

**CONTEMPORARY TURKISH FAMILY POLICIES
IN THE CONTEXT OF WELFARE REGIMES**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

BY



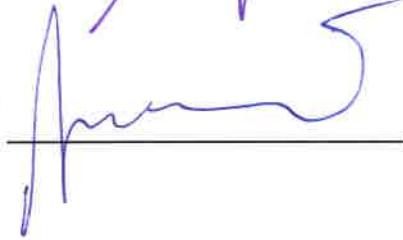
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ART
IN
MODERN TURKISH STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 2018

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Modern Turkish Studies.

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ABSTRACT

CONTEMPORARY TURKISH FAMILY POLICIES IN THE CONTEXT OF WELFARE REGIMES

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MA in Modern Turkish Studies

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September 2018, 130 Pages

Family policies in many countries have become crucial in recent years. Behind this growing interest is the awareness of the challenges such as aging of the population, falling birth rates, diversification of family forms, or the needs for work-family life balance, effects of which are felt today and will intensify in the future. The solutions produced by the welfare regimes in response to the demographic, economic and political challenges differ according to their institutional traditions. The changes in family structure in all aspects with the increasing level of prosperity and changing social conditions after 2000's are the basic question and problem areas in Turkey. With this study, family policies were realized in welfare regimes, the factors taken into consideration during this process and the results of the practices were examined. In order to obtain concrete data on the primary program of family policies, supporting policies including leave policies, childcare services, and cash and tax benefits were examined along with legal regulations on the position of the family. In this study, family policies in Turkey evaluated together with other countries in the context of welfare regimes. Considering similar, distinctive and inadequate aspects compared to other welfare states, Turkey's current situation analyzed. As a conclusion, despite all the improvements, the services provided in Turkey seems quite insufficient, especially compared with Southern European and Conservative welfare regimes which Turkey resembles with respect to the importance given to family, and with Liberal regimes which are market-driven when it comes to leaves, childcare services, and expenditures.

Key words: Welfare, Welfare regime, Family policy, Childcare services.

ÖZ

REFAH REJİMLERİ BAĞLAMINDA ÇAĞDAŞ TÜRK AİLE POLİTİKALARI

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Modern Türkiye Çalışmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Mehmet Fatih Aysan

Eylül 2018, 130 Sayfa

Birçok ülkede aile politikaları son yıllarda büyük önem kazanmıştır. Artan bu ilginin arkasında bugün etkileri hissedilen ve gelecekte yoğunlaşacak olan, nüfusun yaşlanması, doğum oranlarının düşmesi, aile biçimlerinin çeşitlenmesi ve iş-aile yaşamının uzlaşma ihtiyacı gibi zorluklar vardır. Refah rejimlerinin karşılaştıkları demografik, ekonomik ve politik zorluklar karşısında üretilen çözümler ise sahip oldukları kurumsal geleneğe göre farklılık göstermektedir. Artan refah düzeyi ile birlikte değişen toplumsal koşullar karşısında, refah dağıtımında temel aktör olan ailenin değişim sürecine girmesi 2000 sonrası Türkiye’de temel ilgi ve sorun alanı hâline gelmiştir. Bu çalışma ile aile refahını arttırma amacı taşıyan politikaların refah rejimlerinde nasıl olduğu, hangi bileşenlerle birlikte değerlendirildiği ve uygulama sonuçlarının yansımaları incelenmiştir. Refah rejimlerinin aile politikalarının temel izlencesi hakkında karşılaştırılabilir somut veriler elde etmek için aileyi konumlandıran yasal düzenlemelerin yanı sıra izin politikaları, çocuk bakım hizmetleri, nakit ve vergi yardımları karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir. Diğer refah devletleri ile benzeşen, ayrışan ve yetersiz kalan yönlerine bakılarak Türkiye’nin içerisinde bulunduğu konum değerlendirilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, tüm iyileştirme çalışmalarına rağmen, Türkiye gerek ailenin merkezîliği paydasında birleştiği Güney Avrupa ve Muhafazakâr rejimler ile karşılaştırıldığında gerekse izinler, bakım hizmetleri ve harcamalar konusunda piyasa odaklı hareket eden Liberal rejimlerle birlikte değerlendirildiğinde oldukça düşük oranda hizmet sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Refah, Refah rejimleri, Aile politikası, Çocuk bakım hizmetleri.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In this thesis, I studied on the family, which is one of the fundamental components of society in Turkey. Along with the changing societal conditions, interest in the family has increased in the last decade, and more family issues have begun to be spoken. The changing structures of the family, the work-family conflict, increasing divorce rates, declining birth rates have become the main challenges in different countries. Moreover, dissemination of services for families in the last period is significant developments in family policies in Turkey.

The changing position of the family in the society is a social reality. In this thesis, the presentation of a data-based comparative study is to evaluate the state's approach to the family and its practices, taking into account the independence of the 'value' and 'normative' judgments. Thus, the successes or deficiencies of the regulations can be evaluated with the researches and data.

In many studies in the literature, family and family policies are associated with women employment. In recent years, employment-oriented policies have been implemented in family policies. Moreover, these mostly affect the position of women in the family. However, these analyses make it difficult to evaluate the position of the family in the social structure. Therefore, in this thesis, I tried to focus on the family not only focusing on women, man or child. Thus, with this study, the Turkish government's approach that is aiming at increasing the social welfare of family were analysed with concrete comparative analysis.

There are many people to thank who have been journeyed with me during this process. Firstly, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Mehmet Fatih Aysan for his contributions to the pioneering works on social policy studies and his constructive comments to the thesis. I also would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Lütfi Sunar, Assoc. Prof. Eda Ünlü Yücesoy and Assoc. Prof. Nurullah Ardiç for their valuable contributions and critics as examining committee members.

