expansion in the knowledge of the theoretical reason, but only offers a practical solution to a concept that the theoretical reason has left problematic or ambiguous. In other words, this view offers to shed light on the ambiguity that the theory encounters with respect to God (which we have presented above as a positive consequence of unknowability at the theoretical level), and to offer only a practical determination of this ambiguity. In this respect, this is the perspective of a practical faith that does not assert any theoretical knowledge but considers all the possibilities and limits that theory offers. It can be argued, then, that the last theoretically acceptable formulation of the ideal of pure reason can ultimately satisfy the last theoretically acceptable meaning of God, after the practical reason has given it the meaning of God through the idea of the postulate. Indeed, renouncing the transformation of the representation of the ideal of pure reason into God does not mean that this representation has nothing to do with God, has no resemblance to God, or that we have to accept such a vision. More precisely, this renunciation does not forbid us from thinking that God, within an acceptable framework or limit, satisfies the practical meaning, if not the whole meaning, the practical appearance, if not the whole appearance, of the representation of the ideal of pure reason. In other words, this renunciation neither allows nor precludes conceiving of the theoretical function or role that the transcendental ideal of pure reason fulfills within the Kantian system as the theoretical function or role of God.

Based on what has been said, we can say that at this point we have explained the central claim of our study. This claim was that God, insofar as he is seen as the ideal of pure reason, occupies a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy. Now, it is clear from the controversial points made during the presentation of the claim that this claim does not impose the conclusion that God is the ideal of pure reason, and that such an equation is in no way possible. Moreover, this conclusion in no

way implies that Kant protects the rights illegitimately passed to the account of the concept of God through dialectical reasoning that feeds traditional metaphysical conceptions. At this point, we are neither carrying the practically accepted role of God into theory, nor are we transferring the final representation of the transcendental ideal of pure reason into practice. We are merely suggesting that from the point of view of Kant or the pure reason he posits, God can be thought to have a theoretical and practical position, meaning, appearance, and associated function or role. Our claim is that the theoretically acceptable final representation of the ideal of pure reason is the theoretically undeniable final formulation of God as a practical concept from the point of view of pure reason. The final theoretically acceptable representation of the ideal of pure reason corresponds to the ground of the complete determination of things, a mere representation, a regulative principle, a transcendental ideal, in which not the being of its object but its idea is assumed. In this respect, we argue that the position of the concept of God in Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy can be understood through the simultaneous consideration of the transcendental ideal representation, a concept of the theoretical reason, and the postulate representation, a concept of the practical reason. However, in the hope of overcoming some of the difficulties that make it difficult to understand the theoretical aspect of Kant's conception of God, we formulate our claim that God, insofar as he is seen as the ideal of pure reason, occupies a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy. Consequently, when we take the transcendental ideal of pure reason as the theoretical counterpart of God to the extent of theoretical acceptability, it can be said that this concept does not give knowledge, but is important in that it adds value to knowledge in the way of giving it unity and wholeness: "Kant shows that the ideal of God should be considered not in terms of producing knowledge (constitutive) but in terms of regulating knowledge (regulative)" (Günenç, 2009, p. 175).

As can be seen, there is a correspondence between the solution of the antinomy of necessary being and the way the ideal of pure reason is conceived. This correspondence can be observed on both positive and negative levels. Kant argued that necessary being is not impossible, and that its unique existence can be seen as an assumption, even though it cannot be known. This conclusion coincides with the ideal of pure reason, which is taken as the basis for the complete determination of things, that all reality is not to be taken as objectively given, and that only the idea, not the unique existence, of the being corresponding to this ideal can be assumed.[4] Thus, we can state that the positive aspects of the theoretical dimension of Kant's understanding of God end at this point. The theory says that God's being cannot be known, but it is not impossible, and moreover, it can be taken as an ideal for the complete determination of things. Therefore, to go beyond these theoretically acceptable appearances of God would be to pursue only an illusion. As a matter of fact, Kant pointed out that through dialectical reasoning, certain proofs are brought forward that can be seen as examples of precisely this illusion. Through these proofs, it was imagined that the being of God (necessary being/the ideal of pure reason) could be justified.

Kant's assertion that there is no way to ground the unique existence of a highest being in terms of the purely speculative use of pure reason should not be considered astonishing, but a necessary consequence of basic transcendental acceptances that are far removed from dialectical illusions. According to Kant, it cannot be theoretically proven that the object of the ideal of pure reason exists. On the other hand, Kant has already come to this conclusion by

[4] As Mehmet Günenç states, in the ideal of pure reason, "the aim of reason is not to reach a proof of God, but to conceptualize the sphere of being on a better ground. For this, it thinks as if all that exists comes from a single being. Thus, it reaches the conclusion that being is actually in unity. But what actually happens is not unity in being, but unity in reason" (Günenç, 2009b, p. 84).

analyzing the fourth antinomy of pure reason, which is another example of dialectical thinking. Indeed, the failure of speculative proofs aimed at justifying that the object of the ideal of pure reason exists is consistently related to the negative consequences of the resolution of the antinomy of necessary being. On the other hand, Kant, who argues that these proofs are impossible in terms of their aims, has shown that the conclusion of the antinomy of necessary being, which can be considered neutral from a theoretical point of view and positive from a practical point of view, is that the unique existence of a highest being is not speculatively impossible and can be assumed, albeit arbitrarily. Accordingly, for Kant, a necessary being is a being that cannot be seen as impossible in terms of its existence, a being that can be thought to exist but cannot be known. From this point on, we can now turn to the failures of speculative proofs that are compatible with the negative conclusion of Kant's resolution of the antinomy of necessary being. This will allow a more holistic theoretical examination of the ideal of pure reason. In this way, we will see more clearly that the right to assume God's being is not theoretically justifiable. As a matter of fact, the justification of this assumption, as we have stated above, can only be achieved through practical reason, through a moral belief.

Refutations to Speculative Proofs

Kant divided theoretical knowledge into knowledge of nature and speculative knowledge (Kant, 1998). Natural knowledge is the knowledge of an object or its predicates that can be given in experience. Speculative knowledge, on the other hand, is the knowledge of an object or its concepts that cannot be given in any experience. In this respect, we can think that speculative proofs that aim to justify God's being aim to reveal the knowledge of an object or the concept of this object that cannot be accessed in any experience. Strictly speaking, Kant discussed three speculative proofs that aim to justify God's being and argued that they fail in their aims. These proofs are the ontological, cosmological, and physicotheological proofs. Let us first examine the ontological proof.

Basically, the ontological proof aims to prove God's being through his conceptual determination. Obviously, this proof has a long history and different formulations in the history of philosophy. Although Ross states that Aristotle is the herald of the ontological proof, this proof can be traced back to Plato, who aims to prove the existence of the soul (and thus the gods) based on its definition (Plato, 2012; Ross, 2011). Moreover, it can be said that Farabi's proof for necessary being provides a different formulation of the ontological proof (Farabi, 2019; Kaya, 2014[5]; Fakhry, 2002). However, Anselmus and Descartes provided more explicit formulations of the ontological proof (Anselmus, 2019; Descartes, 2007). Ağca mentions that:

> Although all these versions differ at certain points, it can be argued that they all contain in some way the thesis that if the meaning or nature of the concept of God is fully understood, we must conclude that He really exists. (Ağca, 2021, p. 250).

Accordingly, we can formulate the argumentative steps of the proof in general as follows: (i) God is perfect, (ii) perfection involves being, so (iii) God exists.

Kant's first objection, which aims to show that the ontological proof fails, is based on the view that If the subject of a judgment is denied, the predicates likewise come to nothing. This view is a consequence of the basic assumption that the absolute necessity of judgments is not an unconditional necessity of things, and is therefore a warning against confusing judgments with things or their existence. In Kant's view, the absolute necessity of judgment is only a

[5] This study is based on al- Fârâbî's *Uyûnu'l-Masâil*, translated into Turkish as *Felsefenin Temel Meseleleri* by M. Kaya.

conditional necessity of the thing or the predicate in the judgment. In this respect, according to Kant, the unique existence of a necessary being actually depends on the condition of the givenness of the subject to which such an existence is predicated, on the way we conceive of it. In an identical proposition, we call God, who is the subject, an omnipotent being. In fact, this is like a judgment that must necessarily be accepted. Because if I accept the being of a God, I would indeed have to think that he is omnipotent. Just as, as Descartes said, if I posit a triangle, I would have to think that it must have three angles. However, according to Kant, who argues that this is a strong illusion, when we deny the triangle, we can also deny that it has three angles. Just as if we say that God does not exist, we have the right to reject all predicates that are said to belong to him. Accordingly, if the subject that constitutes a judgment is rejected together with its predicate (whatever that predicate may be), no contradiction (external or internal) will arise (Kant, 1998).

On the other hand, Kant's second main objection to the ontological proof is based on the view that propositions of existence are synthetic, not analytic. In a synthetic proposition, one must always appeal to intuition. However, a proposition like 'God exists' cannot be verified by intuition (Kant, 1998). In other words, even if we think that the concept is rich in content, if we were to predicate a certain existence to the object to which this concept relates, we would have to go beyond the concept of this object. In this case, there is no problem in terms of the objects of the senses, because the connection that our perceptions establish/can establish with their objects is under the protection of empirical laws. When we think in terms of the objects of the senses, our concept is not only logically possible, but also realistically possible, since the object of this concept is absolutely given. Kant points out that:

> But for objects of pure thinking there is no means whatever for cognizing their existence, because it would have to be cognized entirely a priori, but our consciousness of all existence (whether immediately through perception or through inferences connecting something with perception) belong entirely and without exception to the unity of experience, and though an existence outside this field cannot be declared absolutely impossible, it as a presupposition that we cannot justify through anything. (Kant, 1998, p. 568)

Thus, in the case of God or any other non-empirical object of pure thought, we would have to say that this object is not given under its own concept as a reality for which experience itself is the criterion. Accordingly, the assumption that every proposition of existence must be synthetic leads to the conclusion that the claim that God exists is an illegitimate, unacceptable claim.

Kant's third objection to the ontological proof is based on the view that being is not a real predicate. In this respect, according to Kant, in a proposition such as 'God is omnipotent', we see that two concepts, each with its own object, are actually included. The subject concept corresponds to God and the predicate concept corresponds to omnipotence. In this respect, the 'is' in the proposition (the auxiliary verb 'ist' in German and 'is' in English) should not be regarded as an additional predicate, but as a conditional that allows us to posit the concept of subject and the concept of predicate in relation. Accordingly, by bringing together a series of predicates, including predicates such as omnipotence or omniscience, in the concept of God as the subject, and then saying 'God exists', we do not add any new predicate to the concept of God as the subject, but only posit this subject with all the predicates that belong to it. In this case, the subject is posited as the object in relation to the concept that belongs to us. Accordingly, we do not create an expansion in the concept of any subject by adding being. In

such a way that we preserve our ability to say that the concept we had when we started out and the concept obtained after the addition of the entity encompass one and the same thing.[6]

Now, after a brief presentation of Kant's critique of the ontological proof, we can turn to another speculative proof that Kant brings up, namely the cosmological proof. For Kant, the cosmological proof also fails to demonstrate that God exists. According to Kant, the cosmological proof, which shows the main lines of all the proofs in favor of God's being, is based on inferring the unlimited reality of any given being from its givenness. Kant formulated this demonstration in a dual view. Accordingly, first, if there is something given, there is also a being that is absolutely necessary: I exist, therefore there is an absolutely necessary being. In the reasoning here, "the minor premise contains an experience, the major premise an inference from an experience in general to the existence of something necessary" (Kant, 1998, p. 570). Kant's second formulation of this introduction develops through causality, which is turned into the identity of a law. According to this, everything contingent (i.e., everything whose absence is possible as well as its presence) has a cause of being. If this cause of being is itself contingent, it must similarly have a cause. Thus, the series of contingent things that are each other's causes of being continues until an absolutely necessary being that can bring this series to an end. Therefore, there is an absolutely necessary being.

According to Kant, this demonstration is based on experience. Since it finds its beginning in experience, this demonstration does not proceed entirely as an a priori or ontological demonstration. However, at a final sight, it turns out that it meets the type of proof that brings us back to the old path (the ontological proof) that we have abandoned for its sake after some wandering, even though it promised to lead us to a new path (Kant, 1998). As a matter of fact, in order to proceed on a reliable path, this introduction relies on experience in the first place. Thus, it appears to be different from the ontological proposition, which seeks its foundation only in pure a priori concepts. For Kant, however, the cosmological proposition relies on experience in order to take only one step, namely, to ground the unique existence of a necessarily existing being. The small premise in the empirical mode cannot show what the qualities of a necessary being are. Therefore, reason sets aside experience in order to see the qualities that belong to necessary being. Reason does not recourse to experience, but to concepts, as in the ontological demonstration, to determine what, among all possible things, belongs to a necessary being. As a result of this recourse, reason again takes as its basis the concept of a most real being that is not itself contingent, and from this point it deduces that this most real concept of being is an absolutely necessary being. Kant (1998) states:

> But it is clear that here one presupposes that the concept of a being of the highest reality completely suffices for the concept of an absolute necessity in existence, i.e., that from the former the latter may be inferred –a proposition the ontological proof asserted, which one thus assumes in the cosmological proof and takes as one's ground, although one had wanted to avoid it. (p. 571)

Accordingly, the cosmological proof, which begins with experience and then has to abandon it's witnessing because it is no longer supported by experience, and thus jumps to the ontological proof, the falsity of which has already been demonstrated, turns out to fail.

Finally, the physico-theological proof, which we have witnessed in Aquinas's a posteriori proofs –just as in the case of the cosmological proof– contains a demonstration that, according to Kant, should always be spoken of with respect, but from which apodictic certainty

[6] For a detailed explanation of Kant's argument that "being is not a real predicate' and why this argument invalidates the ontological proof", see (Oral, 2024, pp. 160-193).

cannot be expected. Accordingly, the physico-theological proof aims to demonstrate the unique existence of a necessary cause that is proportional to the regularity, harmony, and purposiveness observed in the universe in a contingent way. In this case, it seems that the defender of the physicotheological proof expects us to think that the relationship that exists between a machine and an engineer who builds it according to its efficient causes also exists between the universe and God. Just as the regularity or purposiveness in the functioning of the machine leads us to an engineer who built this machine, the regularity or purposiveness observed in the universe leads us to a God who is the creator of this universe. However, Kant tells us that this proof has no apodictic certainty. Indeed, according to Kant, this proof actually makes an illegitimate transition from empirical grounds of demonstration to transcendental concepts. The proof initially asks us to turn our eyes to the universe and pay attention to the regularity that exists everywhere. In this respect, it can be said that the physico-theological proof, like the cosmological proof, is not based on mere concepts, but on experience. But then, by suggesting that the contingent regularity throughout the universe is only possible through the unique existence of a necessary thing, the physico-theological proof leads us to the concept of an object that cannot be provided by experience at all. Accordingly, the proof begins with the contingency of the universe and moves on to the unique existence of a necessary thing that ensures the orderliness of the universe, to a precisely determinable concept of this necessary thing, that is, to an all-encompassing concept of reality. Kant indicates that:

> Thus the physico-theological proof, stymied in its undertaking, suddenly jumps over to the cosmological proof, and since this is only a concealed ontological proof, it really carries through its aim merely through pure reason, even though at the beginning this denied all kinship with it and had proposed to base everything on evident proofs from experience. (Kant, 1998, p. 582)[7]

In other words, it can be said that the physico-theological proof has a similar structure to the cosmological proof, and that the former has a similar reflective procedure, path and end to the latter. Moreover, these two proofs implicitly rely on the ontological proof. However, it has already been demonstrated that the ontological proof fails. Therefore, it can be said that there is a chain failure. Accordingly, it can be argued that all of the speculative proofs that are claimed to ground the claim that God exists fail according to general principles.

On the other hand, it is worth remembering that Kant, who dispels knowledge in order to make place for faith, can only see this result as a beginning when it comes to the practical use of pure reason. As a matter of fact, according to Kant, the unique existence of a highest being could be preserved in the purely speculative use of pure reason as an 'assumption', and increasingly as an assumable 'necessity', even if all the attempts that came forward on the path of speculative interest were shown to be 'utterly unproductive and, according to their internal structure, zero and nothing'. The claim that God exists could not gain the value of knowledge through theoretical grounds. Moreover, all the proofs put forward to support this claim have failed. On the other hand, the being of God is not considered theoretically impossible. God can be thought to exist, his being can be assumed. And the justification of this assumption, according to Kant, can be given practically by pure practical reason (by accepting God as the

[7] Şahabettin Yalçın states that, in Kant's view, it is epistemologically impossible to establish a causal connection between the purposive qualities thought to exist in nature and God: "for the order that is thought to exist in nature is not essentially a quality of nature itself, but a result of the harmony between our mind and nature. In other words, according to Kant, the order in nature does not have an objective quality; rather, this order is a property that human beings, the knowing subject, attribute to nature" (Yalçın, 2011, p. 18).

postulate of the possibility of the highest good, which is the necessary object of the same reason).[8]

The Highest Good and God

At this point, we can think that we have seen the ways in which God is problematized in Kant's theoretical philosophy or what his theoretical meaning and position is. Now we can move on to the practical philosophy that will complete this theoretical position in terms of the whole of pure reason. In this way, the holistic position of God in Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy will be revealed. Moreover, in this way, the claim we put forward at the beginning of our study will be fully justified and it will be seen that God has a central position in both Kant's theoretical and practical philosophy in a positive sense. At this point, the basic concept to which we should direct our attention is the concept of the highest good.

For Kant, the highest good is realized in the world and is the necessary object of a will determined by the moral law. On the other hand, the highest good has two basic elements. The first of these two basic elements is moral competence (being deserving of happiness or virtue), which is also the highest condition, and the second is happiness. Kant thinks that both moral competence and happiness can be brought together in a synthetic relationship, but for this we need certain postulates. Moral competence, or complete compliance with the moral law, is made possible by the thought of an infinite progression, that is, by the condition of immortality. In this respect, Kant solves the problem of the necessary competence of morality with eternity, with the thought of an infinite progress. But moral competence is the first essential part of the highest good. However, there is also happiness, which is the second element of the highest good. However, since there is no guarantee that a person who acts towards the realization of his or her moral competence can immediately attain happiness at first hand, or since the concept of happiness cannot be analytically deduced from the concept of moral competence, these two elements must be synthetically connected to each other, and the condition of the possibility of this connection must be revealed. In other words, the possibility of this happiness, which is in accordance with moral competence, must also be demonstrated. This necessity, in turn, leads us to the assumption of a cause that is fully appropriate to this effect (happiness), that is, to the being of God.

For Kant, happiness is the state of the rational being in the world. In this state, everything develops in accordance with the will of the rational being. Therefore, happiness is based on the correspondence between nature and the cause of determination that underlies the will of the rational being. On the other hand, the moral law, which is a law of freedom and reason, commands in a completely different way from the causality of nature. Practical reason or the law of this reason cannot be posited as the cause of nature. In other words, the rational being who acts in this world with a certain will is not the cause of this world. "In the moral law, therefore, there is no reason to establish a necessary relation between morality and the happiness of a being, which is part of the world and therefore dependent on it, in proportion to its morality" (Kant, 2014, p. 135). There is no guarantee that nature will make us happy because we are

[8] As Necmettin Tan states, "the second front of Kant's positive theology, the *Critique of Practical Reason*, is an attempt to justify this assumption in practical or moral terms" (Tan, 2011a, p. 218). In fact, as Mehmet Demirtaş states, Kant "believes that the being of God can only be justified by moral proof" (Demirtaş, 2013). In this respect, the situation stated by Mehmet Günenç is in question: "the assumption of God is necessary not for being moral, but for the realization of moral goals" (Günenç, 2009a, p. 176). Accordingly, as Gülşah Bakubala states, "a proof of morality is a proof that takes its data from human moral experience and, by finding an unconditional obligation in this experience, tries to establish the being of God as a postulate or to show that God is the source of ideal moral values [the highest good]" (Gülşah, 2006, p. 50).

moral. As a matter of fact, the rational being, which is not the cause of nature but is dependent on it, cannot be the cause of this nature simply by willing it. The rational being cannot harmonize nature with the principles underlying its will, simply by its own will or authority.

In this way, a being that is the cause of the whole of nature, which contains the basis for the relevance or exact correspondence of happiness to morality, can be brought forward as a postulate. "This supreme cause contains not only the ground of nature's compliance with a law of rational beings, but also the ground of nature's compliance with the representation of this law, when these beings set this law as the supreme determining cause of willing" (Kant, 2014, pp. 135-136). Therefore, the possibility of the highest good, the first part of which is moral competence and the second part of which is happiness, can be grounded on the acceptance of a supreme cause that establishes a correspondence between the causality of nature and the causality of reason. This supreme cause is God, the cause and initiator of nature. As we have stated above, God as a moral concept gives a practical meaning to the transcendental ideal that belongs to theoretical reason, and it seems to be assumed by Kant as the guarantor of the correspondence between our will and nature in general, and of our hope for a share in happiness in particular.

Conclusion[9]

In this study, we are concerned with Kant's conception of God based on his theoretical and practical philosophy. In our study, we reveal the theoretical and practical manifestations and position of Kant's conception of God. As can be seen, God is problematized in Kant's theoretical philosophy in terms of the possibility and meaning of his being. At the first level, we have witnessed Kant's positive and negative explanations of God's being. This witness was provided by our investigations into the antinomy of necessary being and the criticism of speculative proofs (ontological, cosmological and physico-theological proofs). For Kant, it is impossible to know the being of God at the theoretical level, nor is it possible to claim that God's being is impossible. At the second level, we have seen that God is the practical counterpart of the transcendental ideal of pure reason, which is a theoretical concept. On the practical level, we have witnessed that God is positioned by Kant as a moral postulate. Thus, at this point, we can consider that the main claim of our study has been fully justified. Accordingly, God can be considered to have a positively central position not only in Kant's practical philosophy but also in his theoretical philosophy.

Finally, we can conclude our work in line with our purposes by emphasizing some important points in particular. First, the following question may be asked: (a) does making an inference about God's existence based on the fact that it cannot be known but can be thought imply a return to the ontological argument? Or would it not mean a leap of faith? In fact, viewing God as a being that cannot be known theoretically but only conceived intellectually means abandoning the claim of knowledge that affirms God's being from the very outset. However, someone who defends an ontological or similar speculative argument does not abandon this claim; rather, they strive to ground it. Therefore, what is meant by "conceivability" here is only that God is not an impossible object, even if He is not possible, and can be accepted as existing according to the researcher's arbitrary attitude. This arbitrariness serves to limit the capacity for understanding in the face of the reason's demand for wholeness and order. Arbitrariness serves to bring a determination to the uncertainty regarding God's being, based on assumptions, in light of the requirements of theoretical research. Therefore, it can be thought

[9] The writing of the second paragraph of this conclusion section came about thanks to the valuable questions posed by the review committee. I am grateful to them.

that what is happening here is not a leap, but rather the researcher bringing light to the existing uncertainty with his own theoretical attitude, whether positive or negative. Secondly, the following question may be asked: (b) Does “thinking” here mean knowing “what” it is? Being able to think about something does not provide us with knowledge about what it is. Indeed, knowledge concerns objects that are absolutely possible, that is, phenomena. What we can think about, if it is not an impossible object, can be accepted as a noumenon. However, what things are in themselves is completely closed to us. Nevertheless, we say that the thing-in-itself referred to here is God. This leads us both to tradition and to Kant's analyses. Tradition refers to this thing-in-itself more as a being whose non-existence is impossible. Kant also uses this definition. However, Kant, in my defense, also defines this concept as the ideal of pure reason. Thirdly, the following question may be asked: (c) If not, then wouldn’t someone who does not accept the existence of God have the same right according to Kant’s neutral position? I believe that my answer to the question asked in point “a” can serve as my response to this issue. Nevertheless, I should add that it is theoretically possible to make a positive or negative choice regarding God's being. However, after theoretically affirming His being, believing in His being should also be seen as a subjective necessity in practice. Fourthly, the following question may be asked: (d) Perhaps as a more fundamental question: What would happen if we removed the idea of God as a condition of willing the good-in-itself? As a rational being, can a human not be moral without referring to the idea of God? Kant does not derive the moral law from theology. Therefore, it seems unnecessary to say that we need God in order to obey the moral law. On the other hand, a will determined by the moral law must necessarily aim at the highest good. In this case, it must also explain how the highest good can be achieved. Therefore, if there is no God, we must find a theoretical and practical basis that will ensure our moral competence and happiness. If we cannot find it, we may have to agree with Albert Camus, who says that life is absurd and does not make sense. This last statement requires a lengthy discussion. Because on a deeper level, the issue is not only the possibility of the highest good, but also how the harmony between the laws of reason and nature is possible. We must answer this question speculatively, not on naturalistic, historical, or political grounds, but in a way that ensures the unity of reason and the wholeness of experience.

References

Ağca, F. N. (2021). Kant ve ontolojik argüman. *Din ve Felsefe Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *4*(8), 249-265.

Anselmus, St. (2019). Proslogion. İçinde (B. Çotuksöken & S. Babür, Çev.).*Metinlerle ortaçağda felsefe* (ss. 39-44) BilgeSu Yayıncılık.

Bakubala, G. (2006). *Kant'ın ahlakında Tanrı'nın yeri ve işlevi*. [Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi]. Gazi Üniversitesi.

Demirtaş, M. (2013). Kant'ın 'inanca yer açmak için bilgiyi inkâr ettim' sözünün iman ve bilgi açısından değerlendirilmesi. *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, *17*(1), 289-303.

Descartes, Rene. (2007). *İlk felsefe hakkında meditasyonlar*. (İ. Birkan, Çev.). BilgeSu Yayıncılık.

Fakhry, M. (2002). İslam felsefesi geleneğinde ontolojik kanıt: Fârâbî örneği. (Ö. M. Alper, Çev.). *İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, (6), 139-150.

Farabi, A. N. (2019). *İlimlerin sayımı*. (A. Aslan, Çev.). Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Guyer, P. (2022). *Kant*. (D. Soysal. Çev.). Say Yayınları.

Günenç, M. (2009a). Kant'ta aklın metafizik bir değeri olarak Tanrı ideali. *Felsefe Dünyası*, (49), 170-179.

Günenç, M. (2009b). Kant'ta Tanrı ispatları ve Tanrı postulası. *Civil Academy Dergisi*, *7*(1), 81-88.

Kant, I. (1998). *Critique of pure reason*. (P. Guyer., & A. W. Wood, Trans.). Cambridge University Press.

Kant, I. (2014). *Pratik aklın eleştirisi*. (İ. Kuçuradi., Ü. Gökberk., & F. Akatlı, Çev.). Türkiye Felsefe Kurumu Yayınları.

Kaya, M. (2014). Felsefenin temel meseleleri. İçinde (M. Kaya, Çev.). İslam filozoflarından felsefe metinleri (ss. 203-212). Klasik Yayınları.

Oral, E. (2024*). Kant'ın teorik ve pratik felsefesinde Tanrı ve özgürlük kavramlarının konumu*. [Yayımlanmamış Doktora Tezi]. Hacettepe Üniversitesi.

Platon. (2012). *Yasalar*. (C. Şentuna., & S. Babür. Çev.). Kabalcı Yayıncılık.

Ross, D. (2011). *Aristoteles*. (A. Aslan, Çev.). Kabalcı Yayınevi.

Tan, N. (2011a). Immanuel Kant: Hrıstiyan bir filozof?. *Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, (25), 209-221.

Tan, N. (2011b). İmkân delilinden transandantal ideale: Kant'ta Tanrı kavramının kökleri. *Fırat Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, *16*(2), 157-169.

Yalçın, Ş. (2011). Kant'ın tanrısı sanal mıdır?. *Felsefe Dünyası*, (53), 15-27.

Wood, A. W. (2020). *Kant*. (A. Kovanlıkaya, Çev.). Alfa Yayınları.

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The author declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The author have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci E.O., Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması E.O., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci E.O.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 267-281

First Submission: 09.07.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 31.08.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

A Socialist-Feminist Discussion on Women's Oppression: Circus Valentine as a Case Study[a]

Yasemin Güniz Sertel[b]

Abstract

Introduction: Feminism focuses on the subordination of women within patriarchal societies. Socialist-feminism links women's oppression to historical, social, and psychological factors. It states that a radical change is needed for liberation, which should begin with overthrowing capitalism. This study analyzes *Circus Valentine* by Norman from a socialist-feminist view. The play discusses that the suffering of women is connected to capitalism and patriarchy.

Method: This study employs socialist-feminism to examine Circus Valentine. The methodology combines textual analysis with socio-historical contextualization. Key characters, dialogues, and plot are examined to uncover how gender, class, and ethnic identities intersect with systemic oppression. Historical documents, feminism, and Marxism provide a framework to interpret social dynamics within the play. Particular attention is given to patterns of labor, authority, and family structures, as well as the ways capitalist and patriarchal systems shape individual and collective experiences. The analysis is conducted by mapping textual elements onto theoretical constructs, allowing for a nuanced understanding of oppression in fictional and broader socio-economic context.

Results or Findings: In Circus Valentine**,** victimization of women is rooted in history, culture, and society. Since women's experiences reflect the struggles of workers, minority and ethnic groups, they remain controlled by capitalism and patriarchy.

Discussion or Conclusion: *Circus Valentine* highlights the oppression faced both by women and by certain social classes and groups. Capitalism cannot be eliminated by women alone. To challenge capitalism, a movement involving all oppressed groups is necessary. The solution for the suffering of people lies in creating a classless society.

Keywords: socialist-feminism, capitalism, patriarchal system, class conflicts, ethnicity

JEL Codes: J81, Z13, I3

[a] This study is derived from the Ph.D. dissertation "The Problem of female Autonomy: Women in Marsha Norman's Plays" completed by the author under the supervision of the Prof. Dr. Ayşe Erbora at the Department of American Culture and Literature, Institute of Social Sciences, Istanbul University.

[b] Asst. Prof. Dr., İstanbul Üniversity, Faculty of Letters, Department of American Culture and Literature, Istanbul/Türkiye, gsertel@istanbul.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1249-7427 (Corresponding Author)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 267-281

İlk Başvuru: 09.07.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 31.08.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Kadınların Baskılanması Üzerine Sosyalist-Feminist Bir Çalışma: Vaka Çalışması Olarak Valentine Sirki[a]

Yasemin Güniz Sertel[b]

Öz

Giriş: Feminism kadınların ataerkil toplumlarda nasıl ikincil konumda tutulduğuna odaklanır. Sosyalist-feminizm kadınların baskılanmasını tarihsel, toplumsal, biyolojik ve psikolojik etkenlerle ilişkilendirir. Ayrıca kadınların özgürleşmesi için radikal bir değişim gerektiğini, bunun da kapitalizmin yıkılmasıyla başlaması gerektiğini savunur. Bu çalışma, Amerikalı oyun yazarı Marsha Norman'ın *Circus Valentine* adlı oyununu sosyalist-feminist bir bakış açısıyla inceler. Oyun, kadınların yaşadığı acıların hem kapitalizmle hem de ataerkil sistemle bağlantılı olduğunu ortaya koyar.

Yöntem: Bu çalışma, Marsha Norman'ın Valentine Sirki adlı oyununu sosyalist-feminist kuram çerçevesinde inceler. Çalışmanın metodolojik yaklaşımı, metin analizini sosyo-kültürel ve tarihsel bakış açılarıyla bağlamsallaştırır. Cinsiyet, sınıfsal, etnik kimliklerin sistematik baskılanması oyundaki ana karakterler, diyaloglar ve olay örgüsü örneklenerek açıklanır. Oyundaki sosyal dinamikler, tarihi olaylar, feminist kuram ve Marksist bakış açısı çerçevesinde yorumlanır. Kapitalist ve ataerkil sistemin bireyleri ve kolektif deneyimi nasıl şekillendirdiği anlatılırken, işçi-işveren ilişkisi, otorite ve aile yapısı özellikle vurgulanır. Yapılan analiz, bu metinsel unsurların teorik yapılara eşlenmesiyle yürütülür ve bu sayede hem kurgusal hem de daha geniş sosyo-ekonomik bağlamda baskının daha ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlaşılmasına olanak tanır.

Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: *Circus Valentine* oyununda kadınların mağduriyetinin kökeni Amerikan toplumunun tarihine, kültürüne ve sosyal kurallarına dayanır. Bu kadınlar işçi sınıfının, azınlıkların ve etnik grupların mücadelesini yansıttığı sürece, kapitalist ve ataerkil kurumlar tarafından denetim altında tutulurlar.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Oyun yalnızca kadınların değil, belirli sınıf ve grupların da maruz kaldığı baskıyı gösterir. Kapitalizm yalnızca kadınlar tarafından yıkılamaz; bu sistemin değişmesi için işçilerin ve ezilen tüm grupların katıldığı daha geniş çaplı bir hareket gerekir. Kalıcı çözüm, sınıfsız bir toplum yaratmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sosyalist-feminizm, kapitalizm, ataerkil sistem, sınıfsal fark, etnik köken

JEL Kodlar: J81, Z13, I3

[a] Bu çalışma İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı'nda yazar tarafından Prof. Dr. Ayşe Erbora danışmanlığında tamamlanmış olan "Kadının Özerklik Problemi: Marsha Norman Oyunlarında Kadınlar" başlıklı doktora tezinden türetilmiştir.

[b] Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, İstanbul.Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, İstanbul/Türkiye, gsertel@istanbul.edu.tr ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1249-7427 (Sorumlu Yazar)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

The feminist movement generally focuses on how women are often placed in subordinate and victimized roles within patriarchal society. The women's movement of the 1960s helped women openly discuss their issues more widely and it became clear that women's challenges did not come from their inability to adapt to life but from the way society's basic structures are constructed. This understanding led to the recognition that women's problems require major social changes. While many debates exist about the causes of women's oppression, it is not enough to discuss this problem only from a historical perspective. Social, biological, and psychological factors also play important roles in keeping women subordinate. Women's independent position in society is affected by these factors, but improving and transforming their situation also depends on changing the core institutions of society. To do this, it is essential to analyze how women relate to social institutions and what influences their status.

A Socialist- Feminist Discussion of Circus Valentine

Feminist American playwright Marsha Norman's play *Circus Valentine* centers on the challenges faced by a group of people working in a circus. These circus members struggle to keep their failing company afloat while also trying to maintain their dignity and human values. The story of the play mainly focuses on Fred and Goldie Valentine, who are cırcus people of Russian origin and who with their 19 year old trapeze daughter Trina, have been serving the circus for a long time. Fred is the manager and ringmaster, and he handles all the shows. Goldie used to be a trapeze artist before she married Fred. Now, she works as a fortune-teller and a cook for the circus. Goldie's sister, Eva, is also involved in the circus as an aerialist. The circus also includes the Siamese twins, Brad and Bill Evans, who are part of the workforce. Fred is an emotional man who cannot stand the strange appearance and unusual lifestyle of the twins. He secretly spends all the circus' money to try to split them up with an operation. His plans include sending them away to a different town, hoping to have a new beginning for them.

Although this study aims to explore the oppression of women from a socialist-feminist point of view in Marsha Norman's play *Circus Valentine,* it is also important to recognize that the play features oppressed individuals of all classes and genders. In Circus Valentine, women's suffering interlinks not only with their gender but also with the difficulties they face within their working-class community and the mistreatment of ethnic and minority groups, echoing the principles of intersectionality. At first glance, the main theme seems to focus on the suffering of working-class people under the rules of a harsh capitalist system.

According to Marxist theory, women's oppression is seen as a secondary issue. It is viewed as a result of a deeper form of oppression—one tied to their class. Marxism argues that women are not oppressed by patriarchy alone but by the capitalist system that keeps society divided. This system causes suffering beyond just women, affecting all classes as well. In the play *Circus Valentine*, there are clear social divisions. The circus workers symbolize the working class, while Reeves, who owns the shopping center where the circus is set up, stands for the capitalist oppressor. He benefits from the system by exploiting the working class and keeping them oppressed. At this point, studying Marxist ideas will help us understand how capitalism works and what its rules are. Such analysis proves that the working class is made to suffer under the capitalist system.

Capitalism as a System and the Discussion of Marxism

Capitalism can be seen as an unfair social and economic system, where class discrimination exists. Workers often find themselves fighting against a system that creates poverty even when wealth is abundant. In such societies, work can become alienating, especially with advances in technology. Racism and sexism also play a role in dividing workers and maintaining inequality. Marxism critiques multiple aspects of capitalist societies, discussing the development of class society, the processes of wealth accumulation, the reproduction of class dominance, and the evolution of contradictions and class struggle (Felski, 1989). Aspects of this critique will be examined throughout this paper in connection with the play *Circus Valentine*.

Traditional Marxism sees the endless conflicts between economic classes as the key to understanding modern capitalist society and how social change occurs. In these societies, there are clear class divisions, and equal chances do not exist for everyone. The working class creates wealth through their labor, but the profits and power stay with the ruling class and employers.

In *Circus Valentine*, Reeves stands for the ruling class. He is described as a busy but sweaty and successful businessman who owns the shopping center where the circus is held. Reeves in his identity depicts the differences between the rich and the workers. He perceives himself as beneficial to society by managing operations while viewing the workers simply as those enjoying their roles. He says, "People like me keep the world going while people like you act like you're doing us a favor by enjoying yourselves in it. You'd starve without us" (Norman, 1998, p.150).

Marxism defines a class in two main ways: "by the role it plays in the processes of production and by the stake it has in the ownership of property" (Reed, 1984, p.134). Thus, it emphasizes both the role it plays in making things and that who owns property. Throughout the play, Reeves and the ruling class own the means to produce goods. This makes them controlling power of the economy because they provide jobs to the working class. The workers, however, only own their ability to work. They have to sell their labor to survive. The difference between Reeves' life and that of the workers highlights what Friedrich Engels calls "class antagonism." Engels explains that this conflict grows with the development of labor and the rise of private property and wealth. As productivity increases, new forms of wealth and exchange emerge, fueling class struggles (Engles, 1982).

Throughout the play, it is possible to observe this antagonism/ tension in the relationships between different social classes. Reeves shows his hostility toward workers by belittling them and calling them gypsies. He implies they are inferior to him, both as a minority and in attitude. For example, he asks, "You gypsies, you think you're too good to talk to me?" (Norman, 1998, p.125). The workers, like Goldie, show their reaction through feelings of resentment. She tells Reeves, "Mister, the only thing you have in this world is money" (Norman, 1998, p.150). Overall, class conflict shows up in the play as hatred from the workers toward their bosses and oppression from the ruling class. The workers feel anger and disrespect, while the bosses maintain control through their power and wealth.

In capitalist societies, the ruling class of capitalists focuses on making money. They control many parts of daily life, such as work conditions and living standards. Marx talks about this situation as the "reproduction of labor." He explains that the needs of workers are based on both their biological needs and the environment they live in. He says that what workers need and how they meet those needs depend on the habits, comfort, and conditions of

their social class (Marx, 1972). For example, when Leroy works at the circus, he is given money, food, and a place to sleep. These are meant to meet his basic needs, or what Marx calls "necessary wants," so he can keep working. This setup helps reproduce labor and benefits his boss, Reeves, who is driven by profit. Reeves admits he owns the mall only to make money and cares little about anything else. Reeves's focus on making money comes from capitalism's goal to turn everything—goods, labor, and money—into profit. Gayle Rubin describes capitalism as " a set of social relations – forms of property, and so forth – in which production takes the form of turning money, things and people into capital" (Rubin in Nicholson, 1997, p. 29). Therefore, capitalism becomes a system where property, money, and people are used to create more capital. Reeves's view of workers fits this description well, since his main aim is to increase his wealth through their labor.

In this system, money becomes the main asset. When it's exchanged for labor, it helps reproduce and grow the capital. It does so by taking value from workers, their work, and the goods they produce. Reeves's obsession with keeping this cycle going shows he is a typical capitalist boss who holds power over his workers. Nancy Hartsock refers to such power as "the ablity to compel obedience, or as control and domination" (Hartsock, 1984, p. 272). In other words, it becomes the ability to force obedience or control others. In *Circus Valentine*, Reeves uses his power to increase the suffering of his workers. He threatens to fire them if they do anything he dislikes. For example, he warns a worker that their work lines will be cut if they try to resist or speak out. His attitude shows he seeks to dominate his workers and keep them weak. Hartsock defines to this situation as the "power domination of others" and describes this as the way some bosses use power to diminish others and restrict their progress (Hartsock, 1984, p. 272).

Work and Power Relationship in a Patriarchal Capitalist Society

In a patriarchal capitalist society, the way work and power are organized shows how different groups depend on and dominate each other. These workplace relations reflect broader social patterns of control and influence. Power in society shapes how people relate and interact. The core values of such a society, including competition, reason, and control, also impact social relationships. Heidi I. Hartman describes this social power by linking it to class inequality and the capitalist system: "In a Marxist-feminist view, the organization of production ... is shaped by patriarchy and capitalism. Our present social structure rests upon unequal division of labor by class and by gender which generates tension, conflict and change. These underlying patriarchal and capitalist relations among people are the sources of dynamism in our society" (Hartman, 1984). Hence, in discussing the organization of production, Hartman underscores the significance of patriarchy and capitalism. Given that the current societal framework is predicated on uneven distributions of labor according to class and gender, these disparities perpetuate tension, conflict, and continuous transformation. The underlying patriarchal and capitalist relationships among people drive societal progression.

In *Circus Valentine*, the idea of work is understood through social relationships and structures influenced by capitalism. The boss, Reeves, predominantly views work as a means to generate profit, a perspective that leads to the exploitation and control of laborers. His own existence is tied to this process, as he states, "My money is dead so am I" (Norman, 1998, p.150). Meanwhile, the workers in the circus hold different values and approach to work in a different light. This difference reflects the way society is organized under capitalism and patriarchal systems. Hartsock describes this as a division between mental and manual labor. She explains that this split reflects the power imbalance between those in control and those who are controlled. Usually, those in power do mental work, making decisions and giving

orders. On the other hand, workers do manual tasks that require physical effort (Hartsock, 1984). For example while Reeves uses his money to do mental work—directing others and making plans, the circus workers perform manual work with their physical strength and labor. In Circus Valentine Reeves refers to this division of labor and responsibilities in such words:

> Oh for Christ's sake. I'm a businessman, and a fair man… We make an agreement. Then I keep my part of the agreement, and you keep your part of the agreement. I want this lot cleared by the morning. I want lions gone and all their shit shoveled up. (Norman, 1998, p.126)

On the other hand, despite their shared status of being subordinate, a hierarchy exists even among the lower class workers since"capitalist development creates the places for a hierarchy of workers" (Hartman, 1997, p.103). Thus, capitalist growth tends to create specific roles within the worker group. In *Circus Valentine*, Fred stands at the top of this hierarchy because he organizes the show, directs others, and manages finances. This gives him power over the rest. However, the way Fred and Reeves dominate those below them differs. This difference comes from their different views on work and what they expect from it. Fred's view of work reflects a collective perspective. As Hartsock notes, this kind of work is a reaction to the repetitive tasks and isolation often seen in capitalist workplaces. It is also a way to fight against monotony and competition (Hartsock, 1984). This form of work is based on shared beliefs and a sense of solidarity. It requires everyone to feel responsible for each other. Fred sees work as a group effort and feels a strong sense of duty towards others. His decision to pay for the twins' separation surgery shows his commitment to solidarity. His support for their operation is driven by his sense of responsibility. The twins show their loyalty as well. Fred realizes that they stayed because of his kindness. The twins tell him that staying together was their choice only because he was good to them. Fred refers to this mutual commitment as such:

> I told the twins about the surgeon and asked them what they thought. They said the only reason they were staying together was because of me. Because I never laughed at them. They stayed together all this time because of us. (Norman, 1998, p. 156)

From another point of view, Fred's concern for the twins' well-being is similar to Marx's idea of a "social relationship" in work which is described as"the cooperation of several individuals, no matter under what conditions, in what manner and to what end" (Marx and Engels, 1968, p. 39). Their mutual support showcases how their relationships thrive on cooperation and social bonds.

American Family Traditions

Meanwhile, the shared sense of solidarity and teamwork among circus members has roots in American family traditions. These family ties were important not just for emotional reasons but also for the support and help they provided to the whole family. In this tradition, home was a place where family life and work combined, helping to keep production going. For circus workers, their home is also their workplace, since they live inside the tent where they perform. Hartman notes that in capitalist patriarchal societies, the household is defined as an "income pooling unıt" where different family members' interests are unified around a common goal of producing and sharing resources. The family is seen not only as a group driven by feelings or kinship but also as a space where different activities and interests sometimes clash. People use family structures in many ways—they turn to kin groups for jobs, to build unions, fight for community rights, buy homes, borrow cars, or share childcare. However, they do not act only as family members. Instead, they also belong to gender groups

with roles shaped by capitalism and patriarchy. Hartman explains that people often navigate these roles in complex ways (Hartman, 1984).

In *Circus Valentine*, the circus members form a large family. Most members are related, or at least connected in some way. Even those who are not blood relatives become part of this network. A kinship system helps maintain this bond. Each person in the circus contributes to making the show. Their work on stage is their form of labor. This system keeps the flow of work and resources moving within the household of the circus. This idea goes back to early American history. During the colonial period, family households often included more than just relatives. They welcomed lodgers, apprentices, servants, or even unrelated individuals. These households served many functions, not just housing a family. Houses were places where work and production happened. Hareven notes that having unrelated people in the home was common then (Hareven in Luedtke, 1988). This situation helps explain the presence of non-relatives like the Siamese twins and Leroy in *Circus Valentine.*

After the colonial period and during the time of industrial growth, families were still seen as work groups in the American kinship system. Traditional family ties continued to define the connection between families and their communities. Hareven explains that industrialization did not destroy these roles but changed how they were understood. In industrial towns, families still worked together as units. Relatives helped each other with tasks like finding jobs, moving, and housing. They supported each other as families shifted from rural life to urban work. Even when families migrated, their bonds stayed strong. The family provided social support, especially for newcomers. Hareven states that migration did not end traditional kinship ties. Instead, families used these ties to help each other adapt to new environments and ways of living. During the early days of industrialization, kinship ties remained vital for assistance and cooperation. Rural and city kin groups continued to help one another with mutual services. They played a key role in organizing migration, both within the country and from abroad. When immigrants arrived in American cities, they preferred to live near family members. These kinship ties kept neighborhoods connected and became important sources of help. This pattern has lasted among some ethnic groups as well (Hareven in Luedtke, 1988).

These experiences relate to the circus family in *Circus Valentine* because its members are originally from Russia. Besides their Russian background, this circus family is also part of an ethnic and minority group. In sociology, a minority is a group that has less power or influence. These groups often have fewer rights and are viewed as less deserving of power. They are also seen as having traits or characteristics that are considered inferior. Besides being an ethnic group, circus performers can also be seen as minorities; they "have unequal access to power, that are considered in some way unworthy of sharing power equally, and that are stigmatized in terms of assumed inferior traits or characteristics" (Mindel & Haberstein, 1976, p. 4-5). As such, they often find themselves in a subordinate position relative to those in control, like Reeves, who derogatorily refers to the circus performers as "a dozen gypsies" (Norman, 1998, p. 116). This term not only demeans them but also signifies their marginalization, reinforcing their status as a minority group lacking influence.

The experiences of the circus group since their arrival in America highlight their dual identity as both an ethnic family and a minority group. Their cohesion stems from shared ethnicity and class, influencing their behaviors and thought processes. Family loyalty remains one of their most important values. In connection with this family bond, relationships among family members, such as between spouses, parents and children, are built on mutual help and

support. These ties draw strength from the idea that family members have ongoing responsibilities and reciprocal relationships.

In addition to mutual support, the ethnic working-class family often views work as a family project. The work done by wives, children, and even other relatives is carefully organized around the family's collective goals. For the family involved in circus life, performing is seen as a traditional occupation that keeps the family united. It also provides different work opportunities within the family. Trina explains this by saying, "You can't just choose to be circus people. I was born into it. When you're born into it, you never have to worry about what you're going to do because it's always been what I know" (Norman, 1998, p. 123). Her words show how ethnic family traditions influence her choices and behavior. As Hareven points out, family plans sometimes take precedence over what is best for an individual. For example, parents may try to delay their children's marriages, especially daughters, to make sure they still have support as they grow older and leave the workforce. Marrying and choosing a partner are often decided as based on family needs rather than personal desire (Hareven in Luedtke, 1988).

Within her family, Trina is seen as part of the labor force both now and in the future. This understanding reflects a common trait of children in ethnic working-class families. Many children are raised to work early and they start contributing to the family's income sooner than laws require. They are seen as useful assets. Their work helps support the family now and promises to help in later years. Parents see raising children as an investment in future stability. Throughout the play, her parents and Eva push Trina to work hard and succeed in her career. Since they are part of a working-class, ethnic family, their expectations serve to protect their current labor force and their future social security. Therefore, Trina becomes a key part of the family's income and overall effort.

Along with Trina, Eva's and Goldie's position show how women serve as important workers in their families. Eva works as an aerialist; Goldie is both a cook and a fortune-teller; and Trina trains on the trapeze. All of them contribute to the circus's income, which is a part of their traditional family role. These women help keep the family financially afloat through their work and participation in the circus.

Significant Historical Incidents mentioned in Circus Valentine

In the early 1800s, as industrialization grew, a 'cult of domesticity' appeared. This idea shaped women's roles, especially in middle-class American families. In the play *Circus Valentine*, Goldie seems to be influenced by this idea. However, she still holds onto the old values of her working-class background and ethnic family traditions. Hareven highlights that despite the shift toward domesticity, many working-class and ethnic families remained steadfast in their traditional lifestyles, nurturing a collective family ethos: "Despite the impact of the ideal of domesticity working class and ethnic families to a significant degree continued to adhere to the earlier ways of life and maintained a collective view of the family" (Hareven in Luedtke, 1988, p. 248- 249).

In many ethnic groups, family roles were seen as essential for survival. Goldie's marriage to Fred can be viewed as more than just a romantic relationship. It was a partnership based on practical needs. In the past, families saw marriage and parenthood as a way to work together and support each other. These bonds were driven by financial and social needs, not just love. As Hareven explains, "a collective view of family obligations was the very basis of survival in earlier time periods. From such a perspective marriage and parenthood were not

merely love relationships but partnerships and cooperations governed by the family's economic and social needs" (Hareven in Luedtke, 1988, p. 249).

As a matter of fact, Goldie's role in her family is shaped by the social and cultural history of American society. While industrialization brought about substantial shifts for many, working-class families faced unique challenges. As work and home became more separate after industrialization, the home was seen as a special place to escape from the outside world. During the early 1800s, many women were assigned mainly to the home, where they took pride in being housewives and mothers. Goldie keeps some of these traditional family traits as she works as a circus cook and helps to support her family. At the same time, she absorbs certain middle-class customs that reflect shifting societal norms.

At the start of the 20th century, many immigrants tried to Americanize. Many women of immigrant families especially embraced the ideals of the cult of domesticity. They adopted family habits like having fewer children, marrying at a young age, and making the family a more private place. They also pulled women and children out of work and directed them in the ways they spent money. Because of this influence, Goldie married Fred when she was just 19. She also kept her family small, having only one child, Trina, who is now grown up. In compliance with another feature of the Americanization process, she is withdrawn from the labor force and she is made to leave her job as an aerialist and a flier as soon as she gets married since she is to give birth to Trina. Besides, Goldie has a desire to use beautiful plates as well as to have a settled home which has its roots in the cult of domesticity reigning middle-class American familial life during that time. Actually, what Goldie experiences is an example of "cultural pluralism"—that is, "becoming American while at the same time retaining one's cultural heritage" (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976, p.1).

On the other hand, Trina's views are shaped more strongly by the Americanization process. She has spent her childhood and teenage years in America and absorbed its main values. In one part of the play, she talks about her dream of a typical middle-class family. She imagines herself going to college. Her father might own a deep-sea boat and take tourists fishing. He might even become a TV anchor. Yet, Goldie's reaction to this dream is significant. She tells Trina that they are not normal, and they should be proud of that: "You wish we were normal people. Well, we're not normal and you should be proud of it" (Norman, 1998, p. 129). This response reinforces Trina's connection to her ethnic roots and encourages her to value her heritage over conforming to mainstream American ideals.

In Goldie's personality, Norman mentions another important historical event linked to the feminist movement: The Suffrage Movement and what followed. By the early 1900s, women's suffrage had become the main goal for many women's groups. These groups often met in clubs or societies focused on missions. For them, getting the right to vote was not just about equality under the law. It was also seen as a key step toward social change, cleaning up government, and making morality a priority for leaders. People believed that securing voting rights would change society and help women gain equal standing. The movement also aimed to bring women with different political views together. More than just voting, suffrage became a symbol of the power and hope women longed for. Achieving the vote would lead to fair pay, help reduce prostitution, better the lives of working women, reform prisons, and support single mothers facing hardship. Some groups like "revolutionary socialist minority saw the vote as merely a necessary reform on the way to the social ownership and control of the means of production" (Rowbotham, 1977, p. 82). Especially for the socialist minorities, the vote was only one step toward bigger changes, like shared control of factories and resources. To reach their goals, suffragettes sometimes used violent and militant methods.

They didn't hesitate to damage property or break windows as a form of protest. They wanted the public to support their fight to get the vote. These tactics led many to see them as a secret, underground group that believed actions spoke louder than words, aimed mostly at dividing the male ruling class. Later, the suffragette movement joined forces with workers and socialist groups, driven by the large strikes and unrest in industry. Some workers, many of whom had never protested before, started to form unions. They wanted their voices heard and their problems solved. They staged strikes and protests to push for their rights, seeking to make their needs known on a bigger stage.

In Circus Valentine, Goldie's attitude toward her boss Reeves while defending her rights reflects the same spirit as the suffragettes' stance against authorities. Her expectations from Reeves and her determined attitude mirror those of the suffragettes: "Now, if you're so in charge, you owe us security, and bathrooms… If you make us use the ones inside, we steal the toilet paper and write on the walls" (Norman, 1998, p. 125- 126). As the play nears its end, Goldie's rising anger leads her to become more aggressive and rebellious. Her provocative actions and defiance toward Reeves are similar to the militant tactics used by the suffragettes in the fight for women's voting rights. Her outbursts are driven by her feeling of humiliation on stage, and they echo the more violent strategies that characterized some of the suffragettes' protests.