I am very grateful for my 'hocam' Assoc. Prof. Lutfi Sunar for his invaluable guidance and endless support. Without his guidance and persistent help, I cannot continue in my academic life. I would also like to extend special thanks to my dear friends, colleagues Arife Gümüő, Kübra Bilgin, and Hafsanur Aslanođlu, for their invaluable support and encouragement during this long process. I would also like to thank ILKE (Association for Science, Culture and Education) and its staff for providing me with all kinds of opportunities while working for a long time in the study hall.

In this labarious process, my most valuable supporter was my family. First of all, I would like to thank my mother Zeynep Akkuő, my father Hüseyin Akkuő and my sister Sevde Meőe for their love and endless support and patient. They always support me with their love and concern. In addition to the support they gave me in this process, I also appreciated my aunt Necmiye Ünal, my cousins Serra Ünal and Kübra Ünal, who helped me complete my work by taking care of my daughter Ayőe Vera.

I am highly indebted and entirely grateful to my husband Fatih Muhammet Güvendi and my lovely daughter Ayőe Vera for their support, patience, and encouragement during this process and their all contributions to my life.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEP:	The Family Education Program
AGI:	The Minimum Subsistence Discount
AK Party:	Justice and Development Party
ASAGEM:	Prime Ministry General Directorate of Family and Social Research
ASBP:	The Ministry of Family and Social Policy
ASDEP:	The Family Social Support Program
ÇHGM:	Children's Services Directorate General
ERG:	Education Reform Initiative
EUROSTAT:	Statistical Office of the European Union
ILO:	International Labor Organization
MEB:	Ministry of National Education
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
TURKSTAT:	Turkish Statistical Institute
UK:	United Kingdom
USA:	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Family policies in many countries have become crucial in recent years. Behind this growing interest is the awareness of the challenges such as aging of the population, falling birth rates, diversification of family forms, or the needs for work-family life balance, effects of which are felt today and will intensify in the future. The changes observed in the demographic structure, the differentiation of employment conditions and the changing structure and forms of the institutions that provide community integrity make social policies as well as family policies even more important. Factors such as education, health, employment, and social services, which fall within the scope of social policies, affect family both in theory and practice.

In the formation of family policies, institutional (protecting family integrity), demographic (marriage age, divorce rates, increased number of separated families), economic (strengthening the workforce through childcare), socio-political (reducing family needs expenses), gender equality (especially women's economic and social disadvantages), and children's welfare (providing the legal framework for children's needs) factors are influential (Kaufmann, 2000). Apart from these, situations such as changing social conditions, migration movements, urbanization, change in the structure of the family due to housing, women and youth movements gaining a place in the social politics, work-family balance, and the imbalance of education and employment are the determining factors in the formation of family policies.

In recent years, there has been an apparent policy shift from closed policies to opened family policies due to the varying demographics social conditions and social risks in many countries. Countries produce open policies that directly address families and family members, rather than closed policies that indirectly affect the family, such as employment, education, health, housing, and try to produce more focus solutions to the problems. It is also true that various demographic, economic

and political challenges are not experienced in a very different way in different countries. The various interventions of governments in family policies are influenced by factors such as the historical background, religious and cultural legacy of those countries, globalization and changing perceptions of the world. Especially in recent years, due to the globalization social policies all around the world resemble and are greatly influenced by each other.

The fact that Turkey in this process of change is late in acquiring a welfare state status, the changes in the family, a fundamental actor, in all aspects with the increasing level of prosperity and changing social conditions after 2000's are the essential interest and problem areas in Turkey. Hard data and field research in population projections have led the governments to produce policies in the field of family policies and to increase the share of the family in public expenditures. Since 2011, policies to be fulfilled and institutionalized in harmony with the establishment of The Ministry of Family and Social Policies (ASBP) have become more concrete and are aimed at including other actors of welfare distribution into the process. The actual outputs of the family policies included and implemented in the legal regulation give information about the progress and the possible consequences of the process. Therefore, there is a need to consider Turkey's regulations and policy outcomes about family and compare them with other welfare regimes with the same problems. Thus, it will be possible to evaluate the current position of Turkey by looking at its similar, different and inadequate aspects compared to other welfare states.

In this study, the concept of welfare regime has been chosen because it takes into account the mutual relations and functions of different actors in the sharing of wealth. Welfare regimes are obliged to ensure the economic and social well being of their citizens. Moreover, they are responsible for equitable distribution of wealth and making of institutional arrangements for a better life by adopting the principle of equal opportunities for all individuals. In this context, welfare regimes represent the interconnection of family, state, market, and civil society in order to secure the protection and prosperity of the individual in the society.

Welfare states today deal with various demographic, economic and political challenges. The solutions produced in the face of these difficulties vary according to the institutional traditions they have. Some welfare states have explicitly attempted to strengthen social responsibility among family members, while others have sought to minimize the dependence of individuals on their families by supporting the expansion of public services. Some states, which prioritize market-based services, have left individuals and families with their preferences.

The primary classification of Esping-Andersen -Liberal, Conservative/Corporatist, and Social Democratic- which has a significant influence on the welfare regimes classifications in the literature, has been taken as a basis in this thesis. One of the different welfare regimes introduced by the criticism and contributions to this welfare regime classification is the Southern European welfare regime. I have included the Southern European welfare regime in my study for two reasons. First of all, unlike the other three, in the Southern European welfare regime, the family has a position of essential welfare provider and distributor. Secondly, the Turkish welfare regime also has features that are generally attributed to the Southern European welfare regime. Hence, this division of four types of welfare regimes will provide a useful framework for analyzing the dynamics and practices of the welfare states.

Legal regulations, which reflect the state's view of family, with structural adjustment are critical in determining the living conditions of the family. In the literature, analyses of family policies are carried out looking at leave policies, childcare services, cash and tax benefits instead of family laws and institutions. Therefore, in addition to the legal regulations concerning the family, policies that support the family will be taken into consideration in this study because policies supporting the family provide comparable concrete data about the main program of welfare regimes.

For this comparative policy analysis, I will use the secondary data from electronic databases and open access research data depository. Moreover, I combine datasets

from multiple sources. Thus, I used existing government statistics and published secondary data sets to conduct my research.