Throughout the play, there are also references to American history beyond the suffrage movement. For example, Fred's comparison of their work as clowns to farmers highlights the early days of industrialization when rural life was giving way to industry. He explains that their role is to make the audience laugh, just as farmers feed society: "Because it's our job. Because this is how it works. We are the clowns and they are the farmers, and if we make them laugh, they will feed us" (Norman, 1998, p. 137). In another scene, Fred's complaints after losing their jobs again take us back to America before widespread mechanization. He laments the loss of human workers to machines, comparing their unemployment to that age: "Dam television. Dam Ringling and spaceships. Dam electric corn poppers and Wild Kingdom and Zoos and damn me… I just wish it was 1910" (Norman, 1998, p. 158). This statement shows how technology replaced many human jobs during that time, and Fred's words highlight his frustration over the rapid change.

Another historical allusion is towards the end of the play after the circus group is thrown out of both the shopping center and their tent, which they have lost to Reeves. The considerations of continuing to make their performances at fairs, shopping centers or state parks, which are markers of big urban centers, are evocative of the "urban crisis" of 1960s when "urban construction workers constituted the largest group of unemployed" (Warner in Luedtke, 1987, p.114), and point to a parallelism between the circus group's unemployment and the unemployment problem of those times. The circus members' desperate endeavors to find space to make their performances remind the reader/audience of those desperate experiences as well.

Multiple Forms of Oppression in Circus Valentine

In Circus Valentine, the play illustrates how women experience multiple forms of oppression. Firstly, they are marginalized due to their working-class backgrounds and their affiliations with ethnic and minority groups. Throughout the narrative, the various manifestations of women's suffering are evident, but the underlying causes remain unchanged. The oppression of women is rooted in the institution of marriage and the roles assigned to them within it. Marriage serves as a mechanism to control women, particularly in relation to

the development and ownership of private property, which is predominantly held by men. This exclusion deprives women of their rights to own or share in property and wealth, rendering them economically and legally subordinate. Women are hindered from owning wealth or engaging in productive work, and their empowerment can only be reclaimed through participation in labor and property ownership. The significance of private property is underscored in the play through Fred's possession of the tent, which he acquired with money inherited from their father. This ownership drives Goldie's decision to marry him, as it symbolizes the independence that comes with property ownership.

Circus Valentine highlights another common form of oppression—men's control over women's work in capitalist societies, often through marriage. An example of this is seen in Goldie's relationship with Fred. Heidi I. Hartman explains this control clearly: patriarchy is based on men's dominance over women's labor. Men achieve this by keeping women away from key resources needed for work. Monogamous marriage is a recent and efficient way to keep women under control. It gives men power over women's access to resources, allowing them to control women's labor. This control often serves men's personal and sexual needs (Hartman, 1997).

In the play, marrying Goldie gave Fred the right to control her work, which forms the base of his power. Before marriage, Goldie was an aerialist like Eva, performing with her sister as the "Sparrow Sisters." After getting married, Goldie stopped being an aerialist and became the circus cook. By controlling her ability to work, Fred limited her access to resources that could help her succeed. If Goldie had stayed in her career, she could have become famous and successful. Fred's goal was to keep her focused on serving him, which he often requests: "Goldie. Baby me, Goldie. I need it" (Norman, 1998, p. 127). By controlling her labor, Fred also kept Goldie from advancing in her career as well. This shows how marriage can be used to limit a woman's independence and keep her under a man's control.

Goldie's job as a cook highlights her position in a low-status, low-paying role. Her work is controlled not only by family-based patriarchy, represented by Fred, but also by a broader industrial patriarchy, symbolized by Reeves. Hartman explains that this division of labor continues in the job market, where women often work in roles similar to those they performed at home—such as preparing food, cleaning, and caring for others. These jobs tend to be low-paying and have little prestige, which keeps patriarchal relations in place. The basis of this system shifts from family to the wage gap, but the power structure remains. Industrial patriarchy is maintained in various ways, including union contracts that set lower wages, fewer benefits, and fewer chances for women to advance. These policies are not just outdated ideas or sexist views; they serve to uphold the material foundation of the patriarchal system (Hartman, 1997).

Reeves's attitude toward Goldie throughout the play reflects how industrial patriarchy oppresses women. When Goldie asks for security, Reeves's refusal shows his dismissive attitude. He says, "I don't owe you anything but a place to park and I'm having second thoughts about that" (Norman, 1998, p.125). In other parts of the play, Reeves' denying women access to private bathrooms or turning off the power for aerialist women also point to how women face oppression under this system. These actions reveal how industrially-based patriarchy controls women's lives and limits their rights.

Traditional Marxism sees class as the best way to understand women's oppression. It argues that women should be viewed as part of the working class. Their main struggle is against capitalism, and this should take priority over conflicts between men and women.

Hartman emphasizes that conflicts based on sex should not weaken solidarity among workers. He states that women's issues are secondary to the broader class struggle: "Women should be understood as part of the working class; the working class' struggle against capitalism should take precedence over any conflict between men and women. Sex conflict must not be allowed to interfere with class solidarity" (Hartman, 1997, p. 112 -113).

However, even with this focus on class, capitalist societies show that the division of labor based on gender still oppresses women. This division of roles clearly shows that Traditional Marxism does not fully eliminate sex-based oppression. Hartsock explains that this oppression comes from the way labor is split between men and women in capitalism. She points out that women contribute both to paid work outside the home and to producing goods at home. Women sell their labor power and produce both products and surplus value like men do. They also produce things in the home that are meant for their own use. Unlike men, women's lives are often directed by their role in creating these in-home goods. This means that women work more than men overall. Many people recognize this as the "double-day," where women work extra hours both at work and at home (Hartman, 1997). Goldie's role in the circus shows these ideas in action. She works as a fortune-teller, contributing to the circus's labor. At the same time, she cooks and takes care of her children at home. In this way, she contributes both to the production of labor in the circus as the fortune-teller and to the production of use-values in the home as a cook and a mother. Her position proves how women often work more than others in the group. This extra work is a clear example of the "double-day" that these theories describe.

However, working in a low-paying job at the circus makes Goldie feel unhappy and disillusioned both financially and spiritually. Her role as a worker highlights the "employment boom" of the late 1960s and 1970s, a time when jobs did not lead to economic growth or social mobility, especially for women. Many women had job opportunities, but these jobs often kept them in poverty instead of helping them escape it. "Ironically, women's work frequently meant sinking deeper into the qugmire of marginal poverty instead of securring the liberation so much talked about in the media" (Chafe in Luedtke, 1987, p. 266 -267). Goldie, in *Circus Valentine*, also voices her frustration with the causes of her suffering. She vents her anger about her marriage, her job, her poverty, and her life overall, especially when speaking to Fred. She says, "I'm a middle-aged fortune-teller sick of cheap things. I'm tired of cheap, second-hand, discount, big plastic stuff! I want a house, a mailbox, neighbors. I want an inside telephone. I'm sorry about this" (Norman, 1998, p.148).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Circus Valentine underlines the multifaceted oppression that not only impacts women but also extends to members of specific social classes and marginalized groups. The intersection of capitalism and patriarchy is central to their suffering, illuminating that women's liberation cannot occur n isolation from broader social struggles. A critical analysis of the play reveals how these intersecting forms of oppression work together to perpetuate cycles of disadvantage, particularly within ethnic and working-class communities.

From an analytical perspective, it is clear that understanding women's oppression requires an intersectional approach that recognizes the distinct but interconnected experiences dictated by race, class, gender, and cultural background. The characters in Circus Valentine exemplify how cultural materialism shapes their realities, wherein economic structures critically influence social relations and individual choices. These findings align with critical

feminist theory, which emphasizes the need for comprehensive frameworks that incorporate the lived experiences of diverse women to address societal inequities effectively.

Recommendations stemming from this analysis suggest that any movement aimed at combating oppression must unify various social struggles. A more inclusive approach to feminism is essential, advocating for policies and practices that foster collaboration between labor movements and feminist activism. Such alliances can amplify marginalized voices, ensuring that the socio-economic factors contributing to women's oppression are addressed. Additionally, educational initiatives should focus on raising awareness of intersectionality, encouraging future activists to integrate this understanding into their advocacy work.

References

Chafe, W.H. (1988). Women and American society. In L.S. Luedtke (Ed.), *Making America: the society and the culture of the United States* (pp. 258- 269), Forum Series.

Engels, F. (1982). *The origin of the family, private property and the stat*e. Penguin Classics.

Felski, R. (1989). *Beyond feminist aesthetics: feminist literatüre and social change*. Harvard University Press.

Hareven, T.K. (1988). Continuity and change in the American family. In L.S. Luedtke (Ed.), *Making America: the society and the culture of the United States* (pp. 241- 257), Forum Series.

Hartman, H. (1997). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), *The second wave – a reader in feminist theory* (pp. 97-122), Routledge.

Hartman, H. (1984). The family as the locus of gender, class and political struggle: the example of housework. In A.M. Jaggar & P.S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Feminist frameworks alternative theoretical accounts of the relations between women and men* (pp. 341-357), McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

Hartsock, N. (1984). Staying alive. In A.M. Jaggar & P.S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Feminist frameworks– alternative theoretical accounts of the relations between women and men* (pp. 266-276), McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

Marx, K. (1972). *Capital: A critique of political economy*. (Vol. 1; S. Moore., & E. Aveling. Trans.). International Publishers. (Original work published 1867)

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1968). *The german ideology*. (T. Delaney., & B. Schwartz Trans.). Progress Publishers. (Original work published 1932)

Mindel, C.H. & Habenstein, R.W. (1976). *Ethnic families in America : Patterns and variations.* Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company.

Norman, M. (1998). Circus Valentine. In M. Norman (Ed.), *Collected works – contemporary playwright series*. (pp. 109-162), A Smith and Kraus Book.

Reed, E. (1984). Women: caste, class or oppressed sex. In A.M. Jaggar & P.S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Feminist frameworks– alternative theoretical accounts of the relations between women and men* (pp. 132-135), McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

Rowbotham, S. (1977*). Hidden from history: 300 years of women's oppression and the fight against it.* Pluto Press.

Rubin, G. (1997). The traffic in women: notes on the political economy of sex. In L. Nicholson (Ed.), *The second wave – a reader in feminist theory* (pp.27-92), Routledge.

Sertel, Y.G. (2004). *The problem of female autonomy: women in Marsha Norman's plays.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. İstanbul University.

Warner, S.B.Jr. (1988). Urban America. In L.S. Luedtke (Ed.), *Making America: the society and the culture of the United States* (pp.105-120), Forum Series.

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The author declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The author have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci Y.G.S., Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması Y.G.S., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci Y.G.S.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 282-304

First Submission: 25.06.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 16.09.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

Women's Power, Equality's Balance? The Relationship Between Female Employment and Income Distribution in Mediterranean Countries

Süleyman Gürbüz[a]

Abstract

Introduction: This study examines the impact of female employment on income inequality in Mediterranean countries such as Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain, using annual panel data covering the period 1991–2022. The primary focus of the research is to determine whether female employment has a mitigating effect on income inequality in the selected countries.

Method: The Gini index is utilized to represent income inequality, with the female employment rate acting as the central explanatory factor. Inflation, HDI and GDPPC are included as control variables. The analysis utilizes a Panel ARDL model, which accommodates variables with mixed levels of stationarity.

Results or Findings: The findings indicate that women's employment has a statistically significant and negative impact on income inequality in the long run. Conversely, inflation increases income inequality, while economic growth decreases it. In the short run, increases in women's employment have a significant impact on reducing income inequality. Panel Granger causality analysis reveals a bidirectional causal relationship between women's employment and income inequality.

Discussion or Conclusion: This result highlights the interplay between women's economic participation and income distribution, emphasizing that female employment is a key instrument for achieving social and economic justice.

Keywords: women's employment, income inequality, inflation, economic growth

JEL Codes: C33, E31, J70

[a] Asst.Prof.Dr., Yozgat Bozok Üniversity, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Economics, Yozgat/ Türkiye suleyman.gurbuz@bozok.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/ 0000-0003-1651-2310 (Corresponding Author)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 282-304

İlk Başvuru: 25.06.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 16.09.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Kadının Gücü, Eşitsizliğin Dengesi mi? Akdeniz Ülkelerinde Kadın İstihdamı ve Gelir Dağılımı İlişkisi

Süleyman Gürbüz[a]

Öz

Giriş: Bu çalışma, Türkiye, Yunanistan, İtalya ve İspanya gibi Akdeniz ülkelerinde kadın istihdamının gelir eşitsizliği üzerindeki etkisini 1991–2022 dönemine ait yıllık panel verilerle incelemektedir. Çalışmanın odak noktası kadın istihdamının seçili ülkelerde gelir adaletsizliğini azaltıcı etkisinin olup olmadığıdır.

Yöntem: Gelir dağılımını temsilen Gini katsayısı, temel açıklayıcı değişken olarak ise kadın istihdam oranı kullanılmış; kontrol değişkenleri olarak enflasyon, HDI ve kişi başına düşen GSYH modele dahil edilmiştir. Ekonometrik analizde Panel ARDL yöntemi tercih edilmiştir.

Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: Bulgulara göre, uzun vadede kadın istihdamının gelir eşitsizliğine istatistiksel olarak anlamlı ve negatif bir etkisi bulunmaktadır. Buna karşılık, enflasyon gelir eşitsizliğini artırıcı, ekonomik büyüme ise azaltıcı bir rol oynamaktadır. Kısa vadede ise kadın istihdamında meydana gelen artışların gelir eşitsizliğini azaltma yönünde anlamlı etkileri gözlemlenmiştir. Panel Granger nedensellik analizi ise kadın istihdamı ile gelir eşitsizliği değişkenlerinde çift yönlü nedensellik ilişkisi bulunduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Bu sonuç, kadınların ekonomik hayata katılımı ile gelir dağılımı arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşimi göstermekte ve kadın istihdamının sosyal ve ekonomik adaletin sağlanmasında önemli bir araç olduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kadın istihdamı, gelir adaletsizliği, enflasyon, ekonomik büyüme

JEL Kodlar: C33, E31, J70

[a] Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Yozgat Bozok Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, İktisat Bölümü, Yozgat/ Türkiye, suleyman.gurbuz@bozok.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/ 0000-0003-1651-2310 (Sorumlu Yazar)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

In today's world, growing income inequality poses a key challenge to socioeconomic stability in countries regardless of their development status. Beyond undermining equitable access to resources and opportunities, it also jeopardizes the sustainability of economic growth and threatens social cohesion and stability (Piketty, 2014). As such, identifying the root causes of income disparities and formulating effective policy tools to alleviate them has become a critical area of concern for policymakers worldwide. Among the many factors shaping income distribution, the composition of employment, with an emphasis on women's labor market engagement, has received heightened attention in recent studies. Limited participation of women in the formal economy constrains human development and macroeconomic performance; projections indicate that this shortfall will translate into an annual global GDP loss of roughly USD 28 trillion by 2025. Across the literature, there is broad agreement that expanding women's economic engagement yields substantial societal dividends, including poverty reduction, stronger innovative capacity, wider consumer choice, and more durable environmental sustainability (Asongu & Odhiambo, 2020).

There are many factors affecting women's employment rates. The most fundamental factors that prevent women from entering the workforce include: traditional social structure, societal values, gender-based division of labor within the family, the role of motherhood, low female employment demand due to fertility, inadequate education levels, structural problems in the economy, and legal regulations (Karabıyık, 2012). Differences in labour-market access by gender translate into parallel differences in employment outcomes. In affluent countries, where most workers are formal paid employees, women tend to earn less than comparable men, face sectoral and occupational segregation, and remain scarce in top-remunerated positions. In developing economies, where self-employment is common, women are disproportionately unpaid family workers and are less often employers or own-account workers. Thus, indicators such as gender wage gaps and promotion pathways in salaried jobs capture the experience of only a limited share of women. A comprehensive assessment of women's labour-market status calls for more inclusive employment measures (Bue et al., 2022).

There are multiple dimensions through which the relationship between women's workforce participation and income inequality can be analyzed. By contributing to household earnings, higher female employment rates can play a role in narrowing income disparities. Moreover, the inclusion of women in economic life may help foster a more inclusive and balanced economic order (Seguino, 2000). However, the strength and direction of this influence are not uniform across contexts; they are often mediated by a country's developmental stage, institutional arrangements, prevailing gender norms, and socio-economic policy frameworks. When examining traditional social structures, the primary roles assigned to women are housework and motherhood. Domestic labor can be evaluated in two fundamental dimensions within the capitalist division of labor. First, it functions as a form of production that provides surplus value and unpaid work to support production outside the home; second, it functions as a mechanism that enables individuals to participate in the capitalist production process by reproducing labor power and transferring values to them. In this context, the unpaid nature of domestic labor serves the productive structure of the capitalist economy. Consequently, gender-based divisions of labor within and outside the household leave women more vulnerable to poverty than men, despite living in the same household and family (Yenilmez, 2015). Gonzales et al. (2015) maintain that gender inequality propagates income inequality through multiple mechanisms. First, pay differentials between women and men directly widen overall income dispersion. In addition, larger gender gaps in labour-force participation translate into earnings disparities, thereby generating and intensifying income inequality.

In Southern European nations like Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain, low rates of women's participation in the labor market persist alongside significant income inequality. Referring to data published by the World Bank in 2025, the global average female employment rate stood at 45.69%, while the European Union averaged 48.24%. In contrast, female employment rates in the aforementioned countries were notably lower: 30.30% in Turkey, 37.14% in Greece, 36.27% in Italy, and 44.80% in Spain. These figures highlight a consistent lag in female participation compared to global and EU benchmarks (World Bank, 2025). When looking at the ranking of gender-based employment rate differences based on these rates and evaluated within the scope of the 27 EU member countries and Turkey, Turkey ranks 28th, followed by Greece and Italy in 27th and 26th places, respectively, and Spain in 20th place. The gender employment gap in these four countries remains below the EU average (Yanatma, 2024). At the same time, these countries exhibit considerable income inequality, with Gini coefficients of 0.41 in Turkey, 0.33 in Greece, 0.35 in Italy, and 0.34 in Spain—all exceeding the OECD average. When the 27 EU member states and Türkiye are ranked according to the Gini coefficient, Greece ranks 17th, Spain 20th, Italy 24th and Türkiye 28th (Eurostat, 2025). When the 27 EU member countries and Türkiye are ranked in terms of GDP per capita, Italy ranks 12th, Spain 14th, Greece 21st and Türkiye 28th (Statista, 2025). These disparities have evolved over decades shaped by economic crises, structural reforms, and demographic shifts. Thus, evaluating the nexus between female employment and income inequality within these historical and institutional contexts is essential.

According to the World Bank Report (2012), gender equality strengthens economic efficiency and supports sustainable development through three main channels. First, it requires the removal of barriers limiting women's equal access to education, economic opportunities, and productive resources. Second, improvements in women's absolute and relative status generate positive spillover effects, particularly for child and family welfare. Finally, promoting women's participation in social and political spheres fosters more inclusive institutions and policy choices, thereby contributing to a more equitable development trajectory (World Bank, 2012).

Although relatively limited in number, empirical studies exploring the link between employment of women and income inequality are growing. Galor and Weil (1996) suggest that increased female labour participation can alleviate inequality by boosting overall household income. Conversely, Seguino (2000) cautions that the concentration of women in low-paying jobs may weaken this positive effect. Theoretical frameworks in macro studies posit that gender inequality affects growth via constrained skills formation and intergenerational spillovers. Excluding women from education narrows the skilled talent pipeline; conversely, greater female schooling yields externalities such as reduced fertility and better child human capital. Employment gaps operate through comparable pathways, albeit with complications arising from reverse causality. On balance, higher female labour force engagement enlarges the skilled labour pool and strengthens intra-household bargaining leverage for women, fostering gains in children's human capital (Costa et al., 2009). OECD (2017) findings also support a generally inverse relationship between women's workforce participation and inequality, although country-specific political and economic factors often mediate this connection.

This research aims to empirically assess the effect of female employment on income inequality using panel data covering the years 1991 to 2022 for Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain. In this study, income inequality is proxied by the Gini coefficient, which serves as the dependent variable, with the female employment rate serving as the key explanatory factor. Inflation and GDP per capita are incorporated as control variables to capture broader macroeconomic dynamics that may influence income distribution.

The model employed in this analysis positions the Gini index as a proxy for income inequality, and the female employment rate as the central variable of interest. Inflation and GDP per capita are also included as macroeconomic controls given their potential impact on distributional outcomes. The inflation-inequality nexus remains contested; while some studies argue that inflation disproportionately burdens lower-income households and worsens inequality (Bulíř & Gulde, 1995), others contend that it can, under certain circumstances, lead to redistributive effects. Similarly, the relationship between GDP per capita and inequality is often discussed within the framework of the Kuznets curve hypothesis (Kuznets, 1955), which posits a non-linear relationship over the course of development. Galor and Weil (1996) posit a feedback mechanism linking female labour-force engagement to development: as participation lifts household revenues, the resulting increase in savings augments capital intensity, thereby promoting economic growth. Kim and Lin (2023) argues that low inflation rates can encourage economic growth and thus can reduce income injustice with the opposite U -shaped Kuznets curve mechanism. However, unexpected high inflation rates will be adversely affected because people with low income levels cannot make portfolio diversification, and that the rich section can be protected from the negative effects of inflation by making a portfolio diversification. Therefore, high inflation rates may lead to an increase in income injustice.

The distinctive contribution of this study lies in its comparative, long-term panel analysis of four Mediterranean countries, encompassing significant historical periods such as the post-Cold War era, the acceleration of globalization, the 2008 global financial crisis, and the socio-economic disruptions brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. In doing so, it offers both theoretical insights and policy-oriented findings regarding the influence of women's labor force participation on income distribution.

Ultimately, integrating women into the labor force is crucial not only for gender equality but also for advancing a more equitable distribution of income and enhancing overall economic inclusion. Through a cross-national and longitudinal analysis of female employment's influence on income inequality, this research seeks to enrich academic understanding and guide informed policymaking. The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 1 introduces the theoretical background and the country context; Section 2 reviews the relevant literature; Section 3 details the data and methodology employed; and Section 4 presents the empirical findings alongside policy recommendations.

Literature Review

In recent years, academic interest in issues such as income inequality, poverty, and gender-based discrimination has grown steadily, with specific reference to the Sustainable Development Goals. This study situates itself within this growing body of research, aiming to evaluate the evolving relationship between women's employment and income inequality. In the following section, the relevant literature is reviewed, with a focus on both the direct association between the key variables and broader macroeconomic dynamics that may influence this relationship.

The first part of the literature review concentrates on empirical and theoretical studies that explore the nexus between women's employment and income distribution. A widely shared conclusion across much of this literature is that greater female participation in the workforce may contribute to a more equitable income distribution through its positive effect on household income levels (Gronau, 1982; Western et al., 2008). For instance, Winegarden (1987), in an analysis involving 50 countries, found that while an initial increase in female employment might lead to greater income inequality in the short term, further increases tend to exert a

balancing effect over time. Similarly, Gornick (2004) found that persistent wage disparities between men and women contribute to intra-household income inequality, even in high-income countries.

Ding et al. (2009) examined the implications of labour market reforms in China by comparing household survey data across two reform periods: 1988–1995 and 1995–2002. Their results indicate that retrenchments in the public sector during the late 1990s disproportionately affected women in low-income households, leading to a widening of income inequality. Costa et al. (2009) examine how gender disparities in the labour market relate to key economic outcomes (income growth, poverty, and inequality) using microsimulations for eight Latin American economies. The study operationalizes gender inequality along four dimensions: gaps in labour-force participation, differences in occupational status, wage discrimination, and disparities in observable characteristics. The results underscore the importance of gender equality, especially broader female access to the labour market, in reducing poverty and inequality. In another cross-country analysis, Harkness (2010) studied 17 OECD countries and reported a generally negative correlation between female employment and income inequality. While she acknowledges disparities within the female workforce itself—particularly between high- and low-skilled workers—the overall trend suggested a mitigating effect of female labour participation on inequality. In a cross-national analysis of 16 Western countries, Kollmeyer (2013) investigates the distributional consequences of recent changes in family formation and female labour-market participation. The central hypothesis posits countervailing effects: increases in women's employment reduce inequality, while growth in single-mother families elevates it. Estimates from two-way random-effects models substantiate this pattern, with findings resilient to controls for institutional features of labour markets, social policy regimes, and other structural characteristics.

Grotti and Scherer (2016) supported this finding in their study covering Denmark, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom, highlighting the role of women's employment in reducing inequality during the 1980s and 2000s. In Japan, Sudo (2017) showed that the initial rise in female employment temporarily increased income disparities, but over the longer term, helped to narrow the gap. Efobi et al. (2018) contend that expanding women's participation in the formal economy advances socio-economic outcomes on multiple fronts—most notably reducing poverty, driving structural transformation in labor markets, and enhancing women's welfare. Filandri and Struffolino (2019), through their study of 31 European countries, reached a similar conclusion—employed women play a significant role in alleviating inequality. Meanwhile, Asongu and Odhiambo (2019), focusing on 42 sub-Saharan African nations, demonstrated that worsening income inequality can, in turn, suppress female labour participation, suggesting a bidirectional relationship. They used both the Gini index and the Palma ratio to gauge inequality levels, offering a nuanced perspective on the issue. Segato (2021) examined the impact of female employment on individual and household income distribution for Italy. In Italy, despite regional differences, female employment continued to increase, with overall equalizing effects on household income distribution. In terms of socio-demographic changes, the decline in male-breadwinner households and the rise in single households contributed to the reduction of household income inequality. In the Italian case, part-time work may contribute to the reduction of inequality only in female-breadwinner households. Alfani et al. (2024), developed, developing and underdeveloped countries in groups of women's employment rate of participation in the relationship with income distribution. The results of the study show the validity of the opposite U -shaped curve, especially in developing countries. In other words, income injustice is negatively affected by this situation when women's employment rate increases to a certain point in developing countries.

Several scholars have expanded the analysis by linking gender inequality in employment to broader developmental outcomes. Thomas (1997), for example, showed that when women have greater control over household income, spending patterns shift significantly—more resources are allocated to health and nutrition, leading to improvements in child development indicators such as height and weight. These shifts in household dynamics are likely to produce long-term gains in human capital, ultimately contributing to sustainable economic growth.

Seguino (2000a, 2000b) emphasized that wage disparities between men and women not only perpetuate inequality but also limit a country's economic performance, especially under export-driven growth models where underutilized female labour represents a missed opportunity. Mammen and Paxson (2000) observed that in countries such as India and Thailand, increasing female employment was associated with falling fertility rates and narrowing educational gaps between genders. In contrast, Cavalcanti and Tavares (2007) argued that limited participation of women in the workforce contributes to higher fertility, which may obstruct long-term economic development. Klasen and Lamanna (2009), using a broad dataset spanning 1960 to 2000, concluded that gender gaps in education and employment significantly hindered economic growth in regions like the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia.