In conclusion, in this study, family policies will be examined within three policy areas: (i) leave policies, (ii) childcare services, (iii) cash and tax benefits. Thus, this study is mainly grounded in the national family policy, which is under the services of these three policy areas. Disadvantaged groups like elderly, disabled, women and children are not included in this study.

The national and international literature have been searched for all these discussions in the study. Comparable studies and electronic journal articles have been used to access current data and for evaluations. In order to have an idea about the legal framework and necessary applications of family policies in Turkey, Labor Law and the Civil Servants Law, The Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018) prepared by Justice and Development Party (AK Party) government, Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program, Prime Minister's Circular 2010, annual reports of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and the Ministry of Family and Social Policy (ASBP), and the data from the Ministry of National Education (MEB) have been examined. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Statistical Office of the European Union (EUROSTAT) and Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) data have been used to provide comparative data about welfare regimes.

In the light of this background, this thesis aims to evaluate family policies in the context of welfare regimes in Turkey. In this context, the study consists of five chapters, the first of which is the introduction. The theoretical framework of the thesis has been shaped into three main sections. In the second chapter, concepts of welfare and welfare state, Esping-Andersen's three types of welfare regimes and criticisms and contributions to this classification will be given in the first chapter in order to understand the conceptual framework of the thesis. In that chapter, the possibility of locating Turkey's welfare regime within the Southern European welfare regime will be discussed.

The scope of family policies and their relationship with social policy and welfare regime will be the basis of the central debate in the third part of the thesis. After explaining the approach of the welfare regimes towards overall family policies, the primary family policies (leave policies, childcare services, cash and tax benefits), the characteristics of the regimes and the collected data will be comparatively assessed in order to allow a comparison with Turkey. These assessments will be made comparatively on selected countries (Australia, UK, USA, Belgium, France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Portugal, Spain) representing welfare regimes.

In the fourth part of the thesis in which family policies in Turkey will be evaluated in the context of welfare regimes, the historical process of family policies in Turkey will be examined. Then the legal framework for Turkey's family policies and legislative arrangements as well as the approach of the Turkish state to the family will be considered. Subsequently, the position of Turkey in the field of family policies among other welfare regimes will be assessed.

In the fifth and the final section, family policies in Turkey will be evaluated together with other countries under welfare regimes. Considering similar, distinctive and inadequate aspects compared to other welfare states, Turkey's current situation will be analyzed. Finally, new social risks to emerge in the area of family policies will be assessed, and policy proposals for the solution of the existing problems will be given.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF WELFARE REGIMES AND CLASSIFICATIONS

Before discussing family policy in the context of the welfare regime in Turkey, it is crucial to know the related concepts, literature, and discussions about the welfare regimes. In this section, firstly the concepts related to the welfare and welfare regime will be summarized. Then the characteristics of Esping-Andersen's welfare regime classification and the new welfare regimes introduced, as a critique of it will be examined. Finally, in the context of classification of welfare regimes, the possibility of locating Turkey's welfare regime within the Southern European welfare regime will be discussed.

2.1. Concepts of Welfare and Welfare Regime

In this part, before discussing the welfare regimes and typologies, I briefly explain specifically related concepts, 'social policy', 'welfare state', 'social state' and 'welfare regime' and their historical evolution. By stating the differences and similarities in these concepts, I aim to form the context of my work and to frame it.

The term of social policy generally indicates the policies that state ensures for the welfare and social protection through social assistance, social service, and social insurance. In a broader sense, the social policy aims to support individuals, which are the primary element of the production process, with social purpose investments such as education, health, housing, employment, income distribution, and social welfare. Also, it is the whole of the measures and practices which are aimed at removing the various social problems that arise in different social segments of society and at ensuring and spreading social welfare for all. According to Titmuss (1974), one of the leading figures in the social policy literature, social policy is an instrument for providing more prosperity and more significant benefits for weaker groups such as working class, retirees, women, and children, with a beneficial or prosperous approach (p. 26). Additionally, for Marshall, social policy is more practical and factual. He states that social policies are the fundamental point of

government policies, by providing services or income, which have a direct impact on the well being of the citizens. The central core, therefore, consists of social insurance, public (or national) assistance, health and social services, and housing policy (Leibfried and Mau, 1974, p. 145 cf. Marshall, 1974).

The linkage of the state with social responsibilities has a long historical background, while the use of the words 'welfare' and 'state' has a relatively recent history. Archbishop Temple first pronounced the term in 1940. The term was first used by Oxford Alfred Zimmern in 1934 but became popular with the book *Citizen and Churchman* written by Temple in 1940. Nevertheless, the concept owes its reputation to Sir William Beveridge's famous report, *Social Insurance, and Allied Services*, 1942, in Britain (Aysan, 2006, p. 13).

According to Flora and Heidenheimer (1981), the development of the modern welfare state is a reaction to the two developmental trends; the building of nation states, and the development of capitalism. In parallel, Pierson (1991) states that welfare states tend to emerge in societies where capitalism, and nation states are already well established and that pre-existing economic and state formations determine the limits of the subsequent welfare state development (p.103). In Weberian understanding, this process is associated with the rationalization, the development of bureaucratic authority, and the emergence of social clients (Couins, 1987 cf. Johnson, 2005, p. 5). The welfare state can be linked to the development of capitalism and market economy in its historical and institutional context. At the same time, it was defined as "the process of humanization of industrial society" (Johnson, 2005).

As stated by Briggs (1961), the welfare state is a type of state in which the organized public power is consciously used to reduce the role of market forces through politics and administration in three directions. First, the welfare state provides a minimum income guarantee for individuals and families. Secondly, it helps people to overcome certain social risks such as illness, aging population, and

unemployment. Thirdly, through social welfare services, it tries to provide the best living standards for all its citizens without distinction of status or class (p. 14).

For Flora and Heidenheimer (1981), welfare state provides social welfare services that provide a minimum income guarantee for individuals and families, protect them against social risks, and also provide a certain standard in areas such as education, health, and housing for all its citizens regardless of their social position. Covering the full range of risks of the twentieth century, the individual, the family, the church, local organizations and charities, and the firm is accepted as being responsible for welfare.

In Esping-Andersen's pathbreaking work, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, he mentions referring to standard textbooks that, in a welfare state it is the responsibility of the state to provide some necessary welfare facilities to its citizens (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 18). For Esping-Andersen (1990), the issues of de-commodification, social stratification and employment are keys to the welfare state's identity (p. 2). He defines welfare state regimes as "qualitatively different arrangements between state, market and the family" (Esping-Andersen 1990, p. 26). Accordingly, each regime is associated with a distinct mode of state intervention into the market sphere, which is systematically intertwined with particular labor market and family structures.

For Esping-Andersen, welfare state, family and market are three resources that control the social risks. The welfare state term defines traditional forms of social protection that protect citizens from the risks of modern society via social rights. As he states, the emergence of the welfare state was an effort to rewrite the social contract between the government and the citizen, not just social policy, to alleviate social ills and redistribute the main risks (Esping-Andersen, 1999, p. 33).

Esping-Andersen's approach to the welfare state has both narrow and broad perspectives. Narrow-dimensional perspective covers public practices such as income transfers and social services and defines welfare state by limiting it to the

traditional area of social improvement. The welfare state in a broad sense means that the state plays a more active role in the management of the economy. Hence, the broader perspective relates welfare state to the political economy. This view sees macroeconomic elements as integral components of the welfare state. It is also seen that the term 'Keynesian welfare state' or 'welfare capitalism' is used to describe the welfare state in this approach (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 2). This conceptualization is equivalent to the period of the growth-diffusion period of the welfare state in the historical process, or the period after the World War II, which is regarded as the 'Golden Age' up to the mid-1970s.

There are various definitions in the literature related to the welfare state concept, which has common or different points. For Gough (1998), the welfare state term is for both purposes; (the state's accountability for prosperity) as well as tools (the institutions and practices that make up this thinking). For this reason, it is complicated to define, and the task area of the welfare state differs according to the definitions. Accordingly, definitions vary from those giving minimum welfare responsibilities to the state to those who have a wide range of activities, from individual social services to macroeconomic policy. Welfare states differ according to the economic, cultural, and historical traditions of nation-states (p. 895).

Additionally, as stated by Gough (1998), it is not easy to pinpoint the objectives of the welfare state, and this problem leads to the difficulties and differences in the definition of the welfare state. Indeed, Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) emphasize that the welfare state can serve other purposes, such as education policy. Gough (1998) describes the welfare state as the regenerating of labor and the use of public power to protect the population not working in capitalist societies (pp. 895-897).

Although there is no standard starting point of the welfare state, most of the scholars agree upon the emergence of first welfare state depending upon the context in the 19th century. In the emergence of the concept, especially after the Industrial Revolution, people's working and living rights are not covered by the assurance, and these rights usually play a role of being subject to arbitrariness. This

arbitrary progress has begun to interfere with social policy implementations (Özdemir, 2007, p. 22). Various periodic reviews have been done regarding the evolution and stages of the welfare state, during the period from the emergence of the 1870s to the present day. The mainstream of the welfare state has been described in four stages in the framework of the generally accepted approach that initiates the development process of the state from the field of social welfare (Pierson, 1991).

The first period, which is described as the genesis period of the welfare state, started in the 1870s. In this period, the movements of the working class began to increase, and political rights were demanded the solution to the problems. At the beginning of the 1880s, when the first social insurance schemes were introduced in Bismarck Germany, the foundations of welfare state practices were laid.

The second period from 1918 to 1940 is seen as the development and consolidation period of the welfare state. The economic and social problems, which became more severe due to the world wars of this period, also emphasized the importance of solidarity and reconciliation among the social forces. In ensuring this social consensus, the state played an active role, especially in European societies. As is broadly accepted, the concept of the welfare state has gained the present meaning and content as a product of statist or Keynesian politics developed after the Great Depression in 1929.

Keynesian economic policies gained strength in the period of growth and prosperity, which is called the “golden age” of the welfare state, from mid-1945 to the mid-1970s. In this period, in addition to social insurance, the functions, institutions, the risks, and groups of the welfare state have expanded, and the purpose of maintaining the continuity of the income and raising the living standards has become an objective. In this period of social policy and welfare state expansion, wages and working conditions improved, and social security practices widened as well as a level of employment increased.

However, these seemingly positive developments, when it came to 1980's, led to the narrowing of social policy applications, such as the economic recession, the comfort, and cost increase brought about by the level of welfare achieved, and increased competition in globalizing market conditions. Problems such as unemployment, disability and old age, which are accepted individually with the expansion of social rights, have begun to be regarded as 'social risk' (Esping-Andersen, 1999). This period, characterized by the crisis of the welfare state, has been a period of questioning and restructuring for the welfare state. By Pierson's (1991) statement, the welfare state entered the process of structural adjustment during the era of globalization (pp. 110-128).

The term of a welfare state is used together with the terms of 'social state' and 'social welfare state' in the literature. Although they are used in place of each other in a similar sense, they have different meanings in some areas. In this sense, for instance, it is emphasized for every welfare state is a social state at the same time, but not every social state to be a welfare state. The reason is that the concept of welfare state is expressed by developed countries, which can provide a modern life and livelihood level (Özdemir, 2007, p. 11). Also, historically, the origins of the two concepts are different and the periods in which they are based. The welfare state is handled in conjunction with the Beveridge Report prepared in 1942 and the Keynesian economic policies. The social state was initiated by the reforms that began in Bismarck in Germany, i.e., social security, the development of social rights and citizenship rights, and the attainment of constitutional security. It is also stated that welfare practices cannot be initiated only with the welfare state, but the social state containing these practices has a history that extends far beyond the welfare state. The notions of 'social state' and 'social policy' are used in Continental European countries whereas the concepts of 'welfare state' and 'welfare policy' or 'social welfare state/policy' are preferred in North America, and some European countries (Anglo-Saxon countries) are seen (Özdemir, 2007, p. 12).