Lee et al. (2012) took a more dynamic approach by employing a panel SVAR model to study the interaction among female employment, fertility, and economic growth in 23 countries. Their analysis revealed that variations in women's labor participation and fertility carry notable consequences for economic performance, particularly in the European Union, where the effects are stronger than in East Asian nations. Tsani et al. (2013) examine Southern Mediterranean economies using a two-stage strategy that combines econometric estimation with a computable general equilibrium framework to study the link between women's labour-force participation and economic growth. The econometric projections validate a U-shaped relationship and reveal region-specific constraints. These estimates are then fed into the CGE model to simulate how shifts in incomes and in female participation rates affect the economy. The simulations suggest that additional income yields only marginal gains in output, whereas higher female participation can exert a sizeable positive effect on growth. Yıldırım and Akıncı (2021) examined the impact of women's employment with per capita income in countries with moderate income levels between 2001-2016. The results of the study reveal a U -shaped relationship in middle income countries. In other words, women's employment increases as the income level increases.

Beyond income distribution and economic growth, the literature has also explored how macroeconomic variables such as inflation interact with female labour market participation. Niemi and Lloyd (1981), in a study covering the period between 1956 and 1977 in the United States, found that rising inflation rates encouraged greater female workforce participation, as households sought to compensate for declining purchasing power. Robu (2020) argued that increasing women's income could stimulate aggregate demand and eventually fuel inflation in the long run. Koyuncu and Okşak (2021) studied the Turkish context between 1990 and 2019 and similarly concluded that inflation had a long-run positive effect on women's labour force entry. Al Marhubi (2023), examining anti-discrimination laws across 117 countries from 1970 to 2019, noted that inclusive legal frameworks could moderate inflationary trends, possibly through their influence on broader labour market dynamics.

Dataset and Methodology

In the study, three European Union member states (Greece, Italy, and Spain) and Turkey, an EU candidate, were selected as sample countries. The reasons for selecting these countries are as follows; The introduction section presented data on variables such as Gini coefficients and female employment rates for Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain. As can be observed from this data, these countries have similar rates and rankings. Furthermore, these countries were specifically selected due to their similar socioeconomic and demographic profiles, as well as their shared exposure to regional economic dynamics such as EU integration processes, demographic transitions, and gender-related labor market challenges.

To investigate the relationship between female employment and income inequality, the analysis incorporates a set of macroeconomic indicators: the Gini index**,** the female employment rate**,** inflation and GDP per capita.

The dataset covers the period from 1991 to 2022, using annual data for each variable across the four countries. This extended time frame allows for the observation of long-term trends and the potential effects of major economic and policy shifts, such as the 2008 global financial crisis and recent developments in the 2020s. Table 1 presents comprehensive definitions and descriptions of all variables employed in the empirical analysis.

Table 1

Detailed Information About Variables

Variable Name	Description	Source
Gini	Gini Index calculated by Disposable Income	SWIID
Womanemployment	Employment to population ratio, 15+, female (%) (modeled ILO estimate)	World Bank/ WDI
GDP	GDP per capita growth (annual %)	World Bank/ WDI
CPI	Inflation, consumer prices (annual %)	World Bank/ WDI
HDI	Human Development Index	UNDP/ HDR

Note. Created by the author

The core objective of the study is to assess the impact of female employment on income distribution within the selected Mediterranean countries—Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain. To this end, an econometric model was developed in which income inequality serves as the dependent variable. The female employment rate is designated as the main explanatory variable.

In order to better isolate the effect of women's employment on income distribution, three macroeconomic control variables were incorporated into the model; Inflation rate, which may disproportionately affect lower-income groups and thereby influence income inequality, GDP per capita, which reflects the level of economic development and has long been debated in the context of the Kuznets hypothesis regarding inequality. In addition, the human development index, calculated with factors such as education, health and income, was included in the model because it contains elements that can positively affect women's employment.

Given the longitudinal and cross-sectional nature of the data (covering four countries over a 32-year period), a panel data analysis technique was deemed appropriate. This approach allows for the control of unobserved heterogeneity across countries and improves the robustness of causal inferences by leveraging both time-series and cross-sectional variation.

Descriptive statistics for all variables included in the model are presented in Table 2, offering insights into the central tendencies and dispersion characteristics of the dataset. The baseline econometric model formulated for the analysis is as follows:

$$Gini_t = \alpha_0 + \beta_1 Womenemployment + \beta_2 GDP + \beta_3 CPI + \beta_4 HDI + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Gini	128	35.0835	3.6579	31	42.7
Womenemployment	128	71.9217	28.2054	20.5281	100
GDP	128	2.1081	4.1254	-10.9400	11.4394
CPI	128	11.3207	21.6010	-1.7358	105.215
HDI	123	0.8248	0.0784	0.602	0.912

Note. It was produced with the Stata package program.

The descriptive analysis of the dataset provides preliminary insights into the nature and variability of the variables across countries and over time. The average Gini coefficient across the four countries is calculated as 35.08, with values ranging from a minimum of 31 to a maximum of 42.7. This distribution reflects a moderate to high degree of income inequality among the selected Mediterranean countries throughout the 1991–2022 period.

The female employment rate exhibits considerable variation, with an average of 71.92% and a standard deviation of 28.21. This high level of dispersion suggests notable inter-country and temporal differences. It is plausible that this variation is largely driven by Turkey's relatively lower women's labour force participation during much of the observed period. Spain stands out as the country with a 100% female employment rate in 2021 and 2022.

In terms of macroeconomic conditions, the average annual GDP per capita growth rate stands at 2.11%, fluctuating between -10.94% and 11.44%. This wide range highlights the occurrence of significant economic cycles, including recessions and rapid expansions, within the study timeframe. Similarly, the inflation rate shows substantial variability, with an average of 11.32%, but ranging from negative values (deflation) to episodes where inflation exceeded 100%. This sharp volatility, particularly evident in Turkey's economic history, underscores the macroeconomic heterogeneity of the sample.

Collectively, the descriptive statistics underscore the importance of conducting rigorous econometric analysis to explore potential relationships among the variables, particularly the impact of female employment on income inequality. The pronounced variation in key indicators suggests that the underlying dynamics may differ significantly across countries and over time.

Prior to estimating long-term relationships, evaluating the stationarity characteristics of the time series is crucial. This step is critical for selecting appropriate cointegration methods and avoiding spurious regression results. In addition, the presence of cross-sectional dependence—i.e., correlation across countries—must be examined to determine the most

suitable unit root test. Neglecting cross-sectional interdependencies could lead to biased or inefficient test outcomes.

Accordingly, the study first tests for cross-sectional dependence across the variables. The outcomes of these diagnostic tests conducted both for individual variables and the overall model are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Cross-Sectional Dependency Test Results

Test	Gini	Womenemployment	GDP	CPI	HDI
Breusch-Pagan LM	18.99107 (0.0042)	59.9664 (0.0000)	67.9827 (0.0000)	110.8740 (0.0000)	179.2428 (0.0000)
Pesaran scaled LM	3.7508 (0.0002)	15.578 (0.0000)	17.8929 (0.0000)	30.2745 (0.0000)	50.0109 (0.0000)
Pesaran CD	1.5232 (0.1278)	5.01588 (0.0000)	6.7288 (0.0000)	10.3733 (0.0000)	13.3839 (0.0000)

Note. It was produced with the Stata package program.

The initial step in the econometric analysis involves assessing whether the variables exhibit cross-sectional dependence, which refers to the existence of correlation among the countries in the panel. Formally, the null hypothesis H_0 posits no cross-sectional dependence, while the alternative hypothesis H_1 asserts the presence of interdependence among the cross-sectional units.

Based on the results of various diagnostic tests, the null hypothesis is rejected for all variables—except for the Gini coefficient under the Pesaran CD test. This outcome suggests that, in general, the variables are not cross-sectionally independent, and country-specific shocks or structural similarities may be influencing the data in a correlated manner.

These findings highlight the need to adopt second-generation panel unit root tests, which are designed to account for such cross-sectional dependencies. Unlike first-generation tests that assume independence across units, second-generation tests provide more reliable inference by adjusting for contemporaneous correlation that may otherwise bias the results (Şak, 2015)

Given that the panel dataset has a larger time dimension (T) relative to the cross-sectional dimension (N = 4), this study employs the CADF panel unit root test developed by Pesaran (2007). The CADF approach is particularly suitable in small-N, large-T panels, and corrects for cross-sectional dependence by including the cross-sectional averages of the dependent and lagged dependent variables in the regression framework.

CADF Panel Unit Root Test: Theoretical Rationale and Implementation

Evaluating the stationarity of variables is a critical initial step in panel data econometrics, as the presence of non-stationary series can produce misleading regression outcomes and invalid inferences. Although first-generation unit root tests—such as those introduced by Levin, Lin, and Chu (2002) and Im, Pesaran and Shin (2003)—are commonly used in empirical analyses, they are based on the restrictive assumption that cross-sectional

units are independent of one another. When this assumption is violated—due, for instance, to regional economic convergence or global shocks—the validity of their results becomes questionable.

To address this issue, Pesaran (2007) introduced the CADF test, a second-generation unit root procedure specifically designed to accommodate cross-sectional dependence in panel datasets. The test augments the conventional ADF regression for each cross-section by including the cross-sectional averages of the dependent variable and its lagged values, thereby capturing unobserved common factors that may induce correlation among units.

The key strength of the CADF approach lies in its ability to maintain robustness in the presence of cross-sectional correlation, which often arises in macroeconomic analyses due to shared economic linkages or synchronized policy responses. By controlling for these common influences, the CADF test enhances the reliability of stationarity assessments, especially in panels where N is relatively small and T is large, as in the case of this study.

The CIPS statistic (Cross-sectionally Im, Pesaran and Shin), derived as the average of individual CADF statistics, provides a summary measure for the panel as a whole. Both the CADF and CIPS tests have gained considerable popularity in applied macroeconomic research for their flexibility and consistency in dynamic panel settings.

In this study, the CADF test was employed to evaluate the stationarity properties of all variables included in the model. The test statistics were computed for each variable individually using the following regression specification:

$$\Delta_{a0t} = x_i + y_i a_{it-1} + z_i \bar{a}_{t-1} + w_i \Delta \bar{a}_t + \varepsilon \quad (2)$$

$$\Delta_{ai} = (\Delta_{ai1}, \Delta_{ai2}, \dots\dots\dots\dots, \Delta_{aiT})', a_i, -1 = (a_{i0}, a_{i1} \dots\dots\dots a_i, T-1)' \quad (3)$$

The following hypotheses are tested with the t statistics calculated by these equations.

H_0: $a_i = 0$, the series is not stationary

H_1: $a_i < 0$, the series is stationary.

The CADF unit root test results for each variable generated from the above equations are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

CADF Unit Root Test Results

	At Level	
	Constant	**Constant+Trend**
Gini	**-2.842**	2.515
	(0.012)	(0.345)
Womenemployment	-1.521	-2.305
	(0.709)	(0.531)
GDP	**-3.171**	**-3.248**
	(0.002)	**(0.020)**
CPI	**-3.172**	**-3.627**

	(0.002)	(0.002)
HDI	-2.475 (0.070)	-3.074 (0.048)
	First Difference	
dGini	-2.918	-2.933
	(0.009)	(0.008)
Womenemployment	-2.475	-2.967
	(0.070)	(0.077)

Note. for models with constants, the critical values are -2.21 for 10%, -2.33 for 5% and -2.55 for 1%. For models with constants and trends, the critical values are -2.73 for 10%, -2.84 for 5% and -3.06 for 1%.
*** represents a 1% significance level, ** a 5% significance level and * a 10% significance level.

The t-statistics from the unit root tests performed on the variables were compared against the critical values provided by Pesaran (2007). The results indicated that the Gini index was stationary at level without any deterministic components, but it was non-stationary in models including a constant and a trend. Conversely, the female employment rate was found to be non-stationary in both models. The GDP, HDI and CPI variables, however, were stationary at level in both the model with only a constant and the model with a constant and trend. When first differences of the Gini index and female employment rate were taken, both variables became stationary at the 5% significance level across both model specifications. In summary, GDP, HDI and CPI were integrated of order zero, I(0), whereas the Gini index and woman employment rate were integrated of order one, I(1). This unit root test outcome justifies the application of the Panel ARDL method for cointegration analysis.

Panel ARDL Model

In panel data analysis, the varying orders of integration among variables necessitate selecting an appropriate econometric model. The Panel ARDL approach has become increasingly prominent in the literature because it accommodates both I(0) and I(1) variables within a unified modeling framework. This flexibility makes Panel ARDL particularly suitable for analyzing long-run relationships in datasets where variables exhibit different stationarity properties (Pesaran, Shin, & Smith, 1999).

This study employs an annual panel dataset comprising macroeconomic indicators such as the Gini index, the ratio of women to total employment, GDP per capita, CPI and HDI. Unit root testing revealed that GDP, HDI and CPI are stationary at level, whereas the Gini index and woman employment rate are stationary only after first differencing. Given that the variables are integrated at mixed orders, classical panel cointegration techniques—which assume uniform integration orders—are unsuitable. Accordingly, the Panel ARDL model offers an appropriate methodological alternative under these circumstances.

Panel ARDL's adaptable structure facilitates the simultaneous examination of short-term dynamics and long-term associations. Estimation techniques within this framework allow heterogeneity in short-run coefficients and error correction speeds across cross-sectional units (countries or entities), while potentially imposing restrictions on long-term coefficients. Among the estimation methods, the Mean Group (MG), Pooled Mean Group (PMG), and Dynamic Fixed Effects (DFE) estimators are most commonly applied (Pesaran, Shin, & Smith, 1999).

Table 5

Results of MG and DFE Estimator

Variables	MG	DFE
Womenemployment	-0.1163	-0.0162
	(0.0000)	(0.0980)
CPI	0.0560	0.0263
	(0.000)	(0.0000)
GDP	-0.0269	-0.0270
	(0.2853)	(0.1070)
HDI	9.1920	0.1788
	(0.0006)	(0.9280)
Heteroskedasticity	2.52	27.28
	(0.1150)	(0.0000)
Autocorrelation	1813.177	1106.59
	(0.0000)	(0.0001)
Hausman	129.58	
	(0.0000)	

Note. It was produced with the Stata package program.

Before estimating the panel ARDL model, the MG and DFE models were also estimated to check whether the variables and model used were free of heteroscedasticity and autocorrelation issues. The analyses revealed that the GDP variable was statistically insignificant, while the other variables were largely statistically significant. However, both models were found to have heteroscedasticity and autocorrelation issues. Therefore, the study employed a robust model that is resistant to clustering error terms. When the Hausman test statistics and prob. values were examined, it was determined that the random effects estimator was inconsistent and the fixed effects estimator was effective because the H_0 hypothesis was rejected.

In the Mean Group method, each panel unit is estimated individually, with the long-run estimates then averaged to obtain overall coefficients. This method assumes complete heterogeneity in both short-run and long-run coefficients across units (Pesaran & Smith, 1995).

In contrast, the Pooled Mean Group (PMG) estimator assumes that while short-run dynamics and speed of adjustment (error correction terms) may vary across units, the long-run cointegrating relationship is homogeneous and common to all units. Thus, the PMG approach allows generalization of the long-term equilibrium relationship to the entire panel. It also facilitates cointegration analysis by explicitly incorporating an error correction mechanism, which tests for the existence of long-run equilibrium between the variables (Blackburne & Frank, 2007).

The Panel ARDL model examining the relationship between the dependent and independent variables can be formally expressed as follows:

$$Gini_{it} = a_i + \sum_{p=1}^{4} \varphi_{ip}\, Gini_{i,t-p} + \sum_{q=0}^{4} \beta_{1iq}\, WEMP_{i,t-q} + \sum_{r=0}^{4} \beta_{2ir}\, Inf_{i,t-r} + \sum_{s=0}^{4} \beta_{3is}\, GDP_{i,t-s} + \sum_{s=0}^{4} \beta_{4is}\, HDI_{i,t-s} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (4)$$

In the equation, i represents the country index, t represents time, Gini represents the dependent variable, WEMP represents the female employment rate, Inf represents inflation, GDP represents GDP per capita and HDI represents human development index. In the presence

of a cointegration relationship, the following equation is used to determine the long-term relationship.

$$Gini_{it} = \gamma_{0i} + \gamma_{1i}WEMP_{it} + \gamma_{2i}Cpi_{it} + \gamma_{3i}Gdp_{it} + \gamma_{4i}Hdi_{it} + \mu_{it} \quad (5)$$

In Equation 5, the expression γ represents the long-term coefficients, while the expression μ_{it} represents the long-term error term.

A crucial assumption for the validity of Panel ARDL models is that none of the variables are integrated of order. This requirement stems from the fact that the ARDL methodology is only applicable to series integrated of order zero, or order one; the presence of I(2) variables violates the model's assumptions and can lead to inconsistent estimations (Nkoro & Uko, 2016). Since some variables in this study are stationary at level while others become stationary after first differencing, the necessary conditions for employing the Panel ARDL approach are satisfied.

Moreover, the Panel ARDL model facilitates both causality analysis and the dynamic modelling of shock transmission over time. In addition to estimating long-term parameters, the model facilitates the interpretation of the error correction term, which reflects the rate at which short-term disequilibria adjust back to long-run equilibrium. A negative and statistically significant coefficient on this term indicates the presence of a stable long-run cointegration relationship among the variables. The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) was used to determine the number of lags. Consequently, a model was created with lags PMG(1, 2, 1, 1, 2). The empirical findings derived from this model estimation are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

Panel ARDL (1, 2, 1, 1, 2) Results

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
	Long-run Coefficients			
WOMENEMPLOYMENT	-0.1169	0.0100	-11.6442	0.0000
CPI	0.0428	0.0044	9.6472	0.0000
GDP	-0.0266	0.0276	-0.9614	0.3383
HDI	10.0442	1.9704	37580	0.0003
	Short-run Coefficients			
EC	-0.1044	0.0543	-1.9231	0.0571
D(GINI)	0.5620	0.0763	7.3597	0.0000
D(WOMENEMPLOYMENT)	-0.0069	0.0078	-0.8014	0.4246
D(WOMENEMPLOYMENT(-1))	-0.0210	0.0078	-2.6946	0.0082
D(INFL)	-0.0385	0.0212	-1.8107	0.0729
D(GDP)	-0.0002	0.0190	-0.0146	0.9883
D(HDI)	-17.3281	20.6712	-0.8382	0.4037
D(HDI(-1))	4.3313	16.1403	0.2683	0.7889

Note. It was produced with the Stata package program.

According to the results presented in Table 6, the long-term coefficients of the GDP are not statistically significant, whereas the coefficients for HDI and CPI are significant. Specifically, the inflation rate exhibits a positive long-term effect on income inequality, with a 1% increase in inflation leading to a 0.04% increase in the Gini index. In contrast, womenemployment has a negative long-term impact, where a 1% increase in woman employment corresponds to a 0.11% reduction in income inequality.

Findings from the short-term dynamics indicate a negative and significant error correction term, suggesting that the system converges toward long-run equilibrium. The

coefficient value suggests that approximately 10% of the disequilibrium is corrected within one year, implying that the model converges back to equilibrium over a period of around five years and eight months.

While GDP and HDI does not have a statistically significant short-term effect, the lagged first differences of the Gini index and female employment rate both exert statistically significant influences. Notably, the negative short-term coefficient of female employment implies that increases in female employment contribute to a partial reduction in income inequality in the short run.

Panel Granger Causality Analysis

In empirical research employing panel datasets, investigating the causal relationships between variables is essential for formulating effective policy recommendations. Panel Granger Causality Analysis represents an extension of the conventional Granger causality test for time series data, adapted to accommodate both temporal and cross-sectional dimensions inherent in panel data structures (Dumitrescu & Hurlin, 2012).

Under the Granger causality framework, X Granger-causes Y when lagged observations of X improve forecasts of Y more than using only Y's own previous values. (Granger, 1969). Importantly, this notion of causality reflects improvements in forecast accuracy rather than implying a deterministic causal mechanism.

Before conducting panel Granger causality tests, it is critical to establish the stationarity properties of the variables involved. Applying Granger causality tests directly to non-stationary variables may yield spurious or misleading results (Toda & Yamamoto, 1995). Therefore, unit root testing should precede causality analysis to ensure stationarity. For variables that are non-stationary but cointegrated, Granger causality testing should be implemented within an error correction model (VECM) framework to capture both short-run dynamics and long-run equilibrium relationships (Engle & Granger, 1987).

In this study, the Panel Granger Causality Analysis is applied to an annual panel dataset to examine the causal interactions between the Gini index, female employment rate, GDP, and inflation rate. This approach enables identification of unidirectional or bidirectional causal links, particularly focusing on whether female employment has a causal effect on income inequality.

The findings of the Panel Granger Causality analysis provide valuable insights for policymakers by clarifying the causal impact of female employment on income distribution. Moreover, these results contribute to a deeper understanding of the indirect channels through which female labor participation may influence economic growth and price stability. The detailed empirical outcomes of this causality analysis are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7

Panel Granger Causality Analysis Results

H_0	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.
WOMENEMPLOYMENT does not Granger Cause GINI	120	3.2815	0.0411
GINI does not Granger Cause WOMENEMPLOYMENT		4.3062	0.0157
INFL does not Granger Cause GINI	120	0.0347	0.9658
GINI does not Granger Cause INFL		2.6158	0.0774
HDI does not Granger Cause GINI	120	0.8356	0.4361
GINI does not Granger Cause HDI		0.1012	0.9037
GDP does not Granger Cause GINI	120	0.5468	0.5802
GINI does not Granger Cause GDP		4.2264	0.0169
INFL does not Granger Cause WOMENEMPLOYMENT	120	2.0203	0.1372
WOMENEMPLOYMENT does not Granger Cause INFL		2.6417	0.0755
HDI does not Granger Cause WOMENEMPLOYMENT	120	0.9454	0.3915
WOMENEMPLOYMENT does not Granger Cause HDI		2.0476	0.1337
GDP does not Granger Cause WOMENEMPLOYMENT	120	0.0688	0.9335
WOMENEMPLOYMENT does not Granger Cause GDP		4.4853	0.0133
HDI does not Granger Cause INFL	120	0.0755	0.9273
INFL does not Granger Cause HDI		5.4774	0.0053
GDP does not Granger Cause INFL	120	5.7425	0.0041
INFL does not Granger Cause GDP		0.8123	0.4463
GDP does not Granger Cause HDI	120	3.7660	0.0260
HDI does not Granger Cause GDP		2.9097	0.0585

Note. It was produced with the Stata package program.

The analysis reveals a bidirectional Granger causality between woman employment rates and Gini coefficient. This finding suggests a reciprocal relationship, whereby changes in woman employment influence income distribution, and conversely, variations in income inequality affect female employment levels. Inflation, however, does not appear to Granger-cause income inequality, although there is limited evidence suggesting that income inequality may have some influence on inflation.

Regarding GDP, the results indicate that economic growth does not Granger-cause income inequality, yet income inequality is found to Granger-cause GDP. Similarly, inflation has no significant causal effect on female employment, while there is some indication that female employment may exert a limited causal influence on inflation.

Furthermore, economic growth does not seem to causally explain female employment, whereas the female employment rate has a significant causal effect on GDP. Lastly, GDP is found to Granger-cause inflation, but inflation does not Granger-cause GDP. A bidirectional causality relationship is observed between GDP and HDI at 10% and 5% significance levels.

Conclusion

This study investigated the impact of female employment rates on Gini index using panel data from Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain. Analysis using the panel ARDL model revealed that female employment has a statistically significant long-run effect on the Gini index. Furthermore, one-lagged increases in female employment in the short run contribute to a decline in the Gini index. These results are consistent with the studies of Costa et al. (2009) and Asongu and Odhiambo (2019). The results indicate that long-run inflation worsens the Gini index and tends to lower the HDI.

The Panel Granger Causality analysis further demonstrated a bidirectional causal relationship between female employment and Gini index, highlighting the significant role of women's economic participation in shaping social inequalities. A weak causal effect of Gini index on inflation was also identified at the 10% significance level, suggesting that social inequalities may indirectly influence economic growth through price pressures or demand-side imbalances, although this requires further investigation. The result encountered here is parallel to the study of Robu (2020). The observed unidirectional causality from Gini index to GDP implies that inequality can impact economic growth, potentially through mechanisms such as consumption, investment, or social cohesion.

The effect of female employment on inflation was found to be weak, which may indicate that employment growth generates an indirect price effect via increased consumption demand. Notably, female employment was shown to have a significant positive causal effect on GDP, underscoring the macroeconomic importance of gender equality for economic growth. The bidirectional relationship between HDI and GDP shows that positive developments in education, health and income can contribute to the economic growth of the country and this contribution can increase the human development index again. Finally, GDP was found to Granger-cause inflation but not vice versa, suggesting that increases in production and income influence price levels, particularly during demand-driven growth periods.

The findings for Turkey, Greece, Italy, and Spain highlight the necessity of policies that enhance female labor force participation while addressing income inequality, inflation, and broader human development outcomes. Increasing women's employment is a common challenge across these countries, but the policy priorities differ according to structural conditions. In Turkey, low female labor force participation combined with high inflation reduces household welfare and amplifies income inequality. Publicly funded childcare, flexible work arrangements, and targeted vocational training can strengthen women's access to formal employment and mitigate distributional gaps. In Greece, female participation remains below the EU average despite declining unemployment. Internship and hiring subsidies for young women, together with measures that formalize and stabilize female employment in the tourism sector, would support both equity and sustainable growth. Well-targeted social transfers could further accelerate improvements in the Gini coefficient. Italy faces a dual challenge of low female employment and demographic aging. Tax and contribution incentives for working mothers, combined with public investments in the care economy, can boost female participation while addressing regional disparities, particularly in the South. Spain performs relatively better in terms of female labor participation, yet high housing and living costs hinder stable integration of young women into the labor market. Affordable housing schemes and family support programs, complemented by leadership and mentoring initiatives that advance women into senior positions, would reduce structural inequality. Overall, policy experiences across these countries suggest that childcare provision, inflation-indexed social transfers, vocational training, and female entrepreneurship support are critical instruments to promote inclusive

growth. By aligning labor market reforms with gender-sensitive strategies, governments can simultaneously foster economic growth, lower income inequality, and enhance human development.

This study has several limitations. The model includes a limited set of macroeconomic variables, omitting potentially influential factors such as education levels and sectoral employment composition. Furthermore, the use of annual data may limit the analysis of short-term dynamics. Future research is recommended to explore these relationships in greater depth using more granular datasets and micro-level analyses.

References

Alfani, F., Clementi, F., Fabiani, M., Molini, V., & Valentini, E. (2024). Does gender equality in labor participation bring equality? Evidence from developing and developed countries, *Empirical Economics*, *67*(1), 289-311.