Esping-Andersen (1999), who emphasizes the difference between the concepts of 'social policy', 'welfare states' and 'welfare regimes', stated that the existence of

social politics and the existence of political actions with social risks could be mentioned. Also, the welfare state is in a position to provide a social agreement between the state and the citizen in the face of these risks. For him, the welfare regime is defined as the production and sharing of prosperity in a state of interdependence and coordination between the state, the market, and the family.

2.2. Classification of Welfare Regimes

As stated by Esping-Andersen, “welfare regimes are institutional arrangements, rules, and understandings that guide and shape concurrent social policy decisions, expenditure developments, problem definitions, and even the respond and demand structure of citizens and welfare consumers” (Esping-Andersen 1990, p. 80). Additionally, Esping-Andersen states that welfare regimes are short-term policies, reforms, debates, and the decision making takes place within frameworks of historical institutionalization that differ qualitatively between countries. From the definition, welfare regime is defined as the production and sharing of welfare in a state of interdependence and coordination between the state, the market, and the family. Additionally, non-profit/voluntary organizations are included for welfare. Thus, the ‘welfare regime’ emphasizes that prosperity can be achieved not only through social policies but also through social institutions.

The consolidation of the welfare state studies begins with state's participation in the distribution of wealth in the post-World War II period, characterized as the ‘Golden age of the welfare state’. In this process, different regime typologies appeared when the institutionalization of social policies and the changing roles of states in the process were assessed. With increasing interest in the academic field, studies have begun on the classification of welfare states, each with different political, economic and cultural bases. Studies have shown that developed countries have entered different categories of welfare regimes that are classified according to certain qualities and criteria. Statistical analysis of welfare policies are grouped according to the regime types of the countries, and theories explaining the development of regime types and welfare regimes have been put forward (Özdemir,

2007, p. 125). Thus, regarding welfare regimes, country comparisons have been made possible by the provision of concrete data.

One of the most remarkable and best-known typologies of the welfare state belongs to classification Esping-Andersen's *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. However, he was not the first scholar to create a typology for welfare states. Moreover, Esping-Andersen profited from other scholar's work both theoretically and empirically while classifying welfare state typologies (Arts and Gelissens, 2002, p. 138).

Wilensky and Lebeaux made one of the earliest attempts with their seminal work, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* in 1958. Wilensky and Lebeaux have divided the welfare states into two, institutional and residual. In this class of institutional welfare state, the state is prosperous for its citizens. In the residual welfare state model, family and market should provide welfare, and state intervention in cases where it is inadequate (Abrahamson, 1999).

One of the most cited and classic typologies of welfare states were formulated by Richard Titmuss. In his famous study, *Essays on the Welfare State (1958)*, he examines changes in social structure and institutions. Then, Titmuss elaborated threefold models based on different social policy practices in *Social Policy: An Introduction* in 1974, namely the residual welfare model, the achievement-performance model, and the institutional-redistributive model. In residual welfare model, the family and the market are service providers for the individual. The state is obliged to provide essential services only in needy situations. Thus, the state's intervention in the market is limited. In the industrial achievement-performance model, social welfare institutions are complementary to the economy. Meeting social needs is based on performance and efficiency. For this reason, the individual must be economically active. Finally, in the institutional model, the state intervenes to provide public services to all its citizens to realize equality, social integration and solidarity and to share the market share of income (Titmuss, 1974, pp. 30-32). His

highly influential classification scheme and typologies of welfare states are the source of inspiration for other typologies, including Esping-Andersen's in 1990.

Another common analysis used in the classification of welfare regimes is based on who takes on the financing of social protection. In this approach, welfare regimes are examined in three groups as the Bismarck model, the Beveridge model, and the Hybrid model. The Bismarckian model makes every employee's social welfare commitment dependent on his or her employer's contribution, while; the Beveridge model refers to a general insurance policy for the entire population of an individual country. The Hybrid model consists of a mixture of these two and covers the insurance system covering both all citizens and working groups (Özdemir, 2007, pp. 128-129).

Another classification is derived from Furniss ve Tilton's (1977) analysis which is based on *The Case for the Welfare State*. In this study, the welfare state is examined under three headings: the positive state (the USA), social security state (the UK) and the social welfare state (Sweden). Each of these regimes has different means, forms of intervention, beneficiary groups and social policy visions (Özdemir, 2007, p. 128). Another classification belongs to Therborn. Therborn (1987) examined the welfare state over two dimensions: level of social entitlements and orientation to the labor market and full employment. Depending on these two dimensions, he reaches quadruple classification. In 'strong interventionist' welfare states, social policy has a strong labor market component. Moreover, the state broadens the social rights of the individuals and is committed to providing full employment. Sweden, Norway, Austria, and Finland are examples of these states. 'Soft compensatory' welfare states have extensive social rights but a limited commitment to full employment. Typical examples are Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland, and Italy. On the contrary, in 'full employment-oriented' welfare states, such as Japan and Switzerland, there are limited social entitlements but a dynamic institutional commitment to full employment. Lastly, in 'market-oriented' welfare states, the family is crucial in meeting the social needs of individuals and state provides social

assistance to the needy and disadvantaged citizens. Australia, New Zealand, the UK, the USA, Canada are the examples of this type of states (Pierson, 1991, p. 216).

Esping- Andersen's path-breaking work, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) and *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (1999), has led to controversial contributions to the field of regime classifications. Criticisms of welfare state classifications generally relate to variables that are determined or omitted in the analysis. Some analyses focus on welfare expenditures made by the state, while others focus on how the system is structured.