Al Marhubi, F. (2023). Impact of gender discrimination laws on ınflation: Evidence from panel data, *International Advances in Economic Research*, *29*(3), 99-109. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11294-023-09877-8

Asongu, S., & Odhiambo, N. (2020). Inequality and the economic participation of women in sub-Saharan Africa: An empirical investigation. *African Journal of Economic and Management Studies*, *11*(2), 193-206. https://doi.org/10.1108/AJEMS-01-2019-0016

Blackburne, E. F., & Frank, M. W. (2007). Estimation of nonstationary heterogeneous panels. *Stata Journal*, *7*(2), 197–208. https://doi.org/10.1177/1536867X0700700204

Bue, M. C. L., Le, T. T. N., Silva, M. S., & Sen, K. (2022). Gender and vulnerable employment in the developing world: Evidence from global microdata. *World Development*, *159*, 106010. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.106010

Bulíř, A., & Gulde, A. M. (1995, August 1). *Inflation and income distribution: Further evidence on empirical links*. IMF Working Paper, WP/95/86. https://www.kisa.link/KdmZE https://doi.org/10.5089/9781451850826.001

Cavalcanti, T., & Tavares, J. (2007, September). *The output cost of gender discrimination: A model-based macroeconomic estimate,* CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP6477, SSRN. https://ssrn.com/abstract=1138590

Costa, J., Silva, E., & Vaz, F. (2009, April). *The role of gender inequalities in explaining income growth, poverty and inequality: evidence from Latin American countries.* (Working Paper No. 52). International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG)

Ding Sai, Xiao-yuan Dong & Shi Li (2009) Women's employment and family ıncome ınequality during China's economic transition, *Feminist Economics*, *15*(3), 163-190, https://doi.org/10.1080/13545700802526541

Dumitrescu, E. I., & Hurlin, C. (2012). Testing for Granger non-causality in heterogeneous panels. *Economic Modelling*, *29*(4), 1450–1460. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econmod.2012.02.014

Efobi, U., Asongu, S., Okafor, C., Tchamyou, V. & Tanankem, B. (2019), Remittances, finance and industrialisation in Africa , *Journal of Multinational FinancialManagement*, *49*, 54-66. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.mulfin.2019.02.002

Eurostat (2025). *Living conditions in Europe- income distribution and income inequality.* Retrived August 25, 2025 from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Living_conditions_in_Europe_-_income_distribution_and_income_inequality

Filandri, M., & Struffolino, E. (2019). Individual and household in-work poverty in Europe: understanding the role of labor market characteristics. *European Societies*, *21*(1), 130-157. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2018.1536800

Galor, O., & Weil, D. N. (1996). The gender gap, fertility, and growth. *American Economic Review*, *86*(3), 374–387. https://doi.org/doi.10.3386/w4550

Gonzales, M. C., Jain-Chandra, M. S., Kochhar, M. K., Newiak, M. M., & Zeinullayev, M. T. (2015, October). *Catalyst for change: Empowering women and tackling income inequality*. International Monetary Fund. https://www.kisa.link/lIHXh

Gornick, J. C. (2004). Women's economic outcomes, gender inequality and public policy: findings from the Luxembourg Income Study. *Socio-Economic Review*, *2*(2), 213-238. https://doi.org/10.1093/soceco/2.2.213

Granger, C. W. J. (1969). Investigating causal relations by econometric models and cross-spectral methods. *Econometrica*, *37*(3), 424–438. https://doi.org/10.2307/1912791

Gronau, R. (1982). Inequality of family income: do wives' earnings matter?. *Population and Development Review*, *8*, 119-136. https://doi.org/10.2307/2808109

Grotti, R., & Scherer, S. (2016). Does gender equality increase economic inequality? Evidence from five countries. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, *45*, 13-26. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2016.06.001

Harkness, S. (2010, June). *The contribution of women's employment and earnings to household income inequality: A cross-country analysis.* LIS Working Paper Series No. 531. Luxembourg Income Study (LIS). https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/95534

Im, K. S., Pesaran, M. H., & Shin, Y. (2003). Testing for unit roots in heterogeneous panels. *Journal of Econometrics*, *115*(1), 53-74. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4076(03)00092-7

Karabıyık, İ. (2012). Türkiye'de çalışma hayatında kadın istihdamı. *Marmara Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, *32*(1), 231-260.

Kim, D. H., & Lin, S. C. (2023). Income inequality, inflation and financial development. *Journal of Empirical Finance*, *72*, 468-487.

Klasen, S., & Lamanna, F. (2009). The impact of gender inequality in education and employment on economic growth: new evidence for a panel of countries. *Feminist Economics*, *15*(3), 91-132. https://doi.org/10.1080/13545700902893106

Kollmeyer, C. (2013). Family structure, female employment, and national income inequality: A cross-national study of 16 western countries. *European Sociological Review*, *29*(4), 816-827.

Koyuncu, C., & Okşak, Y. (2021). Does more ınflation mean more female labor force participation?: The case of Turkey. *Balkan and Near Eastern Journal of Social Sciences*, *7*(2). 115-123

Kuznets, S. (1955). Economic growth and income inequality. *American Economic Review*, *45*(1), 1–28.

Lee, J. H., Lim, E. S., & Hwang, J. (2012). Panel SVAR model of women's employment, fertility, and economic growth: A comparative study of East Asian and EU countries. *The Social Science Journal*, *49*(3), 386-389. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2012.01.006

Levin, A., Lin, C. F., & Chu, C. S. J. (2002). Unit root tests in panel data: asymptotic and finite-sample properties. *Journal of Econometrics*, *108*(1), 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0304-4076(01)00098-7

Mammen, K., & Paxson, C. (2000). Women's work and economic development. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *14*(4), 141-164. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.14.4.141

Niemi, B. T., & Lloyd, C. B. (1981). Female labor supply in the context of inflation. *The American Economic Review*, *71*(2), 70-75.

Nkoro, E., & Uko, A. K. (2016). Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) cointegration technique: Application and interpretation. *Journal of Statistical and Econometric Methods*, *5*(4), 63–91.

OECD. (2017). *The Pursuit of Gender Equality: An Uphill Battle*. OECD Publishing.

Pesaran, M. H. (2007). A simple panel unit root test in the presence of cross-section dependence. *Journal of Applied Econometrics*, *22*(2), 265–312. https://doi.org/10.1002/jae.951

Pesaran, M. H., & Smith, R. (1995). Estimating long-run relationships from dynamic heterogeneous panels. *Journal of Econometrics*, *68*(1), 79–113. https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4076(94)01644-F

Pesaran, M. H., Shin, Y., & Smith, R. J. (1999). Pooled mean group estimation of dynamic heterogeneous panels. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *94*(446), 621–634. https://doi.org/10.1080/01621459.1999.10474156

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Harvard University Press.

Robu, M. (2020, December). *Women unemployment driven by the inflation*. CSIE Working Papers, Center for Studies in European Integration (CSEI), Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova (ASEM), (16), 78-85.

Segato, F. (2021, June 15). *Female labour force participation and household income inequality in Italy*. MPRA Paper No. 108280, https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/108280/

Seguino, S. (2000a). Accounting for gender in asian economic growth. *Feminist Economics*, *6*(3): 27–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/135457000750020128

Seguino, S. (2000b). Gender ınequality and economic growth: A cross-country analysis. *World Development 28*(7): 1211–30. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(00)00018-8

Statista, (2025, June 24). *Gross domestic product per capita in the European Union in 2024, by member state*, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1373462/gdp-per-capita-eu-member-states-2024/

Sudo, N. (2017). The effects of women's labor force participation: An explanation of changes in household income inequality. *Social Forces*, *95*(4), 1427-1450. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sox011

Şak, N. (2015). Panel Birim Kök Testleri. İçinde S.Güriş (Ed.), *Stata ile Panel Veri Modelleri* (ss.203-264). Der Yayınları

Thomas, D. (1997). Incomes, expenditures and health outcomes: Evidence on ıntrahousehold resource allocation, in L. J. Haddad, J. Hoddinott, & H. Alderman (Ed.), *Intrahousehold*

Resource Allocation in Developing Countries, (pp. 142–64). Johns Hopkins University Press.

Toda, H. Y., & Yamamoto, T. (1995). Statistical inference in vector autoregressions with possibly integrated processes. *Journal of Econometrics*, *66*(1-2), 225–250. https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4076(94)01616-8

Tsani, S., Paroussos, L., Fragiadakis, C., Charalambidis, I., & Capros, P. (2013). Female labour force participation and economic growth in the South Mediterranean countries. *Economics Letters*, *120*(2), 323-328.

UNDP (2025), *Human development index*. Retrived September 07, 2025, from https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/human-development-index#/indicies/HDI

Western, B., Bloome, D., & Percheski, C. (2008). Inequality among American families with children, 1975 to 2005. *American Sociological Review*, *73*(6), 903-920. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122408073006

Winegarden, C. R. (1987). Women's labour force participation and the distribution of household incomes: evidence from cross-national data. *Economica*, *54,* 223-236. https://doi.org/10.2307/2554392

World Bank (2012). *World development report 2012: Gender equality and development*. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/4391

World Bank. (2025). *World development indicators*. retrived June 07, 2025, from https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators

Yanatma, S. (2024, March 3). Gender pay gap: There is only one country in Europe that pays women more than man. *Euronews.* https://www.euronews.com/next/2024/12/14/gender-pay-gap-in-europe-how-do-countries-compare-on-narrowing-the-divide

Yenilmez, M. İ. (2015). Female employment and gender inequalıty: Challenges and opportunıtıes in Turkey. *Hacettepe University Journal of Economics & Administrative Sciences/Hacettepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, *26*(1),131-148.

Yıldırım, D. Ç., & Akinci, H. (2021). The dynamic relationships between the female labour force and the economic growth. *Journal of Economic Studies*, *48*(8), 1512-1527.

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The author declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The author have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci S.G., Data Collection/Verilerin Toplanması S.G, Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması S.G., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci S.G.

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 305-341

First Submission: 08.07.2025
Revised Submission After Review: 21.09.2025
Accepted For Publication: 28.09.2025
Available Online Since: 30.09.2025

Research Article

The Construction of Citizenship Imagination and İdeological Apparatuses in the Early Republican Period

Barış Kandeğer[a]

Abstract

Introduction: This article reveals the multifaceted role of ideological apparatuses in constructing citizenship as envisioned by the founding authority of the Early Republican regime.

Method: A historical analysis was employed in relation to the scope of the subjectand primary and secondary sources concerning imagined citizenship during the Early Republican Period were selected and analyzed.

Results or Findings: During this period, ideological apparatuses played a multifaceted role in constructing imagined citizenship, strengthening the Republican regime, building a modern nation-state on solid foundationsand establishing the intellectual and practical infrastructure for a modern, civilized life compatible with the Republic.

Discussion or Conclusions: During this period, imagined citizenship was conceived and attempted to be realized within an identity capable of modernization and development. This identity was aligned with positivist and secular thought and belonged to the regime within the field of action created by ideological Apparatuses. During this period, political authority made ideological apparatuses functional in a broad, multifaceted way within a framework of political subjects in order to construct citizenship.

Keywords: citizenship, early republican period, ideological apparatuses, People's Houses, Village Institutes

JEL Codes: Z00, Z18, K3, K100, K190

[a]Asst. Prof. Dr., Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Van/Türkiye. E-mail: bkandeger@yyu.edu.tr , ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9996-3813 (Corresponding Author)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

JATSS, 2025; 7(3), 305-341

İlk Başvuru: 08.07.2025
Düzeltilmiş Makalenin Alınışı: 21.09.2025
Yayın İçin Kabul Tarihi:28.09.2025
Online Yayın Tarihi: 30.09.2025

Araştırma Makalesi

Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Yurttaşlık Muhayyilesi ve İdeolojik Araçlar ile İnşası

Barış Kandeğer[a]

Öz

Giriş: Bu makale, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde rejimin kurucu otoritesinin tahayyül ettiği yurttaşlığın inşa edilmesinde ideolojik araçların çok yönlü işlevselliğini görünür hale getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Yöntem: Çalışmada konunun kapsamı ile ilişkili olarak tarihsel analiz yöntemi kullanılmış, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde tahayyül edilen yurttaşlığa ilişkin birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar seçilmiş ve analiz edilmiştir.

Sonuçlar ya da Bulgular: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde ideolojik araçlar; hem tahayyül edilen yurttaşlığın inşa edilmesi hem de Cumhuriyet rejiminin güçlü kılınması, modern ulus devletin sağlam temeller üzerine inşa edilmesi, Cumhuriyet ile uyumlu modern ve medeni bir yaşamın düşünsel ve eylemsel altyapısının sağlam temeller üzerine kurulması için çok yönlü ve geniş içerikte bir işlevselliğe sahiptir.

Tartışma ya da Yapılan Çıkarımlar: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde tahayyül edilen yurttaşlık, ideolojik araçların oluşturmuş olduğu eylemsellik alanında rejime aidiyeti olan, Cumhuriyetin ideallerine ulaşma kapasitesine sahip, pozitivist ve seküler düşünce ile eklemlenmiş bir modernleşme ve kalkınmayı gerçekleştirmeye muktedir bir kimliğin içinde öngörülür ve gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılır. Bu dönemde siyasal otorite/iktidar, ideolojik araçları geniş bir içerikte ve çok yönlü olarak politik bir özne çerçevesinde yurttaşlığı inşa edecek şekilde işlevsel kılar.

Anahtar Kelimler: yurttaşlık, erken cumhuriyet dönemi, ideolojik araçlar, Halkevleri, Köy Enstitüleri

JEL Kodlar: Z00, Z18, K3, K100, K190

[a] Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, Van/Türkiye. E-mail: bkandeger@yyu.edu.tr, ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9996-3813 (Sorumlu Yazar)

This article has been scanned for plagiarism with iThenticate, © Copyright 2025 Journal of Applied and Theoretical Social Sciences

Introduction

The emergence of the modern state reshapes many political phenomena through a new paradigm. The modern state marks a shift from fragmented power to centralized, absolute authority. It is a key force in transforming political, economicand social conditions. As its institutions develop, the state's roles and functions in society align with its structure. Citizenship is one such phenomenon, defined in the context of the modern state. It includes duties, rightsand freedomsand helps form a national community. The 18th and 19th centuries saw the dominance of the modern state, marked by clear territory, sovereigntyand state monopoly on violence. This identity is built on foundations like sovereignty, citizenship, bureaucracy, taxationand legitimacy (Weber, 2006; Poggi, 2009; Heywood, 2018; Saygılı, 2010; Pierson, 2000). The modern state emerged first in Europe. In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire began reforms to adopt this model, mirroring changes in Europe.

The solution to the Late Ottoman problems was building a modern state and establishing citizenship. Adopting this new state paradigm made citizenship necessary. In the 19th-century Ottoman Empire, citizenship became inseparable from the idea of a modern state. Empires attempted to define citizenship on equal terms due to political and social pressures, which fit modernization goals. As a result, the Ottoman Empire combined different identities into an egalitarian Ottoman identity in the 19th century. A traditional Muslim approach still dominated, yet non-Muslims enjoyed specific rights under their own laws through the millet system. This did not fundamentally conflict with the new citizenship identity. The reason was that these rights and freedoms, protected by autonomy, were now included in the Ottoman identity on an equal basis to foster belonging.

With the Tanzimat and Constitutional reforms, there were attempts to build both a modern state and the citizenship such a state needed. This process deepened during the Early Republican Period. Citizenship became part of creating a modern state and society. It describes the relationship between the state and individuals, defined by rights and responsibilities. In the modern nation-state, citizenship includes voting and enjoying political, economic, cultural and civil rights (Marshall, 1992). It is important to consider how citizenship fits into this idea. Citizenship took root with the Tanzimat reforms and grew during the Early Republican Period. Knowing what citizenship means and how it is defined is crucial. Examining this process through ideological apparatuses can help us understand citizenship from this era. ideological apparatuses were key in constructing citizenship both during the Tanzimat and Constitutional periods and the Early Republican era. Especially in the Second Constitutional Era, citizenship was shaped through education programs and curricula. Modern states used similar apparatuses. In France, for instance, educational policies aimed to instill citizenship (Üstel, 2008b).

This study examines how citizenship was constructed in the Early Republican Period using ideological Apparatuses. During the Tanzimat and Constitutional periods, educational reforms aimed to shape citizenship. In the Early Republican Period, institutions like People's Houses (Halkevleri) and Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüleri) became important apparatuses. These institutions combined educational, culturaland social aims. They worked together in complex ways to build citizenship as it was envisioned at the time. This study focuses specifically on the Early Republican Period. Earlier educational reforms, like curricula from the Second Constitutional Era, paved the way for this era. During this period, ideological

apparatuses began to build a national identity and connect citizens to the state. Turkish nationalist policies especially provided the foundation. In the Early Republican Period, these apparatuses continued to shape citizenship aligned with Republican ideals. This was largely done through institutions such as People's Houses and Village Institutes. Their broad and multifaceted use aimed to develop citizens as political actors.

During the Early Republican Period, the founding state employed a variety of ideological apparatuses to establish the desired citizenship identity for the Republic. One of the most important goals for political authority is a citizenship that breaks away from traditional codes and makes modern code possible in all areas of life. Therefore, it is considered necessary for citizens to first adopt and accept the regime, its founding values, modern formsand the ideas and approaches of a positivist, secular life in order to fulfill this mission. Within this framework, the founding state, elites, intellectualsand professionals of the Early Republican Period strove to construct the envisioned citizenship through the effective, multifaceted functions of ideological Apparatuses. In this process, populism contributes significantly to the construction of the aforementioned citizenship and the mission of ideological Apparatuses. A strong relationship and interaction are established between populist thought, which can be considered a discourse within the official ideology and ideological Apparatuses, which significantly affect the construction of a classless, privilege- free society. This is because populist thought draws the discursive and action-oriented framework of the multifaceted functions of ideological Apparatuses, such as People's Houses and Village Institutes. Ultimately, this ideology seeks to produce a collective identity of citizenship.

In this context, the article aims to analyze which ideological apparatuses were used to construct the imagined citizenship, what purposes they servedand the cause-and-effect relationship between the purpose and the apparatuses within the framework of the aforementioned period and phenomena. Within this scope, the study emphasizes that ideological apparatuses in the Early Republican Period had a multifaceted and broad functionality in both constructing the imagined citizenship and strengthening the Republican regime, building the modern nation-state on solid foundationsand establishing the intellectual and practical infrastructure of a modern and civilized life compatible with the Republic. In this study, primary and secondary sources related to the imagined citizenship of the Early Republican Period were selected and analyzed using historical analysis. In this context, the imagined citizenship is conceived and sought to be realized as an identity capable of achieving modernization and development through positivist and secular thought, aligned with the regime's ideological apparatuses and possessing the capacity to attain the ideals of the Republic. In this context, the article aims to analyze the ideological apparatuses used to construct imagined citizenship, their purposesand the cause-and-effect relationship between purpose and tool within the aforementioned period and phenomena. The study emphasizes that, during the Early Republican Period, ideological apparatuses had multifaceted functionality. They were used to construct imagined citizenship, strengthen the Republican regime, build the modern nation- state on solid foundationsand establish the intellectual and practical infrastructure of a modern, civilized life compatible with the Republic. For this study, primary and secondary sources related to the imagined citizenship of the Early Republican Period were selected and analyzed using content analysis.

The study covers the Early Republican Period, spanning the years 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. The study focuses on educational programs, textbooks, and course content designed during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly at the primary school level. Additionally, it examines

the ideological functions of the People's Houses and Village Institutes, which were established and operationalized in the 1930s and 1940s, in building citizenship. The educational programs and lessons address the anticipated functions of the People's Houses and Village Institutes in building citizenship. The imagined citizenship is conceived as an identity capable of achieving modernization and development through positivist and secular thought. This identity is aligned with the regime's ideological apparatuses and possesses the capacity to attain the ideals of the Republic.

The Historical and Theoretical Background of Citizenship

Citizenship is not just an expression of political affiliation or legal status. It is also a historically variable, philosophically multilayeredand socially constitutive relationship. Citizenship plays a fundamental role in defining the boundaries between the individual and the state, rights and obligationsand the private and public spheres. Citizenship establishes the basis for possessing and protecting certain rights while defining the normative framework that sets the limits of these rights. This dual nature elevates citizenship beyond a mere legal category, making it a signifier of political identity, ethical positioningand collective belonging. In this context, citizenship encompasses not only an individual's subordination to the state, but also their capacity for rational action directed toward the public good (Marshall, 1992; Arendt, 1998; Heater, 2004). Citizenship has emerged as a phenomenon whose meaning has evolved within the framework of political and social conditions. From antiquity to the Middle Ages and modern times, its meaning has been shaped by the nature of the relationship between rulers and the ruled.

In antiquity, especially in ancient Greek thought, the concept of citizenship was widely discussed and considered important and valuable. In the Athenian polis, citizenship was not just an identity, but a state of action. Citizens did not earn this status based on blood ties or residency; rather, they earned it through active participation in political life. Citizens participated in lawmaking processes, served on juries, served in the militaryand contributed to the continuity of the public sphere. According to this understanding, citizens represented collective reason rather than individuality. As Arendt emphasizes, in ancient Greece, citizenship was essentially associated with the capacity to be visible in the public sphere through action and speech (Arendt, 1998). In this context, citizenship meant existing within the polis (city-state). In other words, citizenship is not about existing within the private sphere, but rather about existing as a subject of the public sphere.

In Ancient Greece, the concept of citizenship went far beyond a mere legal status. It was a way of life in which individuals participated in the political community as integral parts of it. In Athens, citizenship was not only a right acquired by birth but also an obligation to actively participate. Women, slavesand metics were excluded from this status. Men with citizenship rights, however, participated directly in lawmaking processes, courtsand public affairs. This situation reinforced the concept of the polis, the organic bond between the individual and the political community, which lies at the heart of citizenship. In this model, citizens are not only subject to the laws, but also active participants in making and enforcing them. Athens's model of citizenship was based on direct democracy. Decisions made in popular assemblies, called ekklesiaand councils, called boule, were based on the collective will of all citizens. As Aristotle emphasized in his work Politics, citizenship is not merely a set of rights but also a set of duties (Aristoteles, 2011). Limiting oneself to the private sphere was considered a moral deficiency. In this context, citizenship became a moral obligation requiring citizens to participate in the public sphere.

Similar to Ancient Greece, citizenship in the Roman Empire expressed participation in political and public life (Heater, 2004). As in ancient Greece, citizenship and the public sphere were synonymous in the Roman Empire. In both societies, citizenship entailed a privileged identity. Roman law was evaluated based on public and private rights and responsibilities. A citizen's relationship with the public (Res Publica) was based on virtues and moral values that included rights and responsibilities (Ağaoğulları, 2015; Çelik, 2012). Citizenship is a matter of public law and the public sphere. Therefore, as a phenomenon belonging to the public sphere, citizenship expresses loyalty and a sense of responsibility to the state.

The centralization of the relationship between the individual and God has shaped Christianity's understanding of political community and deeply influenced the concept of citizenship. Unlike the active, public citizenship model of antiquity, Christianity is based on an ethical structure in which individuals are responsible to the divine order rather than worldly authorities. This understanding established an order in which earthly citizenship was subject to sacred authority. For example, Augustine distinguished between "the city of God (Civitas Dei)" and "the city of men (Civitas Terrena)" (Ağaoğluları, 2015). In this context, citizenship became a relationship of loyalty defined by servitude to God rather than a legal or political status. During this period, political authority was considered to have a divine originand earthly rulers were seen as "God's shadow on earth." Thus, citizenship became less a status of belonging and more a spiritual obligation defined by obedience and faith (Okandan, 1952; Çilingir, 2024; Çelik, 2022; Ağaoğulları, & Köker, 2020; Akgün, 2013). This situation limited the existence of free individuals in the public sphere, reducing their capacity to engage in politics. As a belief system centered on individual salvation, Christianity has abstracted citizenship from public participation, constructing it as a spiritual form of existence. Conversely, the blurred boundaries between church and state gradually transformed the concept of citizenship into a relationship of dual loyalty. Christian individuals were held accountable to both God and worldly authority. This dual allegiance weakened the holistic and active nature of citizenship, prioritizing moral loyalty over political participation. This approach distanced citizenship from political subjectivity, turning it into a relationship of obedient faith (Markus, 2006).

The French Revolution of 1789 was a turning point in the modern understanding of citizenship. One of the Revolution's foundational documents, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, defines citizenship as grounded in universal rights that are inherent at birth. Citizens are no longer subjects granted by the king's grace, but rather equal members of a nation composed of free individuals. Here, citizenship is the political expression of having rights and obligations. The Revolution symbolizes the transition from absolute monarchy to the nation-state structure by linking citizenship with collective sovereignty. During this period, Rousseau's concept of the "general will" was put into practice. However, post-revolutionary citizenship practices deviated from the ideal of universality. Women, the propertylessand people from the colonies were excluded from these rights. This situation reveals the tension between the discursive universality of citizenship and its historical practices. Nevertheless, the Revolution placed the concepts of "equality" and "rights" at the center of citizenship, laying the foundation for modern constitutional orders. Citizens are now subjects of law as well as political subjects. Within this framework, the French Revolution is considered the epistemological starting point of contemporary theories of citizenship (Çelik, 2012; Yıldırım, 2019; Ağaoğulları, 2015; Jones & Jones, 1995; Blaufarb, 1995).

Two traditions are emphasized based on their approach to citizenship. The republican tradition defines citizenship in terms of participation in the common good and the ability to act in the public sphere. In contrast, the liberal tradition defines citizenship as an individual's possession of rights. Republican citizenship means not only freedom from oppression, but also effective participation in political processes. This concept carries the legacy of ancient Greece and Rome into modern political theory. In republicanism, citizenship is both a duty and a virtue. In contrast, the liberal understanding of citizenship prioritizes the protection of the individual against the state. This concept was systematized by thinkers such as John Locke and John Stuart Mill. According to liberalism, citizens are individuals endowed with rights and freedomsand the state is an apparatus that guarantees these rights. Thus, citizenship is defined in terms of negative freedom, or protection from external interference. In modern liberal democracies, citizenship is largely synonymous with legal statuses, such as the right to vote, freedom of expression and property rights. However, contemporary political thought has sought to synthesize these two approaches. Notably, Arendt's conception of citizenship, based on the concepts of "public sphere" and "action," reimagines the republican model of participation, emphasizing the individual's capacity for political action. Thus, the citizen is redefined as both the subject of rights and an agent capable of transforming the political world (Arendt, 1998; Kasımoğlu, 2024).

In the 20th and 21st centuries, the republican tradition was reevaluated and the classical ideal of citizenship was updated and developed into a concept known as "new republicanism." According to this approach, citizenship is a set of virtues and responsibilities integrated into public life. Citizens are not figures who emerge only during election periods; rather, they are subjects who continuously participate in public debates, monitor governanceand intervene when necessary. New republicanism places citizens at the center as individuals capable of liberating action. It interprets freedom as the ability to make decisions together in communal life, not merely as non-interference. In this context, new republicanism does not limit participation to voting. It manifests itself in various forms, such as protest, civil initiativeand involvement in local decision- making processes. Governance gains meaning through citizen participationand citizens' public responsibility is central to the sustainability of democracy. According to new republicanism, the public sphere is not merely a space governed by the state. Rather, it is a place where citizens can meet, discussand take collective action. Therefore, citizenship is not merely allegiance to the state but also the political expression of the will to live together. This approach has been developed in response to the disempowering effects of neoliberal governance and technical democracy models. New republicanism advocates for direct participation in order to overcome the limitations of representative democracy. By prioritizing the political presence of groups excluded from public life, such as migrants, minoritiesand women, this model transforms citizenship from a legal status into an action-oriented, ethical obligation (Pettit, 1997; Sandel, 1998; Honohan, 2002).

Constitutional Periods: Laying the Building Blocks of Citizenship

In the modern sense, the concept of citizenship emerged in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat period. Before the Tanzimat, citizenship was based on ethnicity, religionand sect. Muslims and non- Muslims were evaluated and classified differently (millet-i hâkime/millet-i mahkûme). Muslims were considered the foundation of the Ottoman state and had a shared identity (Millet-i Hâkime), while non- Muslims were defined as distinct religious and cultural groups within the millet framework. This demonstrates that the millet system, which existed in Islamic law, was adopted by the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, millet and community were one and the same in the

Ottoman Empire. Through the millet identity, ethnic and religious communities conducted their relations with the state within the framework of autonomy (Aybay, 2003; Eryılmaz, 1992; Somel, 2009; Özcoşar, 2003).

The construction of a modern state and society, which began during the Tanzimat period, necessitated the establishment of a citizenship-based system instead of a nation-based system. While the nation system included a classification based on religious differences within the imperial structure, citizenship defines an identity based on equality within the modern state structure (Şentürk, 2010). In the 19th century, sensing the necessity of a modern state, the Ottoman Empire aimed to establish a relationship with its people based on citizenship. The modern equivalent of this goal was to transform the identity of subjects into citizenship and determine and implement mutual rights and responsibilities through an equal, rationaland legal relationship. To this end, the empire issued the Tanzimat (1839) and Islahat (1856) Edicts to establish legal equality without privileges. These edicts are significant because of their resemblance to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (Dinçkol &Işık, 2015). Noteworthy aspects of the construction of citizenship identity include equality before the law, personal inviolability and security, protection of honor, dignityand chastity, freedom of religion, conscienceand worship, guarantees of life and property, fair and equal taxationand the rational and equitable organization of military service in accordance with the modern state (Tanör, 2018). This approach is similar to the French model of citizenship. It aims to equalize ethnic and cultural differences under the umbrella of the Ottoman identity, which is based on the principles of rights, freedomand equality.

These decrees mark a transition from subjecthood based on ethnic, religiousand cultural differences to an equality-based approach, where everyone is considered an Ottoman citizen. The Reform Decree, in particular, reflects an approach that includes equal citizenship (Üstel, 2008a; Somel, 2009). Within this scope, many regulations were established to promote equality in the development of modern citizenship. These regulations included hearing cases between Muslims and non- Muslims in mixed courts, giving equal consideration to witness testimonyand regulating modern criminal laws. Other provisions aimed at establishing equality in modern citizenship include the abolition of iltizam and granting rights to non- Muslims to enter the Meclis-i Vala-yi Ahkam-i Adliyye (High Council of Justice), local councilsand schools, as well as the right to property for all (Ubicini, 1998; Tanör, 2018). An important reflection of this process was the 9-article Ottoman Citizenship Law, which came into force in 1869 and legally defined citizenship in the Ottoman Empire. Inspired by the French Nationality Code, the law provided for citizenship acquisition based on descent and place of birth. There are two approaches to acquiring citizenship: The first is citizenship based on blood, descent, or lineageand the second is citizenship based on territory, or place of birth, or geographical ties. In a citizenship based on blood ties, both the mother and father are decisive. In the latter, the place of birth is decisive (Reyhan, 2024). Both approaches are evident in the Ottoman Citizenship Code. According to this law, children whose mother and father, or only their father, are Ottoman citizens will have Ottoman citizenship status. Additionally, children of foreign nationals born in Ottoman territories have the right to obtain Ottoman citizenship upon reaching adulthood. Furthermore, individuals who have resided in Ottoman territories for at least five years are eligible to obtain citizenship within three years. This regulation acknowledges the right to citizenship for those born in and/or residing in Ottoman territories (Aybay, 2003; Osmanağaoğlu, 2004; Erdoğdu, 2008; Şentürk, 2010; Serbestoğlu, 2011; Ekici & Şahin, 2020).

This law recognizes the right to citizenship based on the principle of equality. Therefore, the criteria for citizenship are addressed within the framework of a land-based citizenship approach, or French-style citizenship, in accordance with the conditions of the time. The Ottoman Empire's first modern constitution, the Kanuni Esasi (1876), included citizenship provisions. These provisions concern rights, freedoms, dutiesand responsibilities. According to Article 8, this law states that everyone is an Ottoman citizen, regardless of religion or sect. While Article 9-10 stipulates that everyone has the right to freedom within the limits prescribed by law and that these freedoms cannot be abolished or punished, Articles 11-26 redefine and enshrine the rights and freedoms mentioned in the Tanzimat and Islahat decrees. These include freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of propertyand equality before the law, all of which were the subject of the Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts. Article 18 emphasizes the requirement to know Turkish in order to become a civil servant, making it possible to establish citizenship through an official and common language. This provision also specifies that Turkish is the official language of the state. According to Article 113 of the constitution, the sultan's power to exile citizens was eliminated in 1909 because it conflicted with the fundamental rights and freedoms (TBMM Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı, 2023; Kili & Gözübüyük, 2000; Tanör, 2018; Erdoğdu, 2008; Somel, 2009). These provisions of the 1876 constitution demonstrate that citizenship was not defined based on ethnic or religious identity. Given nationalism's corrosive effect on empires, defining citizenship in this way was rational.

Regulating the relationship between the state and its citizens based on the modern state and society has become an important political issue. The state mobilizes its ideological apparatuses for the establishment of modern state citizenship on a rational basis. Althusser (1991), states that the modern state uses these apparatuses to make citizens adopt its official ideology. According to Althusser, the role of the state's instruments of coercion (DBA) and ideological apparatuses (DIA) in establishing hegemony and influencing society is crucial. These apparatuses involve physical or non-physical violence. These apparatuses convey the state's ideological values to society in a manner that serves the state's interests. They include schools, families, religious institutions, political institutions, civil society organizations, the press, mass mediaand cultural institutions. During both the Second Constitutional Era and the Early Republican Era, these apparatuses became an effective means of constructing citizenship. In this context, textbooks and their content were organized as apparatuses of ideology to produce the type of citizen the political authority envisioned.

During the Second Constitutional Era especially, curriculum programs and course content were important ideological tools used to foster citizenship. In this context, textbooks and their content were organized as tools of ideology to produce the type of citizen the political authority envisioned. While a similar approach continued in the Early Republican Era, the Republic attempted to construct a civic identity through effective ideological tools, such as People's Houses and Village Institutes. During the Second Constitutional Era, citizenship-related content was incorporated into school curricula to establish the aforementioned identity. This concept was essential for the state at that time. To establish citizenship knowledge and identity in line with the modern state's requirements, a course called Malumat-ı Medeniye was added to primary, secondary, and high school curricula, and a book with the same name was published. This course covered topics such as homeland, nation, state, parliament, public administration, and taxation. It also addressed the duties individuals have toward themselves, their families, their homelands, and their nations in order to be good citizens. Emphasizing the rights and responsibilities of citizens, this course and textbook stressed the importance of

individuals having a civil and moral identity, being good people, and being good citizens for their families, the state, and society. In this way, the course became one of the vehicles for the official ideology. These concepts and discourses ensured the construction of citizenship and established a close connection with political and social structures. This identity shifts the source of political power. Once citizenship is established, the source of sovereignty shifts from divine to worldly. The concrete manifestation of this shift is national sovereignty. Divine-based sovereignty transforms into national sovereignty. In this context, the Second Constitutional Era introduced national sovereignty through the Civil Knowledge course, or Malumat-ı Medeniye. Close relationships were established between national sovereignty and the concepts of citizenship, elections, representation, and parliament. Furthermore, concepts such as equality, freedom, and brotherhood were used to envision the creation of the kind of community of citizens that the state needed because only such a community could sustain a constitutional system (Yaşar, 2018; Parlak & Kaftan, 2010; Üstel, 2008a).

The citizenship established within this framework will serve as a reference point for the future transformation of the political system. Additionally, the addition of the moral education course (1913) to the curriculum included topics such as honesty, responsibility, humility, diligenceand thriftiness to promote responsible citizenship (Ozan & Kuş, 2021). There is also an effort to develop the entrepreneurial skills of the envisioned citizen. This effort stems from the fact that non-Muslims acted against the Ottoman State as an economic power and collaborated closely with European states. Furthermore, it is believed that economic development is achieved through a community of entrepreneurial citizens. A Turkish-Muslim economic structure would reduce the effectiveness of non-Muslim economic powers and establish a modern nation- state with a strong economic foundation based on the national economy and bourgeoisie (Toprak, 1995). The concept of the nation, an important phenomenon of the 19th century, refers to a human community that shares a specific territory, common myths, historical memory, mass public cultureand common legal rights and duties (Smith, 1991). The modern nation-state is a relatively recent phenomenon that possesses the right and authority to use legitimate force over defined territories. It homogenizes the people under its rule and creates a common culture, symbolsand values. The state aims to preserve origin myths and unify the population (Guibernau, 1997; Heywood, 2018). In this context, a state of transition emerges between the citizen and the nation. The modern state performs many functions, such as speaking on behalf of phenomena in this state of transition, granting rights and imposing duties, changing and transforming these phenomenaand disciplining and making them productive (Pierson, 2000). The modern nation-state intervenes in the political and social spheres, attempting to reproduce members of society based on citizenship within the framework of the official ideology.

Within this scope During the Second Constitutional Era, the state used ideological apparatuses to build and strengthen the modern nation-state. Among these apparatuses, education programs occupy an important place. For the state, these programs have multidimensional content, ranging from personal development to fulfilling political, economicand social needs. Within this framework, the Rehber-i İttihad (Guide to Unity) course included citizenship education and covered topics such as homeland, freedom, parliament, humanity, education, Ottomanismand equality. The course aimed to instill in children patterns of thought and behavior, such as a love and knowledge of the homeland, the ability to establish equal and healthy relationships with members of societyand unity and solidarity (Kaya, 2020; Toprak, 1988).

During this period, official ideology and history were introduced for the first time through curricula, textbooksand educational programs. Attention was drawn to the

importance of obedience to authority and the law, beginning with the family. The political construction of childhood based on citizenship was established through textbooks (Alkan, 2008; Kaya & Biçer, 2021; Toprak, 1988). The building blocks of this construction are political authority, loyalty to the homeland, social discipline, obedience, honestyand diligence. A connection is formed between the homeland and the family that is unconditional and selfless. The ultimate goal of this relationship is to produce good Ottoman citizens for the state. This envisioned citizenship will be a civic identity formed by generations raised according to the principles of freedom, equality, brotherhoodand justice. In other words, citizens of the Constitutional Monarchy were sought to be created. The Malumat-ı Vataniyye (National Knowledge) course, which was to be taught in primary and secondary schools, would ensure that children acquired such an identity (Öztan, 2011; Toprak, 1988). Similar to the Platonic approach (Platon, 2010), educational programs develop children's mental and physical abilities within the framework of love for, loyalty toand responsibility toward the homeland, with a focus on the family. Obedience is considered an important step toward becoming a good citizen because it is thought to transfer from the family to the state in a hierarchical manner. Obedience to one's father ensures obedience to the state.

The modern state requires a citizenship identity that establishes a bond of belonging to the state. This identity is also required for the rational basis of the state's relationship with its citizens. On the one hand, this requirement ensures the modern state's systematic and regular access to the tax and military resources it needs. On the other hand, it guarantees the existence of citizens who understand the values of modern, civilized life and can apply these values in their daily lives. In other words, the state aims to create competent individuals who can live civilized lives within modern society. Civilization is important because it produces unproblematic obedience to the established order and its rules, thereby curbing excesses and enabling citizens to act lawfully. Thus, constructing citizenship is profoundly meaningful and important for the modern state as a means of establishing identity and influencing the social sphere (Pierson, 2000; Mann, 1993; Poggi, 2009). Education is an important part of this process (Gutek, 2006; Alkan, 2008) and includes love for the homeland and knowledge of good citizenship in the curriculum. Education is regarded as an important issue by the state. This is because citizenship, which meets the needs of the modern state, is to be constructed through education. In this context, with the increase in school enrolment rates in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, education began to shift from being status-based to becoming mass education. The modern state carried out this change to fulfill its own needs and those of society, including the needs of capitalism. In this context, the number of rüştiye schools increased from 277 to 619 between 1879 and 1908and the number of idadi schools rose from 6 to 109 between 1876 and 1908, showing a significant increase in the rate of schooling (Findley, 2011).

The Second Constitutional Era encompasses the process of establishing Ottoman citizenship through educational programmes. It is an important milestone in the "transition from subject to citizen" process (Tunaya, 2004). During this period, a modern sense of citizenship emergedand political parties, associations, mass communication apparatusesand the press became closely connected with different social groups. Public interest in political and social issues increasedand an organized society emerged. People participated in political and social issues, such as elections, political campaigns, strikesand boycotts. The proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the 1909 Constitutional Amendments, the 1909 Law on Associations, the spread of modern educational institutions and curricula, the strengthening of civic consciousness and spirit

through national holidaysand the production and activation of civic identity were decisive factors (Üstel, 2008a; Çetinkaya, 2008). The establishment of political and administrative institutions, recognition of fundamental rights and freedoms, creation of a legal and formal framework, enshrinement of constitutional provisions (1876) and provision of political participation established a close link between the state and its citizens within the modern political and social structure. However, this connection could be severed due to events that occurred during the Late Ottoman period, such as the 31 March Incident and the Bab-ı Ali Raid, as well as during the Early Republican period due to events like the Sheikh Said Rebellion and the Menemen Incident. These events are particularly noteworthy in terms of shaping the form and nature of citizenship, the ontological basis of the relationship between the state and its citizensand how the founding authority constructed the concept of citizenship.

Citizenship education is provided in the course entitled 'Malumat-ı Medeniye, Ahlakiye ve İktisadiye'. This course formed the basis of the "Citizenship Knowledge" course taught during the Republican period. Its aim was to instill in students their responsibilities towards the state, emphasizing that fulfilling these responsibilities constituted good citizenship. The close relationship between school curricula and the ideological sources of the state is noteworthy in determining civic identity. The curriculum established after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy coincides with the dynamics of this period. The curriculum incorporated concepts and discourses that praised the virtues of the Constitutional Monarchy, such as freedom, equality, brotherhoodand justiceand that criticized Abdülhamid II for his despotism. These concepts influenced the nature of citizenship identity (Öztan, 2011; Üstel, 2009). As part of constructing citizenship, the "Mekatib-i İptidaiyeye Mahsus Talimatname (1915)" published during the Committee of Union and Progress period, emphasizes the need for multifaceted education to raise individuals in line with the state's and society's goals. Accordingly, the desire was for children in schools to be educated in a way that would enable them to contribute to the development of the state and society through their mental, intellectualand physical capacities. This educational process was said to ensure the mental and moral development of children (Üstel, 2008a). During the constitutional era, the adopted fundamental values and envisioned curriculum aimed to create obedient, hardworking, moral, civilizedand thrifty Ottoman citizens. This formation process, which began with the family and continued in state-led schools, demonstrated the state's utmost concern for citizenship. The aforementioned ideas and approaches aimed to foster the unity of civilized individuals and citizenship. Emphasis is placed on the idea that becoming a civilized individual is achieved through mental and moral development. At the same time, the importance of bearing public responsibilities as obedient, patriotic, knowledgeable, hardworking, thriftyand self-sacrificing citizens is highlighted. Thus, the civilized individual and the citizen are equated in an effort to produce the desired state- required identity.

A Political Perspective on the Constitutional and Legal Framework of Citizenship in the Early Republican Period

The Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts addressed citizenship similarly to the modern concept, as modern citizenship theoretically rejects any form of difference or privilege. Thus, the Tanzimat and, in particular, the Islahat Edict incorporated the idea of citizenship based on equality. Building on the fundamental principles of these decrees, the Ottoman Empire's first written constitution, the Kanuni Esasi (1876), defined citizenship as equal and

independent of ethnic and religious identity. This approach was adopted during the Republican era as welland the constitution enshrined an egalitarian understanding of citizenship. However, the 1921 Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu (Constitution), enacted under extraordinary circumstances during the transition to the republic, does not contain any provisions defining citizenship. Despite this absence, the fundamental approach of the political authority was citizenship based on equality under a national identity. One important reason the political elite sought to establish citizenship based on an inclusive understanding was to promote the transition from subjects to citizens and create a modern citizenship identity (Van Het Hof, 2010). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's opening speech to parliament in May 1920 supports this approach: "The nation consists of different identities within the country's borders and is not based on any differences" (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi [TBMM] Zabıt Ceridesi, 1336, Mayıs 1, s. 165). This idea shows that a land-based approach to citizenship was adopted. Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu (Basic Organization Law), drafted during the transition period, consisted of 23 articles and introduced the concept that sovereignty belongs to the nation. It also included provisions for a parliamentary government system and the unity of powers principle, as well as the concept of local administration (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, 2021; TBMM Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı, 2023; Kili & Gözübüyük, 2000; Özbudun, 2008; Tanör, 2018; Güneş, 2020). Because both the 1876 Constitution and the 1921 Constitution were in force during this period, it exhibits a dualistic constitutional structure. In terms of constitutional technique and scope, the 1876 Constitution and its provisions on citizenship remained in effect until the 1924 Constitution.

Although the 1921 Constitution does not contain any provisions regarding citizenship, its fundamental approach is consistent with the logic of the nation-state. This approach is reflected in Gazi Mustafa Kemal's ideas. This approach is evident in Article 88 of the 1924 Constitution. This constitution's approach to citizenship also bears similarities to the French approach, which is land-based. According to Article 88 of the 1924 Constitution, citizenship is an egalitarian concept that is not based on ethnicity or religion. According to this definition, anyone bound to the Turkish people by citizenship is considered Turkish, regardless of religion or race (TBMM Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı, 2023). This approach aligns with the tradition of republican citizenship. The republican citizenship approach presupposes egalitarianism (Durgun, 2010). Also referred to as the French republican citizenship approach, this modern citizenship approach evaluates different identities based on land under a single identity and on the basis of equality. While the 1876 Constitution was based on land-based citizenship rooted in "Ottoman" identity, the 1924 Constitution adopted a land-based approach grounded in "Turkishness" (Mumcu, 1986). Some members of parliament, such as Hamdullah Suphi Bey and Celal Nuri Bey, accepted a citizenship concept based on ethnic and religious identity. However, the 1924 Constitutional Commission adopted a citizenship concept similar to that of the 1876 Constitution (Gözübüyük & Sezgin, 1957; Bayrak, 2014). The citizenship approaches in both the 1869 Ottoman Nationality Code and the 1876 Constitution formed the basis for the Early Republic's citizenship approach. The 1928 Turkish Citizenship Law, based on descent and territory, was built on the same foundation. According to this law, children born to a Turkish father and/or mother, whether in Turkey or a foreign country, are Turkish citizens (Resmi Gazete, 1928, Haziran 4). This law links the acquisition of citizenship to citizenship itself. Therefore, children born to Turkish citizens are entitled to this right. The law incorporates a citizenship approach based on blood and soil ties, grounded in historical and social realities (Reyhan, 2024). For this reason, during this period when citizenship was organized according to the structure of the nation-state, the intention was to subsume

ethnic, religiousand cultural differences under Turkish identity in order to create equal citizens.

Turkish identity is defined by criteria such as national, political, racial, linguistic, cultural, and historical unity (İnan, 1930; Çoban, 2021). Linguistic unity, in particular, is an important building block of national identity. Article 12 of the 1924 Constitution states that the ability to read and write Turkish is required to be elected as a member of Parliament, which highlights the role of the common language in constructing national identity. This approach is similar to the 19th-century approach to constructing national identity in modern nation- states. Both national and civic identity constructions should be considered within this scope. This approach includes a French-style political citizenship because those living within the country's borders are accepted as citizens through a higher identity (Reyhan, 2024; Alakel, 2011). Gazi Mustafa Kemal's statement that "The people who established the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish Nation" (İnan, 1930, s. 18) reflects this approach as well. A contrary approach could lead to threats to the modern state and the republican regime, which are strongly desired. One of the cornerstones of a modern nation-state is undoubtedly a secular political and social structure. Citizenship in the modern sense is one of the conditions of such an order. Therefore, an approach to citizenship that includes ethnic and religious identity could hinder the formation of a modern nation-state (Dinçkol & Işık, 2015; Reyhan, 2024). It could also weaken the relationship between secular life and citizenship, which are both dynamics of this state. Consequently, a strong connection is established between the positivist and secular thought present in the founders' vision of the state and societyand the citizenship defined in the constitution. The most concrete manifestation of this approach is the removal of the phrase "The religion of the Turkish State is Islam" from the 1924 constitution via Law No. 1222, enacted in 1928. Positivist and secular thought significantly affected the transformation of the political and social spheres to align with the needs of the republic (Karpat, 1996; Mardin, 2006; Tanör, 2018). The adoption of these two ideas was aimed at transforming the traditional and religious identity of the people inherited from the Ottoman Empire into a modern nation and citizenry. Furthermore, it served as a guiding principle in the construction of the state and society envisioned by the founding actors of the Republic (Kaya, 2015).

In this context, political authority first defined citizenship (Üstel, 2008a) and then established the building blocks of citizenship (1924 Anayasası, md. 88). Clause 69 of the 1924 Constitution emphasizes these rights and duties by stating that all Turks are equal before the law and must obey it. The same article abolishes and prohibits all privileges of any group, class, family, or individual (Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk Anayasa Metinleri, 2023). This provision establishes egalitarian citizenship through a national identity and populism as the founding principles of the Republic. Populism, which encompassed the idea of a classless and privilege-free society at this time (Peker, 1984), is one of the important ideas of the Republic. During the Early Republican Period, populism fulfilled important functions. Both the 1921 and 1924 constitutions stated that "sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation" (TBMM Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı, 2023), emphasizing that the source of sovereignty had become secular. Currently, the people own sovereigntyand the right to exercise it belongs to the political authority. The people can exercise this right when they achieve a common consciousness and become the community of citizens envisioned by the Republic (Heper, 2018). The priority is to produce such a consciousness and integrate it with the regime to be established.

From now on, the populist approach of the Republic's founding figures will form the basis for constructing the envisioned regime and citizenship. According to Mustafa Kemal,

It is necessary to explain what populism is, its principlesand the duties of populists towards the people. It is an indispensable responsibility to loudly proclaim the necessity of the Republic, instill love for its principlesand embed the Republic and its principles in the hearts of the people (Gazi Hz., 1930, p.1).

Based on these ideas, it is important to note the correspondence established between populism and the Republic. Terms such as the people's government, the people's administration, the people's assemblyand the people's sovereignty became intensively used in official discourse (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1337, Kasım 26). During this period, citizenship is imagined as social rather than individualand society is considered homogeneous. Thus, an identity is established between the people and citizenship. Populism aims to create a community of homogeneous citizens and integrate it with the republican regime (Üstel, 2008a; İrem, 2004, Toprak, 1977). In the Early Republican Period, the founders of citizenship were political and bureaucratic elites, intellectualsand professionals who embraced the values of the republic and modernity (Eraslan, 2003; Tuğluoğlu, 2005). In his opening day speech to parliament, Gazi Mustafa Kemal emphasized the importance of providing the public with information through educational activities and spreading these activities to important centers of the country for identity construction and modernization (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1923, Mart 1). During the Early Republican Period, the founding elite and intellectuals took it upon themselves to lead the people, speak on their behalfand set goals to achieve the ideals of the republic and create a modern, civilized society.

The Construction of Citizenship in the Republic through Imagination and İdeological Apparatuses

Educational programs were one of the most important ideological apparatuses of the Early Republican Period, while the People's Houses and Village Institutes were another. Alongside the curriculum, these effective ideological apparatuses played a significant role in constructing the envisioned citizenship during this period. Schools are institutions where political, social, cultural, and economic elements necessary for the political system are conveyed to students under state control. These elements are fundamental to the reproduction of the official ideology through children (Sel & Sözer, 2018). Therefore, educational programs, textbooks, and course content key elements of the state's official ideology play important roles in constructing civic identity and align with the modern state. During the early republican period, the regime also sought to raise citizens in linewith its values through educational apparatuses. These apparatuses were considered important in fostering national consciousness (Gürses, 2010). In this context, educational programs and course content designed during the Early Republican Era of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the People's Houses and Village Institutes established in the 1930s and 1940s, played a crucial role in building citizenship as ideological apparatuses. The educational programs and course content designed for primary school levels (first through fifth grade) were particularly important in this regard. It is therefore necessary to address the educational programs and courses designed to fulfill the anticipated citizenship-building functions of the People's Houses and Village Institutes. The approach to citizenship adopted during this period aligns more with a republican approach than a liberal one.

According to liberal theory, citizenship is defined by the civil and political rights and freedoms of the individual (Sağıroğlu, 2018). This theory emphasizes rights and freedoms over duties and responsibilities. According to this theory, citizens are competent individuals who can choose their own life plans and participate in judging, examining, and reevaluating, while

rejecting the state's interventionist apparatus and strict controls. The theory envisions protecting and guaranteeing individuals and their rights and freedoms against the state and the social sphere. Republican theory, on the other hand, associates citizenship with participation in public affairs and the common good, emphasizing the duties and responsibilities of citizens in this area. According to this theory, individuals only have citizenship status based on belonging to and consciousness of the community and its common good. In the republican tradition, duties and responsibilities are an integral part of citizenship. Therefore, citizenship is not an individual identity, but rather one that encompasses rights and duties within the community and prioritizes belonging and solidarity. According to the republican approach, a citizen's connection to the public sphere and the common good depends on strong citizenship. In this context, the Early Republican Period's citizenship approach resembles the republican citizenship approach (Durgun, 2010). Citizens are imagined as having a responsible identity that represents, strengthens, and advances the Republic's founding philosophy, values, revolutions, and institutional identity in the public sphere. This requires strong citizenship. Important values for this approach include belonging to the community, a shared consciousness burdened with duties, and activism. The emphasis on people, society, and the nation rather than the individual, as well as the discourse of a classless, privilege-free society, can be seen as reflections of the Republican approach.

The Republican approach holds the view that citizens should be raised with an identity that includes specific habits and behavioral patterns. Therefore, education plays a crucial role in developing the desired citizenship identity (Üstel, 2008a; Durgun, 2010). Through education, a citizenship that embraces and strengthens the values of the Republic will be created. This approach can also be seen in the early Republican period. In this context, education programs, textbooks, course content, People's Houses, and Village Institutes aim to foster Republican citizenship. Education was the most important tool for constructing a sense of citizenship during the Second Constitutional Era. It was also one of the ideological apparatuses used to form a community of citizens during the Republican Era. In this context, citizenship was attempted to be constructed through the curriculum. During the early Republican period, various ideas, approachesand ideological apparatuses were employed to establish the concept of citizenship necessary for building a modern nation-state and society on solid foundations. Similar to the Second Constitutional Era, this imagined citizenship included individuals who demonstrated mental and physical loyalty and obedience to the founding values of the newly established Republic. During this period, a multifaceted citizen identity was envisioned for everyone, from children and women to young people and adults, to meet the needs of the Republic and the modern nation-state. To this end, education programs, course contentand ideological apparatuses were mobilized (Öztan, 2011; Üstel, 2008a; Kandiyoti, 2019; Sancar, 2012; Kaygusuz, 2005). İdeological Apparatuses bring forth citizens who share the values and beliefs of the imagined world and influence the legitimacy of the regime by producing citizen consent (Gutek, 2006; Althusser, 1991). The state uses ideological apparatuses to construct citizenship and turn citizens into political subjects. Citizenship becomes a phenomenon produced within a world of values and beliefs adopted and accepted through these apparatuses. The republic's vision of citizenship corresponds to an identity within its founding principles and values. Education policies and programs function as one of the most important ideological apparatuses for ensuring this construction. Curricula and course content are designed to encourage people to see themselves as citizens of an integrated nation (Parlak, 2005).