As a result, classification studies that take into account qualitative and quantitative variables can give more qualified results in comparing welfare regimes. Moreover, when the social, cultural and economic conditions of countries are evaluated, it cannot be said that they have all the characteristics of a typology. The dynamic structure of societies and the socio-economic changes that they are experiencing increase the passivity between different regime types. Besides, more than one regime of a state may have suitable characteristics. For this reason, which welfare regime countries may be included can be determined by looking at the predominant characteristics.

2.2.1. Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism: Esping- Andersen's Classification of Welfare Regimes

Esping-Andersen's three new welfare regimes have similarities with the threefold welfare typology of Titmuss. There are similarities between the liberal model and the residual model, the Conservative model and the industrial-success-performance model, the Social Democratic model and the institutional redistributive model. The main difference is that Titmuss approaches the welfare state with a narrower perspective and Andersen extends its borders to include the state-market bond (Powell and Barrientos, 2011, p. 72).

Esping-Andersen, who accepts the welfare state as one of the primary institutions of post-war capitalism, refers to two types of approaches to the welfare state. The structuralist approach emphasizes the systems of the welfare state, and the institutional approach emphasizes the institutions and actors in the welfare state. In the structuralist approach, the necessity and the logic of the system are tried to be formulated by emphasizing real similarities rather than differences between countries. According to this approach, welfare institutions are the result of the necessity of regeneration of society and economy. In the institutionalist approach, it is emphasized that the individuals be in favor of a social division to be protected from the risks of the market (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 12-16).

Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) presents three distinct welfare state models based on decommodification, social stratification, and the perceptions and practices of the market and families. To measure these dimensions, Esping-Andersen develops a set of indices that touch not only the spending levels of social provisions but also the suitability requirements, coverage, targeting, and public-private sector mixes related to the conditions. For Esping-Andersen (1990), there are three classes of interaction factors behind the regime differences: the nature of class movement (especially the working class), class-political action structures and historical heritage of the institutionalization of the regime. Additionally, he argues that welfare regimes affect not only decommodification and social stratification, but also employment structures (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 221).

Firstly, Esping-Andersen (1990) suggested that welfare regime classifications should be made according to the level of 'decommodification' of welfare states instead of social spending levels. Decommodification, or 'deriving from commodity', explicates "the extent to which individuals and families can maintain a normal and socially acceptable standard of living regardless of their market performance" (Esping-Andersen 1990, p. 86). He has developed the decommodification measure from Polanyi's concept of bi-directional motion, which describes the market as a shield for self-protection against the influence of the commodity of labor on the market. Esping-Andersen has established a decommodification index over 18 OECD

countries, which has examined the welfare state primarily by protecting against significant social risks such as unemployment, incapacity, illness, and old age. In the index, countries are scored according to criteria such as the conditions required to benefit from the welfare programs, the duration, and amounts of the programs or benefits. As a result of this analysis, Esping-Andersen examines that while Liberal welfare countries show low levels of de commodification, Conservative welfare countries have medium de commodification while it is high in Scandinavian countries and moderate in Continental European countries (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 49-50).

The second dimension that characterizes welfare states is the type of social stratification and solidarities. For him, social stratification and inequality are promoted by the social policy system. Also, the services and benefits provided by welfare states have a direct impact on the social solidarity. To measure the level of social stratification and solidarity in a state, he analyzes which social stratification contributed by the social policy and which classes were strengthened by the welfare state as well as by the degree of building solidarity in society (Arts and Gelissen, 2002, p.141). In his analysis, these two dimensions are clearly defined and statistically tested.

Using those three criteria, Esping-Andersen (1990) classifies the welfare regimes in three different models: the Liberal welfare model, the Conservative/Corporatist welfare model, and the Social Democratic/Scandinavian welfare model.

2.2.2.1. Liberal Welfare Model

In this regime, which is also called the Anglo-Saxon welfare regime, the US, Canada, and Australia are among the leading examples, with the UK and New Zealand being partly characterized by the characteristics of this regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 27). As stated by Esping-Andersen (1990), basically this welfare regime minimizes de commodification effects, includes the area of social rights and forms a stratification system characterized by relative equality in the poverty of the welfare,

market-differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two (p. 27).

In the regime shaped by market logic, the intervention of the state is dependent on the market and comes after the market (O'Connor, 2004, p. 183). The state foresees neither full employment nor compensation for social problems; because the role of the state is kept at deficient levels by reducing it to a minimum (Katrougalos ve Lazaridis, 2003, p. 2). In this model, citizens are encouraged to look for their welfare in the market, and social assistance meets the needs of 'disadvantaged' individuals, which are mostly low-income. The rules of entitlement to social assistance are strict. The state provides a minimum level of support based on income research, and these benefits are often stigmatizing (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 26-27). Moreover, the functioning of the liberal stratification principle leads to the division of the population. On the one hand, a low-income minority continues to depend on the state, while on the other hand, it allows many to make private social insurance schemes (Arts and Gelissen, 2002, p. 141).

In these countries with low de commodification level, public sector employment is low and private sector employment is higher than the OECD average. Women are encouraged to participate in the workforce, especially in the service sector (Arts and Gelissen, 2002, p. 141). The unions are generally inactive, and there are differences in wages and inequality in income distribution. Therefore, widespread social inequality and poverty are the main problems of these countries.

2.2.1.2. Conservative/Corporatist Welfare Regime

The Conservative welfare regime, which is known in the literature by different names such as 'continental model', 'social insurance model', 'German model', 'Bismarck countries model', 'institutional welfare regime' and 'Christian democratic welfare regime'. The states Germany, France, Belgium, Austria involved in this regime type are exemplified.

A moderate level of decommodification can define this type of welfare states. The regime type is shaped by the twin historical legacy of Catholic social policy, on the one side, and corporatism and statism on the other side (Arts and Gelissen, 2002, p. 141). The regime is grounded in a social insurance system based on income and social status (class) rather than a universal system (Katrougalos ve Lazaridis, 2003, p. 2). In other words, it is a structure based on cooperative interest, and therefore it is 'corporatism'. Esping Andersen (2006) defines corporatism as a functional differentiation, characterized by the fact that professional status often involves similar risk profiles, professions form an outwardly closed social group, and are the primary source of collective action possibilities (p. 45).

In countries that adopt this model, the state does not provide solutions for its citizens who have suffered the loss of income for various reasons, not through new employment opportunities but with compensation and compensatory policies. The state supports and presents welfare services that other intermediary institutions (especially the family and the Church) cannot provide, and therefore is compensatory. In this context, states reject the priority of the market while emphasizing state aid and intervention, and prioritize the traditional family as the center of social welfare (O'Connor, 2004, p. 183). In these regimes, which historically have a conservative attitude towards the family and the gender because of their closeness to the Church traditions, women are not encouraged to participate in the labor market while the 'breadwinner' man has a significant place in the labor market.

2.2.1.3. Social Democratic Welfare Regime

Sweden is the leading country in this welfare regime, also called 'universal welfare regimes', 'Scandinavian model', 'modern welfare regimes'. Other countries include Norway, Denmark, Finland, and the Netherlands.

The most important distinguishing feature of the model is 'universality'. Universality means that individuals will need more help with the development of society and

that it will be a collective responsibility to help those in need. Universality in this framework corresponds to all citizens of social welfare programs (Cox, 2004, p. 208). As a result of this approach, social services/politics, regardless of differences such as income, occupation, class, are equal and universal for all. The Social Democratic regime, in contrast to the Liberal regime, has built fundamental universal solidarity in favor of the welfare state by dismantling the market. For Esping-Andersen “All benefit: all are dependent, and all will presumably feel obliged to pay” (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 28).

In Social Democratic welfare regimes, the level of decommodification is high. In this model, state citizens are trying to meet their welfare needs as independent as possible from the market. According to Esping-Andersen (1990), social needs must be provided by non-market mechanisms such as the state, or it is an indicator that families must reach a certain level of life independently of the market because the citizens’ personal choices are not governed by market appeal (Cox, 2004, p. 210).

It is seen that full employment policies are also prioritized, and the total employment level is high in these states, which are operated with generous social welfare understanding in situations where unemployment, aging population, and other welfare measures are required. The share of the public sector in employment and the labor force participation rate of women are high. As taxes mainly provide the financing for social welfare programs, there are high tax rates (Esping-Andersen, 1990, pp. 27-28).

Despite its milestone character in the literature, there have been numerous criticisms of Esping- Andersen’s welfare regime typology. The reactions to typology vary from the proposed alternative schemes based on different dimensions to the addition of a fourth welfare state. (Fenger, 2006, p. 6).

Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime classification continued with various discussions on the topic of social policy discipline. The criteria used when determining the level of decommodification were the main criticisms of the role of Esping-Andersen in

trying to make a classification by working on a limited number of countries and consequently excluding some welfare regimes without being sufficiently categorized. In this context, I can examine the criticism directed towards Esping-Andersen as methodological problems, welfare regime classification studies and critiques on gender.

Methodologically, in Esping-Andersen's study, the universality, decommodification and stratification indices of 18 countries were formed and grouped by Ordinary Least Square regression (Powell and Barrientos, 2004). Shalev (1999) argues that Esping-Andersen does his legal analysis without complying with adequate statistical tests. Scruggs and Allan (2006) tested Esping-Andersen's model from the 1971-2002 database. Their conclusions suggest that Esping-Andersen's triple welfare state classification could not be supported empirically. Bambra (2007), who also thinks that statistical work is not reliable and hence would raise doubts about the validity of the regime classification (p. 110).

Besides, it is also a criticism that Esping-Andersen and other welfare state researchers have a European or Western-centered perspective. When welfare state and social policy studies are examined, it is seen that the countries of Latin America, Far East Asia, the Middle East, and even Eastern Europe are neglected, focusing on specific European countries. The European-centered view is that the welfare state is seen as the most advanced form of industrialized countries and the inability to obtain data from every country that would allow for comparative studies on social expenditure (Aysan ve Özdoğru, 2015, p. 171). Additionally, in Esping-Andersen's analysis, there are 18 countries, 13 of them European and eleven of the EU member states today. However, since the Eastern enlargement of the EU, post-socialist welfare systems are only gradually included and are currently under-represented in comparative research.

An essential part of Esping-Andersen's criticism stems from the belief that countries are classified incorrectly or incompletely according to welfare regimes. There are also classifications that present a different regime model by presenting different

evaluations and criteria. In the face of all these criticisms, Esping-Andersen notes that the classifications put forward after his work are variations within a distinct classification rather than a separate regime.

Also, some writers have criticized Esping-Andersen's classification of welfare regimes with a feminist point of view (Ostner and Lewis, 1995; Sainsbury, 1996; O'Connor, Orloff and Shaver, 1999) because welfare regimes do not take into account the gender proper direction. Considering this criticism, Esping-Andersen classified the welfare regimes according to their 'defamilialization' grades in his 1999 study. The meaning of this term is to save the individual from the hegemony of the family and increase the prosperity of the individual. In this assessment, he emphasized that the role of the family and the care services provided by the public or the market can be an essential tool in directing women's labor to employers. Esping-Andersen (2011) points out that existing patriarchal systems in contrast to the changing position of women in social life, affect the sharing balance of care services, which also affects the level of public care services that channel women to the labor market.

Esping-Andersen (2011) also focuses on how welfare state should be adapted to the changing roles of women in the social sphere. According to him, the internal dynamics are not sufficient for the maturation of a gender equality balance, and an external entanglement is needed in this case. This external input will be welfare state policies adapted to transformation (Esping-Andersen, 2011, p. 227). Esping-Andersen also emphasized the current transformations in gender roles and women's positions; as long as it covers women of a high educational level, privileged social classes and does not spread to the lower sections of society. In other words, as long as the search for gender equality remains a matter of a middle class social inequalities will continue to be condemned (Esping-Andersen, 2011, p. 221).