Within this framework, the curriculum and course content focus on essential themes such as homeland, love of homeland, nation, nationality, family, loyalty, morality, civility,

duties, responsibilities, diligenceand productivity (Parlak, 2005). During the Second Constitutional Era, the Malumat-ı Medeniye course was renamed Malumat-ı Vataniye in the Early Republican Era. The course content was designed to instill the principles and values of the Republic in children through citizenship education (Üstel, 2008a). The first education program covering primary education in the Republican era was established in 1924. Under this program, the length of elementary school was reduced from six years to five. At the time, the Minister of National Education, Vasıf Bey, stated that the curriculum would be organized according to the principles and values of the Republic (Maarif vekili Vasıf Bey'in beyanatı, 1924). This approach aimed to foster the type of citizenship envisioned by the Republic. This civic identity included loyalty to the republic, protecting and developing it, being prepared to make sacrifices for it, possessing a national identity and consciousness, knowing and applying national and human duties and rights, participating in Western civilization, being hardworking and productive, complying with social etiquette, possessing the necessary knowledge and skills for life, and being moral, virtuous, and responsible (Aslan, 2011; Demir, 2018; Demir & Duman, 2018; Kandal, 2019).

Following the establishment of the Republic, the political center sought to produce citizens who embodied the values it had adopted through a specific educational program. As part of this process, the 1924 Orhan Fuad textbook Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Malumat-ı Vataniye taught primary school students topics such as morality, virtue, civility, nationalism, the political regime, love of country, duties and responsibilitiesand life skills. The aim was to create a community of citizens compatible with the Republic, in accordance with the 1924 curriculum (Demirkaya, 2014). Gazi Mustafa Kemal's thoughts on civilization are noteworthy in that they explain why the curriculum emphasizes civilized citizens so strongly. "The people of the Republic of Turkey, who claim to be civilized, are obliged to prove and demonstrate that they are civilized in their thoughts and mentality. They must demonstrate their civilization through their family life and lifestyle" (Unan, 1952, p.212). This approach reflects the ideals of the Republic and commitment to a modern state and society. Over time, in 1926, the name of the "Malumat-ı Vataniye" course was changed to "Knowledge of the Homeland (Yurt Bilgisi)" with the First Primary School Curriculum Program. The Yurt Bilgisi course aims to enable children to become good citizens who are loyal to their homeland and nation. This course develops children morally and instills in them a sense of responsibility towards their families, nationand state. It establishes an organic relationship with these concepts and instills a love for the homeland. The course provides children with the knowledge and skills to become productive citizens and ensures they are knowledgeable about and loyal to the regime (Republic) under which they live. In response to the need for a modern nation-state, the Republic has developed educational programs and course content to foster a sense of citizenship and identity among children and young people.

The 1926 Elementary School Program aims to foster loyalty to one's homeland and nation; develop a national identity and consciousness, and promote knowledge of political, administrative, and social institutions. The program also aims to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities, encourage adherence to moral rules, promote cooperation and solidarity, and foster good citizenship in harmony with one's environment. Additionally, the program aims to raise awareness of one's role and function in society (Demir&Duman, 2018). In this vein, the course National Information for Children of the Republic (Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Malûmât-ı Vataniye), written by Muslihiddin Adil in 1926, covers topics such as personal development, rightsand responsibilities toward one's family, societyand nation; hard work; and moral behavior. It envisions a republican citizenship

that has acquired these values (Akagündüz, 2020). In line with the regime, the revised 1936 elementary school curriculum emphasizes the Republic's goals for educating citizens, including instilling a sense of homeland and patriotism, teaching about the Republic's revolutions, and fostering loyalty to the homeland and nation. The curriculum emphasizes raising knowledgeable, hardworking, disciplined, and moral citizens who embrace the principles of republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism, and revolutionism and who are loyal to their homeland and nation. This emphasis was prevalent in educational programs and textbooks, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. In school courses such as homeland knowledge, history, and life skills, information is provided and awareness is instilled by referencing the Republic and its revolutions. National identity is produced within this framework (Tuğluoğlu & Tunç, 2010; Budak & Budak, 2014; Demir, 2018). Therefore, when designing an educational program aimed at building citizens loyal to the Republic, the goal is to develop human resources and a civic identity that will achieve the Republic's aims and objectives through the program. The 1929 "Primary Schools Instruction Manual" emphasized the need to raise children who are knowledgeable, well-equipped, disciplined, spiritually and physically committed to national values, and, moreover, to the regime so they can be useful to the state and nation. Thus, the role of schools in educating citizens is emphasized (Yanardağ, 2020; Kandal, 2019). For this reason, educational programs, course content, and apparatuses from the 1920s and 1930s were aligned with the regime and significantly impacted the education of citizens envisioned by the Republic.

Using education as an ideological tool to construct citizenship during the Early Republican Period increased the number of schools. The number of primary schools, for example, increased from 4,894 in 1923– 1924 to 6,599 in 1928–1929 and 6,713 in 1931–1932 (Üstel, 2008a). This situation indicates a significant change in the material conditions of the Republic. During the Early Republican Period, the state faced many challenges and required substantial resources to address them. Having the resources to implement policies, as well as producing policies, was one of the most fundamental issues of this period. For a state that had emerged from a national struggle, ensuring economic development became a primary goal. Therefore, the emphasis on citizens being hardworking and productive stems from this. One of the founders' important goals was to instill the core values, worldviewand beliefs of the social and political order in the people born into the Republic through a planned education program (Parlak, 2005). Schools, educational programsand course content play an important role in raising citizens who embody the Republic's vision. In this context, the interaction between educational apparatuses and official ideology enables the regime to create suitable citizens and ensure its own strong existence. Furthermore, the regime aims to use these apparatuses to make individuals conform to the expected mental and behavioral standards. The primary objective of citizenship education is to foster individuals who are loyal to the regime and recognize its legitimacy (Yeşilorman, 2003; Demir&Duman, 2018). Citizens are expected to participate in political and social life with an awareness of their rights and responsibilities.

Every citizen has the duty to obey the regime and its laws, vote, serve in the military, pay taxes, and contribute to the modernization and development of the country. They must also be loyal to their family, nation, and state, work for their benefit, ensure the continuity of their family, and be disciplined, hardworking, physically fit, morally upright, and honorable (Caymaz, 2007; Üstel, 2008a; Parlak, 2005; Çoban, 2021). Within this framework, civic education enables children to establish a connection with the values, ideasand beliefs presented to them. The citizenship envisioned by the Republic then becomes a reality. Therefore, during the Early Republican period, citizenship was not a founding subject,

but rather a constructed one. The construction of a conscious, disciplined citizenship that is aware of its rights and responsibilities and uses them in accordance with the Republic's aims, as well as the construction of a public sphere in which this citizenship is "subjectified," becomes a matter of concern. During this period, a strong link is established between citizenship and the public sphere. On one side of this link are the Republic's founding principles and valuesand on the other are the practices of modern life. Citizenship becomes synonymous with a public sphere that includes citizens who have adopted and accepted these facts, valuesand practices. At this point, Üstel (2008a) mentions "a regulated living space and citizenship identity."

Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's statements on education and ideological apparatuses aimed at shaping citizenship make it clear that the Republic sought to create a homogeneous citizenry. According to Atatürk, it is impossible to create a community of citizens with the same ideas and mentality without standardization (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) in education and teaching (Özgen, 2024). A citizenship constructed through ideological apparatuses acquires a representative function, becoming the visible face of the Republic's official ideology in the public sphere. In this process, citizenship identities formed on the Republic's philosophy and values become permeable to a public sphere shaped by secular and modernist representations. The Law of Unification of Education, the closure of tekkes and zawiyas, the alphabet and dress code reformsand the civil code are political and social symbols that significantly impacted political and social relations and daily life. These reforms produced serious practical results in both the formation of a citizenship identity and its inclusion in the public sphere. The impact of revolutions on creating standardized norms, valuesand structures for a homogeneous community of citizens is quite decisive in this process.

Populism is an important concept that establishes a close link between the imagined concept of citizenship and the public sphere, which encompasses a life based on rules. The populist idea of a classless, privilege-free society ensures a homogeneous public sphere. Furthermore, the public sphere is shaped by a positivist and secular way of life. It strengthens its connection with citizenship by being free from religious, traditionaland cultural symbols and values (Yıldız, 2002). Populism carries ideological and political action in forming a citizenship appropriate to the Republic's nature (Gürkan, 2019). As a result of the official discourse that society is classless and without privileges, citizenship establishes a homogeneous identity while incorporating different identities under the umbrella of Turkish identity. This identity is built on a common language, religion, historyand culture, which foster civic consciousness and a sense of belonging to the Republic (Kandeğer, 2023). Thus, enlightened and obedient citizens of the Republic are an important target for political authorities to achieve their goals. Therefore, populism fulfills many important functions in the formation of a citizenship identity. An essential and unchanging definition of citizenship and a clear delineation of its framework are important for showing that citizens are formed within the ideals of the Republic. Within this framework, participation within defined limits and the duties assigned to citizens are accepted virtues. The rights granted to citizens are considered functional in that they enable citizens to fulfill their duties and determine their status. Therefore, rights and duties are important elements of the citizenship identity envisioned by the Republic. The concept of a classless, privilege-free society indicates a vision of citizenship based on homogeneity rather than differences. Accordingly, citizenship identity is produced within a political and social order that does not include pluralism (Parlak, 2005; Durgun, 2010). The majority consists of a homogeneous and integrated people. Thus, citizens who are similar to and integrated with the founding values of the regime become the

political subjects of the imagined world (Durgun, 2010). During this process, the ruling authority mobilizes political elites, intellectualsand professionals to construct the imagined political subject. According to Althusser (1991), in this context, "subjectification" means "subjugation." The ruling authority primarily attempts subjectification through ideological Apparatuses. The book "Civil Information for Citizens," published by the political authority, points to the building blocks of citizenship as envisioned by the Republic. First, the people are equated with citizenship. The people are imagined as a community of citizens with a modern, civil, enlightenedand secular identity. For the founders of the Republic, the people constitute a community of citizens who have distanced themselves from traditional political, socialand cultural values and embraced modern values. Thus, a state identity composed of national, civiland moral citizens is envisioned. Different ethnic and religious identities within the country are expressed as equal citizens with a common history, moralityand law under the national (Turkish) identity (İnan, 1930). In this respect, it is possible to see a reflection of the Early Republican Period's understanding of citizenship here as well.

According to Köker (2000), the sovereign political authority of the Republic does not represent the will of individual citizens, but rather a general will formed by individuals that stands above them. As the source of sovereignty, the people or nation play an important role in determining the legitimacy of the state and its regime. Similar to Rousseau's (2006) understanding of sovereignty, it expresses a will formed above the will of individuals. The Republic's founding power uses this sovereignty on behalf of the people. The founders of the Republic claim that sovereignty belongs to the people, while the people gather in front of the curtain. The founders imagine a people made up of citizens, while the people are indoctrinated to make this imagined citizenship possible. In this context, the 1921 (Article 1) and 1924 (Article 3) constitutions stipulated that the source of sovereignty was the nation/people. During the Republican era, the ruling power assumed broad representation of the general will and aimed to use ideological apparatuses effectively to transform children into citizens who embraced the Republic's ideology.

During the Early Republican Period, citizenship was far from being a spontaneous political subject. Theoretically and historically, citizenship includes an identity as a political subject who participates in political and public affairs, has a say in the public sphereand acts. This subject has rights and responsibilities, expresses demands and criticismsand supervises and controls political power (Arendt, 1998; Marshall, 1992; Aristoteles, 2011; Habermas, 2004). The relationship that citizens establish with the state, political parties, social organizations, the pressand mass media undoubtedly plays a very important role. However, during the period dominated by a single-party system, the absence of political parties and the dependence of civil society organizations, the pressand mass media on political authority led to the confinement of citizenship within the prescribed framework (Zürcher, 2004; Karpat, 1996; Ahmad, 2008; Gevgilili, 1990). Structures that played important roles in shaping citizenship, such as associations, societies, political partiesand the press, became dependent on the government or were shut down.

Rather than having a reciprocal relationship with political authority/power, citizenship is constructed based on values, ideas, principlesand beliefs that are unilaterally defined by political authority. In line with Hobbes's (1993) approach, citizens are expected to obey sovereign authority. Sovereign authority aims to provide citizens with a "good life" and uses policies, institutionsand ideologies to achieve this goal. Imagined citizenship is also constructed within this process. Ultimately, creating a community of citizens within

defined boundaries is considered necessary for the existence of the envisioned political and social order of the Republic. In this context, the 1931 circular issued by Esat Sagay, the Minister of National Education during the early Republican period, outlines the fundamental purpose of the education provided to children. The circular emphasizes that "every Turkish child who attends school must fully comprehend the psychology and ideology of the republican regime." The importance of raising children to become useful Turkish citizens for the Turkish nation and the Republic of Turkey is emphasized. The 1930s were marked by intense "nationalism"rhetoric aimed at establishing citizenship. Children's purpose was to become useful citizens for the "nation."The impact of the rising nationalism of the 1930s on this approach is important to note. Therefore, the curriculum, schoolsand lessons became centers for producing the citizens that the Republic needed. The influence of Kemalist principles on the conception of the ideal citizen in the 1930s is evident (Kadıoğlu, 2008). Within this framework, the importance of raising citizens who are republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secularand revolutionary is emphasized. Ultimately, the concept of national citizenship emerges that is obedient to the state and political authority and has adopted the principles and values of the Republic (Üstel, 2008a). Within this concept, symbols such as national anthems, holidays, ceremonies, monuments, flagsand student oaths serve to create a common sense of citizenship and memory (Çelik, 2022; Evirgen, 2019; Dağdelen, 2022).

People's Houses and Village Institutes were the most effective ideological apparatuses of this period and played a crucial role in establishing the desired citizenship. These apparatuses fulfill functions that form the theoretical and practical basis of civic identity. The construction of citizenship is a broad process that encompasses both cities and villages. For this reason, People's Houses and Village Institutes are ideological apparatuses that help build the envisioned citizenship. These apparatuses play an important role in homogenizing differences and diversity in society to ensure national unity and eliminate dynamics that would hinder the Republic's goals. People's Houses and Village Institutes were the most effective of the state's ideological apparatuses in this process, assuming an important role in constructing the citizen the Republic envisioned. The first People's Houses opened on February 19, 1932, in 14 cities. By June 24, 1932, they had expanded to 34 cities. Their number rose to 55 in 1933, 379 in 1940, 438 in 1945and 478 in 1950. The People's Houses were established as educational and cultural institutions comprised of the History, Language, Literatureand Folklore Branch; the Public Tutorials and Courses Branch; the Social Assistance Branch; the Sports Branch; the Fine Arts Branch; the Representation and Theater Branch; the Library and Publications Branch; the Rural Life Branch; and the Museum and Exhibition Branch. The organization envisions constructing a modern citizenship that embraces the values of the Republic and possesses high levels of knowledge and skill (Çeçen, 1990; Oral, 2002; Karaömerlioğlu, 2009; Kendirci, 2023; Kabagöz, 2024).

The People's Houses were established to create a political culture that would strengthen the Republican regime and foster a sense of common belonging based on citizenship. They aimed to implement multifaceted education and instill national, secularand populist ideas. Additionally, they sought to teach the knowledge and skills necessary to modernize the people (Oral, 2002; Özer, 2021; Komsuoğlu & Turan, 2007; Özdemir & Aktaş, 2011; Tuğluoğlu, 2005). The Republican People's Party's (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) directive on the aims and objectives of the People's Houses emphasizes that the purpose of the Houses is to foster competent citizenship that embraces the principles and values of the Republic. These ideological institutions are given an important mission.

> The fundamental principles of our party's program are republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularismand revolutionism. Our program emphasizes cultivating strong citizens with these qualities, elevating the national character to levels inspired by Turkish history, advancing the fine artsand strengthening national culture, scientific movementand activity as important means of achieving and perpetuating these fundamental principles. The People's Houses aim to be gathering places that unify idealistic citizens who work toward these goals (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [CHP] Halkevleri Talimatnamesi, 1932, p.3).

The directive outlines the state's responsibilities in conveying the Republic's founding philosophy, principlesand values, as well as modern forms of life and social development, to its citizens. In this context, People's Houses serve as an important ideological tool for creating the envisioned citizen through widespread, multidimensional education and for forming civic identity and consciousness (Ekinci, 1989). Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's speech on the opening day of the People's Houses is noteworthy in that it outlines the functions that the People's Houses should fulfill as an ideological instrument of political authority.

> People's Houses are places where citizens can gather without any burdenand where they can freely discuss matters concerning the country and the nation, especially the nation's high cultural affairs, as they see fit... The cultural policy pursued by the Republican People's Party through the People's Houses is to promote science and the fine arts through this mediumand to disseminate the most up-to-date and accurate information about the politics and economics of this country (Halkevlerinin yıldönümü, 1933, p.6).

Recep Peker, an important figure in the Republic, emphasized the need to "educate"the people to create the community of citizens envisioned by the Republic. He pointed to the role of structures such as People's Houses in this process. According to Recep Peker, the People's Houses are institutions that promote national consciousness in accordance with the ideals of the Republic. They are closely tied to the Republican People's Party (Halkevleri açılma nutku, 1933). These institutions' fundamental mission is to create a citizenry that embraces the Republic's values and philosophy. In other words, they aim to build the envisioned citizenship by educating the people. Recep Peker's thoughts, as one of the party's important figures, point to this situation and indicate that ideological apparatuses will be mobilized.

> The experience of recent years has demonstrated the benefit and necessity of providing citizens with a common public education...We consider it essential to continue providing a public education that is consistent with the progress of the new Turkey, in addition to classical education, so that the nation may attain the maturity to face every challenge. To this end, we will strengthen the institutions of People's Houses, public forumsand public speakers (CHP Genel Sekreteri R. Peker'in Söylevleri, 1935, pp.6-7).

To this end, he stated that they would strengthen institutions such as People's Houses, People's Podiumsand People's Speakers (CHP Dördüncü Büyük Kurultayı Görüşmeleri Tutalgası, 1935).

For this reason, one of these structures' important objectives is to quickly establish the highly competent civic identity and strong national consciousness that the Republic needs. To this end, they organize activities and events throughout the country. Speeches in public squares, conferences, concertsand screenings of films and plays are organized with this objective in mind. Between 1932 and 1940, for example, the People's Houses organized 23,750 conferences, 9,050 concerts, 7,850 film screenings, 970 exhibitionsand

12,350 theater performances. These efforts became important apparatuses for instilling the public with the knowledge and experience necessary for achieving the envisioned citizenship. These events emphasized the principles and values of the Republic, including the national struggle, homeland, independence, national identity, nation, morality, virtue, responsibilityand diligence. This was an attempt to foster the type of citizenship the regime needed and envisioned (Çeçen, 1990; Kendirci, 2024; Aydın, 1996; Şimşek, 2002; Başbuğ, 2010; Akar & Bingöl, 2023; Temel, 2015). These events and activities aimed to produce a consciousness and identity, which the various branches of the People's Houses sought to achieve, thereby creating a form of citizenship compatible with the regime. The Village Branch, an important branch of the People's Houses, aims to foster citizenship in villages.

Village branches of the People's Houses were established to improve education in rural areas, promote economic, cultural, and social development, bridge the gap between urban and rural populations, and advance the regime's founding values and philosophy. These structures carry out important activities, such as raising awareness and enlightening villagers, as well as imparting knowledge and skills. They embody the Republic's vision of creating a community of citizens by modernizing and developing villages (Karaömerlioğlu, 2006; Karaömerlioğlu, 2009). The theater branch, an important part of the People's Houses, plays a significant role in constructing citizenship and forming a national consciousness. Theater plays that cover topics such as the national struggle, the war of independence, the virtues and values of the Republic, the construction of the people and nation, national identity, modernization, the homeland, independence, hard work, responsibility, enlightenment, and individuals and villages are staged in an attempt to produce the imagined civic identity. Thus, the regime establishes a strong bond between the desired citizen and the state and society (Başbuğ, 2010; Akar & Bingöl, 2023).

Another ideological tool of the state was the Village Institutes. Established on April 17, 1940 (Resmi Gazete, 1940, Nisan 22), the Village Institutes played an important role in establishing the envisioned citizenship identity for villages. Villages were one aspect of citizenship as envisioned by the Republic. They are places where political authority focuses its attention and where many problems need to be solved. Most importantly, the majority of the population lives in villages, so they must be taken into considerationand policies must be developed for them. To this end, the state adopted an approach to prepare villages and villagers for modern life, instill the Republic's philosophy and values in them, teach them modern production techniques, enhance their knowledge and skillsand ensure their mental and physical development (Üstel, 2008a). Village Institutes play an important role in creating citizens who understand the ideals, valuesand principles of the republic, spreading this awareness to villages and spreading modernization and development throughout the country (Anık, 2006; Bilir, 2003; Parlak, 2011; Toksoy, 2007). Within this scope, these structures carry out educational and instructive activities to impart knowledge and skills in areas such as agriculture, animal husbandryand handicrafts. Simultaneously, educational and developmental activities are carried out in subjects such as civics, language, history, geography, health, culture, theater, cinemaand music. These activities aim to foster competent citizenship in accordance with the regime (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998; Parlak, 2011; Yıldız & Akandere, 2017). Ensuring close relations and interaction between villages and the political center will also create citizens in line with the Republic's ideals (Boybeyi & Sallan, 2008; Parlak, 2011). Although the People's Schools were established to spread education, raise their leveland create the community of citizens envisioned by the Republic, they had important functions (Aysal, 2005). However, both the People's Houses and Village Institutes were established with a broader scope. They aimed to achieve multidimensional objectives and functions that encompassed a much larger segment of the

population. The People's Schools (Resmi Gazete, 1928, Kasım 24) aimed to spread education throughout the country and instill the Republic's values to foster citizenship. (Yüceer, 2002; Şahin, 1992; Avcı, 2013). These structures were envisioned as an important tool in the literacy campaign, but remained inadequate due to material shortages. Village Institutes, on the other hand, aimed to foster a close relationship between the state and villagers.

During the Ottoman and Early Republican periods, villages and villagers were an integral part of the environment but remained distant from the beliefs and values of the central government. This reality established an identity based on the beliefs, values, production relationsand life practices of the villages, which constituted the majority of the population. Therefore, during the Early Republican period, villages were considered important places for establishing the republican regime and its founding philosophy, as well as the modern state, societal identity, development, progressand ultimately, a citizenship identity within this framework. Ismail Hakkı Tonguç was a pivotal figure in addressing the educational challenges of the era and in shaping the educational programs, structure, operationsand ideological foundations of the Village Institutes. Hailing from a family of Balkan immigrants, Tonguç observed the alienation between administrators and villagers. He emphasized the need for education to promote the villagers' material and spiritual development (Gümüşoğlu, 2014; Parlak, 2011). In this context, efforts were made to establish Village Institutes to enable the development of villages, educate village childrenand transform them into conscious citizens. According to Tonguç, these structures formed the consciousness of citizenship in the Republic. Tonguç's ideas encompass the concept of political authority.

> Starting from the village and extending all the way to the Grand National Assembly, we must involve the villagers in the administration of all branches of the state without requiring any conditions other than their current qualifications. This will nourish state affairs with elements drawn from reality and shape them in a manner appropriate to the true structure of the country. It is necessary to awaken the consciousness of republican citizenship in a way that can be translated into action (Tonguç, 1946, p.212).

The Republic established Village Institutes to address the educational needs of rural communities and the shortage of teachers. The Republic's vision of providing its citizens with a multidimensional educational experience formed the basis for its creation. An important goal to be achieved through these structures is the creation of a community of citizens with a common national consciousness and sense of belonging who have embraced the Republic's founding philosophy, revolutionsand modern ways of life. Within the scope of Republican citizenship and on the basis of equality, the aim is to enable the village population to become a community of citizens. This will be achieved by providing them with professional knowledge and skills in a wide range of subjects, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts, life and citizenship, language, history, geography, health, sports, culture, music, theaterand more. While striving to instill a national identity through an educational approach that combines theory and practice, intensive efforts are made to break down traditional structures and enable modern social life and development.

These ideological apparatuses were created to help achieve the Republic's goals and objectives. They carry out important educational and instructional activities. They play a crucial role in modernizing and developing villages by equipping their residents with professional knowledge and skills. The aim is to create an imagined citizenry that is well-equipped,

productive, highly educated, and cultured (Geray, 1969; Makal, 1979; Anık, 2006; Parlak, 2011; Öztan, 2021; Aysal, 2005; Kartal, 2008; Yıldız & Akandere, 2017). These structures aim to integrate theory and practiceand are essential to creating a modern republic by instilling the elements that build imagined citizenship, in addition to knowledge and skills. The goal is to build a community of citizens aligned with the ideals of the republic, making them key agents of modernization and development through political, economic, culturaland social means. Similar to the People's Houses, the Village Institutes were ideological instruments designed to achieve these objectives. Through educational activities, the Institutes sought to instill values such as discipline, training, national and common consciousnessand duty and responsibility. Thus, they attempted to create a civic identity as envisioned by the Republic. This identity encompasses citizenship that embraces the Republic's founding philosophy and principles, the values of modern and secular lifeand a national identity. The People's Houses and Village Institutes' ideological apparatuses that emerged within the single- party system, especially during the Early Republican Period, played important roles in constructing this civic identity.

Conclusion

During the Constitutional Era, fostering citizenship as a rational part of the modern state was essential. In this context, developing citizenship through educational programs and apparatuses was an important approach. Education programs and course content were developed with a strong emphasis on rights and freedoms during this period. These programs and content had a fairly broad repertoire and were linked to the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship toward the state. These ideas and approaches continued into the Early Republican Period. The difference between this period and the previous one was the use of ideological apparatuses in addition to educational ones. Two fundamental ideological Apparatuses, the People's Houses and Village Institutes, played a significant role in constructing citizenship during the Early Republican Period. These apparatuses sought to foster a citizenry that would embody the Republic's ideals, be knowledgeableand be equipped with the fundamental principles and values of the Republic. They aimed to promote modernization and development and encourage collective action within this framework. Therefore, the Republic's vision of citizenship resembles the type of citizenship that emerged with the modern state. This is because the modern state creates a homogeneous citizenship identity through ideological Apparatuses. During this period, however, elements that enabled interaction and mutual influence between citizens and the state such as rights and freedoms, political participationand civil formations based on pluralism did not have an arena in which to act and strengthen the regime, creating a strong community of citizens. Nevertheless, the modern state also recognized the importance of citizens' rights and freedoms as a significant phenomenon. Considering the legacy of disintegration and fragmentation inherited from the Ottoman Empire, it is understandable that duties and responsibilities took precedence over rights and freedoms during the early Republican period.

The educational programs, textbooks, and course content of the Early Republican Era, as well as the activities and functions of the People's Houses and Village Institutes, influenced the development of responsible citizens who embraced the Republic's philosophy, values, and goals and worked to achieve them. These programs also fostered citizens loyal to the regime. For this reason, during the Early Republican Period, citizenship was defined more by obligations and responsibilities than by rights. This was due to the lack of organized

political and social structures, constitutionally guaranteed institutionsand a public sphere within this scope where citizens could express their rights and freedoms concretely. Thus, citizenship during the Early Republican Period was defined by duties and responsibilities that played a central role in realizing the Republic's ideals. Rights and freedoms were considered legitimate only within the limits determined by political authority. One important reason for constructing citizenship with ideological apparatuses during the Second Constitutional Era and the Early Republican Period was the belief that strong citizenship could be created with these apparatuses. During the Early Republican Period, influenced by populism, the concept of citizenship was conceived as collective rather than individual because a community of citizens consisting of classless, privileged people required collective citizenship. In this context, citizenship during the Early Republican Period involved creating a "collective political subject."Considered a precursor to the formation of a national community, citizenship plays a predictive role in reducing societal deviations. The political authority/power's foresight in the Early Republican Period applies not only to citizenship, but also to state building, constitutional and legal regulations, political institutions and structuresand economic and social order. Examples include the Parliamentary Government System, the Centralization Approach, the Treason Law, the Law on the Maintenance of Order, the State-Centric Ideology, the Absence of Opposition Partiesand the Lack of Political Participation. These phenomena summarize the general structure of the period. These phenomena were adopted as anticipated phenomena and approaches. Therefore, within this ideology and approach, citizenship encompasses an identity constructed by the state through its ideological Apparatuses. This identity expresses a collective political subject interwoven with republican ideals under the leadership of positivist and secular values. It defines a citizen with a common consciousness and sense of belonging. During this period, citizenship is imagined on the basis of equality and includes a political subject that is not self-evident. This subject defines a national identity based on a common consciousness and acquires meaning and value within this world.

During the Early Republican Period, educational apparatuses such as People's Houses and Village Institutes served as ideological instruments for creating a collective political identity. These apparatuses transferred a set of values to the periphery, reducing the tension between the political center and the periphery during this process. These apparatuses played a crucial role in transferring and internalizing the values of the center to the periphery, thereby reducing the distance between them. The dissemination of education, one of the important functions of these ideological Apparatuses, as well as the enrichment of its content and improvement of its level, has been important in forming the citizenship required by the modern state. This is because the modern state and society require citizens to become educated, acquire knowledge and skillsand establish a rational relationship with the state. The modern state seeks to meet this need through these apparatuses. In this context, it is necessary to evaluate the important effects and functions of these apparatuses in constructing citizenship in a multifaceted manner within the conditions of this period. In this process, the broad content and multifaceted functions of ideological apparatuses such as People's Houses and Village Institutes reveal a close and direct relationship and interaction between the envisioned citizenship of the Republic and the functions of these apparatuses. Ultimately, the existence of an identity and connection between the goal and the apparatuses has determined and influenced the content of the envisioned citizenship.

References

Ağaoğulları, M. A. (2015). Fransız devrimi: Halk sahneye çıkıyor. İçinde M. A. Ağaoğulları (Ed.), *Sokrates'ten Jakobenlere Batı'da Siyasal Düşünceler* (ss. 597–632). İletişim Yayınları.

Ağaoğulları, M. A., & Köker, L. (2020). *İmparatorluktan Tanrı devletine*. İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.

Ahmad, F. (2008). *Modern Türkiye'nin oluşumu*. Kaynak Yayınları.

Akagündüz, S. Y. (2020). Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında yurttaşlık eğitimi: Cumhuriyet çocuklarına Malûmât-ı Vataniye ders kitabı örneği. *Turkish History Education Journal*, *9(1)*, 109–131.

Akar, B., & Bingöl, Y. (2023). Köy-kent ayrımında ulusal mekânı sahnelemek: Devlet tiyatrosu'nda ulus inşası ve mekân. *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 19(38)*, 887-924.

Akgün, E. (2013). Ortaçağ'da özgürlük arayışı. *Mehmet Akif Ersoy Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, *5(8)*, 120–134.

Alakel, M. (2011). İlk dönem Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si ulus inşası sürecinde milliyetçilik ve sivil-etnik ikilemine dair teorik tartışmalar. *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, *5(9)*, 1–30.

Alkan, M. Ö. (2008). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda modernleşme ve eğitim. *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, *6(12)*, 9–84.

Althusser, L. (1991). *İdeoloji ve devletin ideolojik aygıtları.* (Y. Alp., & M. Özışık. Çev.). İletişim Yayınları.

Anık, M. (2006). Bir modernleş(tir)me projesi olarak Köy Enstitüleri. *Divan İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*, *20*, 279–309.

Arendt, H. (1998). *The human condition*. University of Chicago Press.

Aristoteles. (2011). *Politika* (M. Tunçay, Çev.). Bilgesu Yayınları.

Aslan, E. (2011). 1924 İlk mektepler müfredat programı. *Elementary Education Online*, *10(2)*, 717–734.

Avcı, C. (2013). Harf inkılabı ve millet mektepleri. *Akdeniz Üniversitesi Akdeniz İnsani Bilimler Dergisi*, *3(1)*, 43–60.

Aybay, R. (2003). *Vatandaşlık hukuku*. Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Aydın, S. (1996). Türk tarih tezi ve Halkevleri. *Kebikeç Dergisi, 2(3)*, 107-130.

Aysal, N. (2005). Anadolu'da aydınlanma hareketinin doğuşu: Köy Enstitüleri. *Atatürk Yolu*

Dergisi, *9(35)*, 267–282.

Başbuğ, E. D. (2010). *Devlet ideolojisi inşaasında tiyatronun yeri*. [Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi]. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi.

Bayrak, M. B. (2014). Meclis tutanakları üzerinden 1924 Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu tartışmaları. *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim*, *21*, 189–218.

Bilir, M. (2003). Köy Enstitüleri sisteminde toplum kalkınması süreci. *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, *10*, 1–15.

Blaufarb, R. (1995). The French Revolution: The birth of European popular democracy? *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *37(3)*, 608–618.

Boybeyi, S., & Sallan G., S. (2008). Cumhuriyet aydınlanmasının kısa tarihi: Köy Enstitülerini çevreleyen tarihsel ve toplumsal koşullar ve bugüne çıkarsamalar. *Toplum ve Demokrasi Dergisi*, *2(3)*, 67–92.

Budak, L. & Budak, Ç. (2014). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne ilkokul programları (1870-1936). *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, 181*(181)*,* 51-68.

Caymaz, B. (2007). *Türkiye'de vatandaşlık: Resmî ideoloji ve yansımaları*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi. (1935). *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) Dördüncü Büyük Kurultayı Görüşmeleri Tutulgası, 9-16 Mayıs 1935*. Ulus Basımevi.

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi. (1932). *Halkevleri talimatnamesi*. Hâkimiyeti Millîye Matbaası.

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi. (1935). *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) Genel Sekreteri R. Peker'in söylevleri*. Ulus Basımevi.

Çeçen, A. (1990). *Atatürk'ün kültür kurumu Halkevleri*. Gündoğan Yayınları.

Çelik, F. (2012). Antik çağ ve Rönesans'da gelişen "evrensel yurttaşlık" anlayışının modern dönemdeki yansıması: Fransız yurttaşlığı. *Düşünce Dünyasında Türkiz*, *3(13)*, 88–104.

Çelik, O. (2022). *Ulusal kimliğin inşasında ulusal marşların rolü: Türkiye örneği*. [Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi]. İstanbul Gelişim Üniversitesi.

Çetinkaya, Y. D. (2008). 1908 Devrimi'nde kamusal alan ve kitle siyasetinde dönüşüm. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, *38*, 125–140.

Çilingir, L. (2024). Augustinus'ta iki şehrin anlamı. *Tabula Rasa: Felsefe ve Teoloji*, *43*, 28–42.

Çoban, F. (2021). Etno-sembolist perspektiften erken Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinde ulus-devlet ve vatandaşlık. *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 22(1), 87-100.*

Dağdelen, M. Ç. (2022). Ulus-devletlerin özet metni milli marş tezahürleri. *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi*, *10(30)*, 354–385.

Demir, F. (2018). Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet döneminde ilkokul programları kapsamında yetiştirilmek istenen insan modeli. [Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi]. Gazi Üniversitesi.

Demir, F., & Duman, T. (2018). Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetin ilanıyla birlikte yetiştirilecek bireylere kazandırılması düşünülen temel nitelikler. *Bayburt Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, 13(25)*, 41-56

Demirkaya, M. (2014). *Musahabat-ı Ahlakiye ve Malumat-ı Vataniye adlı ders kitabının transkripsiyonu ve değerlendirilmesi.* [Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi]. Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi.

Dinçkol, B. V. & Işık, A. (2015). 1924 Anayasası döneminde yurttaşlık anlayışı. *Marmara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Hukuk Araştırmaları Dergisi, 21(1)*, 13–43.

Durgun, Ş. (2010). Cumhuriyetçi ve liberal anlayış çerçevesinde Türkiye'de vatandaşlık sorunsalı. *Çankırı Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, *1(1)*, 65–92.

Ekici, Ö., & Şahin, İ. F. (2020). Modern vatandaşlık anlayışına göre Osmanlı devletinde vatandaşlık algısı. İçinde S. Berkün (Ed.), *Sosyal Bilimlere Multidisipliner Bakış* (ss. 155– 177). İksad Yayınevi.

Ekinci, N. (1989). *Sanayileşme ve uluslaşma sürecinde toprak reformundan Köy Enstitülerine 1923–1950*. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Eraslan, C. (2003). *Yakın dönem Türk düşüncesinde halkçılık ve Atatürk*. Kumsaati Yayınları.

Erdoğdu, A. T. (2008). Osmanlılığın evrimi hakkında bir deneme: Bir grup (üst düzey yönetici) kimliğinden millet yaratma projesine. *Doğu Batı*, *45*, 19–47.

Eryılmaz, B. (1992). *Osmanlı Devleti'nde millet sistemi*. Ağaç Kitabevi Yayınları.

Evirgen, B. (2019). *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e ulusal bayramlar ve önemli günler (1908 1950).* [Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi]. Mersin Üniversitesi.

Gazi Hz. dün İstanbul'larla temas etti. (1930, Aralık 20). *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*.

Geray, C. (1969). Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri hareketi ve köy kalkınması. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, *2(1)*, 197–200.

Findley, C. V. (2011). *Modern Türkiye tarihi: İslam, milliyetçilik ve modernlik 1789–2007* (G. Ayas, Çev.). Timaş Yayınları.

Gevgilili, A. (1990). *Türkiye'de yenileşme düşüncesi, sivil toplum, basın ve Atatürk*. Bağlam Yayınları.

Gözübüyük, Ş., & Sezgin, Z. (1957). *1924 Anayasası hakkındaki meclis görüşmeleri*. Ankara Üniversitesi Sıyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi İdari İlimler Enstitüsü Yayını.

Guibernau, M. (1997). *Milliyetçilikler: 20. yüzyılda ulusal devlet ve milliyetçilikler* (N. N. Domaniç, Çev.). Sarmal Yayınevi.

Gutek, G. L. (2006). *Eğitime felsefi ve ideolojik yaklaşımlar* (N. Kale, Çev.). Ütopya Yayınları.

Gümüşoğlu, F. (2014). İsmail Hakkı Tonguç'un mektupları ve klasik eğitime karşı özgürleştirici eğitim. *MSGSÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, *10*, 129–148.

Güneş, İ. (2020). Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu'nun (1921 Anayasası'nın) yapılış süreci. *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, *20(2)*, 233–256.

Gürkan, C. (2019). Aydınlanma ve ilk birikim çelişkisinde halk ve halkçı ekonomi politik. *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim*, *32*, 1–30.

Gürses, F. (2010). *Türkiye'de ders kitaplarında yurttaşlık: Cumhuriyet'in kuruluş yıllarından bugüne kavramsal dönüşüm*. [Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi]. Gazi Üniversitesi.

Halkevleri açılma nutku. (1933, Şubat). *Ülkü Halkevleri Mecmuası*.

Halkevlerinin yıldönümü dün memleketin her tarafında tes'it edildi. (1933, Şubat 25). *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi.*

Habermas, J. (2004). Kamusal alan. İçinde M. Özbek (Ed.), *Kamusal alan* (ss. 95–102). Hil Yayınları.

Heater, D. (2004). *A brief history of citizenship*. NYU Press.

Heper, M. (2018). *Türkiye'de devlet geleneği* (N. Soyarık, Çev.). Doğu Batı Yayınları.

Heywood, A. (2018). *Siyaset*. BB101 Yayınları.

Hobbes, T. (1993). *Leviathan* (S. Lim, Çev.). Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Honohan, I. (2002). *Civic republicanism.* (Vol. 19), Routledge.

İnan, A. (1930). *Vatandaş için medeni bilgiler.* Milliyet Matbaası.

İrem, N. (2004). Jakobenizm-cumhuriyetçilik açmazında Kemalist radikalizm. *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İşletme Fakültesi Dergisi*, *5(2),* 1–25.

Jones, P. M., & Jones, P. (1995). *Reform and revolution in France: The politics of transition (1774–1791)*. Cambridge University Press.

Kabagöz, M. C. (2024). *Halkevleri ve gündelik hayat*. [Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi]. Hacettepe Üniversitesi.

Kadıoğlu, A. (2008). Milliyetçilik-liberalizm ekseninde vatandaşlık ve bireysellik. İçinde T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Cilt 4, ss. 284–292). İletişim Yayınları.

Kandal, S. C. (2019). Atatürk döneminde yurttaşlık dersleri. *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, *34(2)*, 387–412.

Kandeğer, B. (2023). Reflections on "centralization and the civil administrative division"in the nation-state building process during the early period of the Republic. [Special Issue]. *Siyasal: Journal of Political Sciences*, *32*, 57–79.

Kandiyoti, D. (2019). *Cariye, bacılar, yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve toplumsal dönüşümler* (A. Bora, F. Sayılan, Ş. Tekeli, H. Tapınç, & F. Özbay, Çev.; 6th ed.). Metis Yayınları.

Karaömerlioğlu, A. (1998). The people's houses and the cult of the peasant in Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies*, *34(4)*, 67-91.

Karaömerlioğlu, A. (2006). *Orada bir köy var uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde köycü söylem.* İletişim Yayınları.

Karaömerlioğlu, A. (2009). Köy Enstitüleri. İçinde T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm* (Cilt 2, ss. 286-297), İletişim Yayınları.

Karpat, K. (1996). *Türk demokrasi tarihi*. AFA Yayınları.

Kartal, S. (2008). Toplum kalkınmasında farklı bir eğitim kurumu: Köy Enstitüleri. *Mersin Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, *4(1)*, 23–36.

Kasımoğlu, A. (2024). Cumhuriyetçi ve liberal bağlamda Hobbes ve Rousseau'nun yurttaşlık yaklaşımları. *Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences*, *23(4)*, 1649–1662.

Kaya, E. E. (2015). Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi ulus inşa sürecinde ırk ve ırkçılık (1923–1938). *Akademik Hassasiyetler Dergisi*, *2(3)*, 21–64.

Kaya, M. M. (2020). *İkinci Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e (1908–1961) vatandaşlık dersi öğretim programlarının değişimi ve ders kitaplarına yansımaları* [Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi]. Dumlupınar Üniversitesi.

Kaya, M. M., & Biçer, B. (2021). Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e vatandaş. *OPUS, 18(44)*, 8025–8053.

Kaygusuz, Ö. (2005). Modern Türk vatandaşlığı kavramının erken öncüleri: Milli mücadele döneminde ulusal vatandaşlığın kuruluşu. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi, 60(2)*, 195–217.

Kendirci, M. (2023). Cumhuriyet'in yüzyılı ve 26 Eylül Türk dil bayramı. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, *47(5)*, 175-210.

Kendirci, M. (2024). Ah şu taşra; sessiz ve renksiz taşra. *Tezkire*, *33(87)*, 31-44.

Kili, S., & Gözübüyük, Ş. (2000). *Türk anayasa metinleri: Sened-i İttifak'tan günümüze*. Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Komsuoğlu, A., & Turan, N. S. (2007). Türkiye'de ulus inşası sürecinde Halkevleri temsilleri. *Bilgi Bellek, 7*, 88–113.

Köker, L. (2000). *Modernleşme, Kemalizm ve demokrasi*. İletişim Yayınları.

Makal, M. (1979). *Köy Enstitüleri ve ötesi*. Çağdaş Yayınları.

Mann, M. (1993). *The sources of social power: The rise of classes and nation-States 1760.* Cambridge University Press.

Maarif vekili Vasıf Bey'in beyanatı. (1924, Mart 9). *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*.

Mardin, Ş. (2006). *Türkiye'de toplum ve siyaset*. İletişim Yayınları.

Markus, R. A. (2006). *Christianity and the secular*. University of Notre Dame Press.

Marshall, T. H. (1992). Citizenship and social class. In T. H. Marshall & T. Bottomore (Ed.), *Citizenship and social class* (pp. 3–51). Pluto Press.

Mumcu, A. (1986). 1924 Anayasası. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, 2(5)*, 383–400.

Okandan, R. (1952). Devletin ortaçağ Avrupasındaki teorik tekâmülü. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası, 18(3–4)*, 627–663.

Oral, M. (2002). Halkevlerinin kültürel ve toplumsal işlevleri. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 18(53), 499–527.

Osmanağaoğlu, C. (2004). *Tanzimat dönemi itibarıyla Osmanlı tâbiiyetinin (vatandaşlığının) gelişimi*. Legal Yayıncılık.

Ozan, H., & Kuş, Z. (2021). Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e vatandaşlık öğretim programlarında kimlik inşası. *Eğitim ve Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi, 8(2)*, 237–257.

Özbudun, E. (2008). *1921 Anayasası*. Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

Özcoşar, İ. (2003). Osmanlı Devleti'nde gayrimüslimlerin hukuki durumu ve millet sistemi. *Dicle Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, 7(7)*, 124–139.

Özdemir, Y., & Aktaş, E. (2011). Halkevleri. *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi, 45,* 235–262.

Özer, İ. (2021). *Türk modernleşmesinde Halkevleri ve Diyarbakır halkevi örneği*. Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

Özgen, Y. (Ed.). (2024). *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri.* Cilt III. (1925-1938). Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü

Öztan, G. G. (2011). *Türkiye'de çocukluğun politik inşası*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Öztan, G. G. (2021). 1961–65 arasında Türkiye solunda eğitim tartışmaları. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi, 76(1)*, 279–318.

Parlak, İ. (2005). *Türkiye'de ideoloji-eğitim ilişkisi: Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi tarih ve yurt bilgisi ders kitapları üzerine bir inceleme* [Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi]. Hacettepe Üniversitesi.

Parlak, İ., & Kaftan, E. (2010). Osmanlı'nın tebaasından Cumhuriyet'in yurttaşına giden yol. *Doğu-Batı,* 54, 139–168

Parlak, D. (2011). Uluslaşma sürecinde Köy Enstitülerinin yeri. *Muhafazakâr Düşünce Dergisi*, *7(27)*, 201–221.

Peker, R. (1984). *İnkılap dersleri*. İletişim Yayınları.

Pettit, P. (1997). *Republicanism: A theory of freedom and government*. Oxford University Press.

Pierson, C. (2000). *Modern devlet* (D. Hattatoğlu, Çev.). Çiviyazıları.

Platon. (2010). *Devlet* (S. Eyüboğlu & M. A. Cimcoz, Çev.). İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Poggi, G. (2009). *Devlet: Doğası, gelişimi ve geleceği*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Resmi Gazete. (1928, Haziran 4). 904 *sayılı Türk Vatandaşlık Kanunu.*

Resmi Gazete. (1928, Kasım 24). 1048 *sayılı Millet Mektebi Talimatnamesi.*

Resmi Gazete. (1940, Nisan 22). 3803 *sayılı Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu.*

Reyhan, C. (2024). Kan bağı/jus sanguinis ve toprak bağı/jus soli: İmparatorluk'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de vatandaşlığın kurucu ilkeleri. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi, 57(1)*, 37–68.

Rousseau, J.J. (2006). *Toplum sözleşmesi* (V. Günyol, Çev.). İş Bankası Yayınları.

Sağıroğlu, N. A. (2018). Klasik liberalism, yurttaşlık ve engelli kadınlar. *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 26,* 341-356.

Sancar, S. (2012). *Türk modernleşmesinin cinsiyeti: Erkekler devlet, kadınlar aile kurar*. İletişim Yayınları.

Sandel, M. J. (1998). *Democracy's discontent: America in search of a public philosophy*. Harvard University Press.

Saygılı, A. (2010). Modern devlet'in çıplak sureti. *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, 59(1)*, 61–97.

Sel, B. & Sözer, M. A. (2018). Cumhuriyet dönemi (1928-1948) yurt bilgisi ders kitaplarında çocukluğun politik yapılandırılmasına ilişkin bir araştırma. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, 33(2)*, 293-315.

Serbestoğlu, İ. (2011). Zorunlu bir modernleşme örneği olarak Osmanlı Tabiiyet Kanunu. *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM), 29*, 193–214.

Smith, A. D. (1991). *National identity*. Penguin Books.

Somel, S. A. (2009). Osmanlı reform çağında Osmanlıcılık düşüncesi (1839–1913). İçinde T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce: Cumhuriyet'e devreden düşünce mirası* (Cilt. 1, ss. 88–97), İletişim Yayınları.

Şahin, M. (1992). Bir halk eğitim çalışması örneği olarak millet mektepleri. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1(2)*, 213–234.

Şentürk, S. N. (2010). Vatandaşlığın imparatorluk kökleri: Osmanlı'ya bakmak. *Doğu- Batı,* 54, 121–138.

Şimşek, S. (2002). *Bir ideolojik seferberlik deneyimi Halkevleri 1932-1951*. Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi.

Tanör, B. (2018). *Osmanlı-Türk anayasal gelişmeleri*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Temel, T. (2015). *Modernleşme süreci Türk tiyatrosunda ideal bireyin temsili*. [Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi]. İstanbul Üniversitesi.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlığı İdari Teşkilatı. (2023). *Osmanlı'dan günümüze Türk anayasa metinleri* (M. A. Kumbuzoğlu, Yayın Koord.; A. Güler, Ed.; Ö. Kesikbaş, A. H. Kurnaz, Ş. İba, Eds.; K. Akar, H. Erkül, E. Ertüven, M. Çakmakçı, Ö. Yaydemir, S. Yıldız Aybak, A. Çoşkun Tören, Yavuz S. Yıldız, & T. Tuna Kanar, Yayına Hazırlayanlar; B. H. Dağ, Tasarım). TBMM Basımevi.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. (2021). *Kabulünün 100. yılında 1921 Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu: Belgeler* (M. Şentop, Yayın Sahibi; A. Koçin, Yay. Koord.; A. Balıbey, A. H. Kurnaz & Ö. Kesikbaş, Ed.). TBMM Basımevi.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi**.** (1924). *Teşkilât-ı Esasiye Kanunu* (Kanun No. 491). Haziran 30, 2025 de https://www.anayasa.gov.tr/tr/mevzuat/onceki-anayasalar/1924-anayasasi/ den erişildi

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi. (1336, Mayıs 1). Devre 1, Cilt 1, İçtima 1.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi. (1337, Kasım 26). Devre 1, Cilt 14, İçtima 2.

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi. (1923, Mart 1). Devre 1, Cilt 28, İçtima 1.

Toksoy, N. (2007). *Halkevleri: Bir kültürel kalkınma modeli olarak*. Orion Kitabevi.

Tonguç, İ. H. (1946). *İlköğretim kavramı*. Remzi Kitabevi.

Toprak, Z. (1977). Halkçılık ideolojisinin oluşumu. İçinde A. Aksay & M. Pirili (Eds.). *Atatürk döneminin ekonomik ve toplumsal sorunları sempozyumu kitabı,* (ss.13-31). Yüksek İktisat ve Ticaret Mektebi, Mezunları Derneği Yayını

Toprak, Z. (1988). 80. yıldönümünde 'hürriyetin ilânı' (1908) ve 'rehber-i ittihad'. *Toplum ve Bilim, 42*, 157–173.

Toprak, Z. (1995). *Türkiye'de toplum ve ekonomi (1908–1950): Milli iktisat-milli burjuvazi*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Tuğluoğlu, F. (2005). Türkiye'de halkçılık ideolojisi ve Halkevleri. *Erdem İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi, 15(42)*, 101–118.

Tuğluoğlu, F. & Tunç, T. (2010). 1926 ilkmektep müfredatı ve Cumhuriyet dönemi eğitiminin ekonomik hedefleri. *Atatürk Araştırmaları Merkezi Dergisi, 26(76),* 55-98.

Tunaya, T. Z. (2004). *Hürriyetin ilanı: İkinci Meşrutiyet'in siyasi hayatına bakışlar*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Ubicini, H. A. (1998). *Osmanlıda modernleşme sancısı* (C. Aydın, Çev.). Timaş Yayınları.

Unan, N. (Derleyen). (1952). *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri*. Cilt II. Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları.

Üstel, F. (2008a). *Makbul vatandaş'ın peşinde: İkinci Meşrutiyetten bugüne vatandaşlık eğitimi*. İletişim Yayınları.

Üstel, F. (2008b). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde resmi yurttaş profilinin evrimi. İçinde T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* (Cilt 4, ss. 275–283). İletişim Yayınları.

Üstel, F. (2009). II. Meşrutiyet ve vatandaşın icadı. İçinde T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce: Cumhuriyet'e devreden düşünce mirası* (Cilt 1, ss. 166– 179), İletişim Yayınları.

Van Het Hof, S. D. (2010). Türk millî kimliğinin kuruluşunda Osmanlı'nın reddi. *Çankaya University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 7*(2), 551–567.

Weber, M. (2006). *Sosyoloji yazıları* (T. Parla, Çev.). İletişim Yayınları.

Yanardağ, A. (2020). Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e ilk mektepler talimatnameleri (1915-1929). *Turkish History Education Journal, 9*(1), 89-108.

Yaşar, T. F. (2018). II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde yurttaşlık, ahlak ve medenilik eğitimi: Malumat-ı Medeniye ders kitapları. *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi, 52(52)*, 311–342.

Yeşilorman, M. (2003). Siyasallaşma sürecinin yeniden keşfi: Siyasal eğitim kavramına kuramsal bir giriş. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi, 28*, 23–47.

Yıldırım, Y. (2019). Fransız Devrimi'nde yurttaşlık ve etkilerine dair bir değerlendirme. *Trakya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 21*, 251–271.

Yüceer, S. (2002). Türkiye'nin aydınlanma sürecinde bir kültür devrimi: Millet mektepleri. *Atatürkçü Bakış Dergisi, 1(1)*, 13–32.

Yıldız, A. (2002). Kemalist milliyetçilik. İçinde A. İnsel (Ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce: Kemalizm* (Cilt2, ss. 210–234), İletişim Yayınları.

Yıldız, N., & Akandere, O. (2017). Köy Enstitülerinin ideolojik yapısı. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 17(35)*, 275–316.

Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi*. (Y. S. Gönen, Çev.), İletişim Yayınları.

Information About the Article/Makale Hakkında Bilgiler

The Ethical Rules for Research and Publication / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği

The author declared that the ethical rules for research and publication followed while preparing the article.

Yazar makale hazırlanırken araştırma ve yayın etiğine uyulduğunu beyan etmiştir.

Conflict of Interests/ Çıkar Çatışması

The author have no conflict of interest to declare.

Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Grant Support/ Finansal Destek

The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

Author Contributions/ Yazar Katkıları

The draft process of the manuscript/ Taslağın Hazırlanma Süreci B.K., Writing The Manuscript/ Makalenin Yazılması B.K., Submit, Revision and Resubmit Process/ Başvuru, Düzeltme ve Yeniden Başvuru Süreci B.K.