2.2.2. Other Welfare Types

This classification of Esping-Andersen, with general acceptance, has brought some criticism and new or additional welfare regimes. These regimes will be briefly described below.

2.2.2.1. Southern European Welfare Regime

Leibfried is a leading figure in the inadequacy of Esping-Andersen's three-fold welfare classification and the identification of a fourth welfare regime. Developing a different approach from Esping-Andersen, Leibfried (1992) laid the foundations of Social Europe as the basis for its classification. According to him, Europe is not only a geographical entity or a common market, but slightly more than that. In this context, Europe is a structure based on the model of the welfare state shaped around the social, cultural, economic and political structure. In the context of the 'social Europe' approach, it focuses on poverty, poverty policies and social insurance, stating that countries with EU membership can only explain the EU.

Leibfried modeled as 'the four worlds of prosperous capitalism' are Scandinavian welfare model (modern welfare model), Bismarck countries model (institutional welfare model), Anglo-Saxon countries model (residual welfare model), Latin Basin countries model - Southern European welfare model (a fully formed welfare state). The welfare models in Leibfried's class correspond to models of Social Democratic, Conservative and Liberal welfare states in the classification of Esping-Andersen. The Latin Basin countries, therefore, stand out as a fourth type of classification. The role of the state in providing welfare services is limited in this model where Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy are involved. (Arts and Gellisen, 2007, p. 145).

Another name that is trying to define the Southern European welfare regime is Ferrera. The distinctive feature of the Southern European welfare model, according to Ferrera's (2006) definition, is fragmented and distorted income protection systems, national health systems that are partially functioning through weak state institutions, and service delivery. The programs in the Southern European countries provide generous social protection for those involved in the institutional labor

market but provide little support for those involved in non-institutional markets (Ferrera, 2006, pp. 196-208). Another essential characteristic of this welfare regime is that a 'clientelist' structure usually shapes it. Within this structure, it is a matter of providing welfare services for 'voting'. According to this, there is the issue of voting support in the elections and welfare distribution according to the voting expectation. The fact that limited welfare resources are distributed in a favorable framework can open up political and economic crises in countries where this welfare regime is dominant (Ferrera, 2006, pp. 210-211).

Leibfried (1992) and Ferrera (1996), or in addition, Castles and Ferrera (1996), Trifiletti (1999), Mingione (2006), Aysan (2013) analyze countries like Italy, Turkey, Spain, Portugal and Greece from the Continental Europe group and address them in the context of Southern Europe (Mediterranean) welfare state. The discussion was later extended to family models and care regimes (Guerrero, 1996; Saraceno, 2000). The main feature that differentiates this group from others is that family and relational relations are strong and active within the framework of the market-state-family triple institution, and family and non-governmental organizations take an active role in the distribution of wealth (Aysan, 2013). In the south, the family finds a stable balance between the complex labor market, which still functions as a social equilibrium mechanism, and complex income support systems at the same time (Ferrera, 2006, p. 204). The institutionalization of marriage, strong family values, the relatively low level of female employment, and the long coexistence of family members can be counted among other characteristics of this type of welfare regime (Guerrero and Naldini, 1996, p. 62). The conventional view of researchers working on the Southern European welfare modeling is that the family structure and all these features make it necessary to address the Southern European countries in a separate welfare regime classification.

2.2.2.2. Eastern European Welfare Regime

Another new classification study is a classification of welfare states in the transition state from the former Soviet Union, in particular, Eastern European countries. After

the collapse of the Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991, countries that had gone from a socialist to a capitalist economic system later joined the European Union. Countries trying to adapt to the EU by carrying out economic and political reforms have developed their policies to achieve the standards of welfare in Western European countries. The situation that escaped Esping-Andersen's classification in 1990 made it necessary for Eastern European countries to be examined as a separate welfare regime.

Fenger (2006) divides Eastern European countries into three groups in the numerical welfare analysis. First group; Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine, and concerning public expenditure, resembles Esping-Andersen's Conservative welfare regime model. In the second group; Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia are included; despite high inflation, countries that can achieve growth in their economies and are in better health condition and social welfare. The last group includes Georgia, Romania, and Moldova and in these countries, social welfare level scores lag behind the above groups in all respects (Fenger, 2007, pp. 24-25). Fenger (2007) states that Eastern European welfare regimes cannot be specific types of post-communist welfare states (p. 27).

2.2.2.3. East Asian Welfare Regime

Another criticism directed at Esping-Andersen is that its classification is an analysis of Western countries, and in particular ignores the rising economies of East Asia. Similar to the Conservative welfare regime in Esping-Anderson's typology, welfare state programs were based on social insurance principles. These principles have allowed the financial burden to be reduced to a minimum by relying on the government's special contribution (Park, 2007, p. 43) With the experience of post-industrialization, globalization, and democratization in these countries, researchers interrogate the welfare status and uniqueness of East Asian Welfare states (Kwon, 2005; Aspalter, 2006; Park, 2007). Mainly, the characteristic features of East Asian welfare states as social insurance policies, a regulatory role of a state, the gradual expansion of coverage, and families. A East Asian states also developed welfare

programs for economic development and political legitimacy, not socio-economic redistribution (Park, 2007, p. 44).

Aspalter (2006) points out that what combines East Asian experience is a harmonious relationship between economic and social development, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and its main characteristics of the East Asian welfare regime. This welfare model mainly aims to make it easier for the welfare to be provided by the market and the family. The market and the family have a vital function in ensuring prosperity, and the state has a regulatory function. In this model, where the state is not a direct welfare funder, the degree of social protection is quite high when compared with the countries with liberal welfare regime. This feature is unique for the East Asian welfare model (pp. 298-299).

Park (2007) also analyzes Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines between the late 1980s and 2005. Based on a comparative analysis, he criticizes how economic development strategies and the level of democratization have recently influenced welfare state development. Thus, he states that there are universal welfare programs in several countries in connection with the increasing democratization (Park, 2007, p. 67).

2.2.2.4. Radical Regime

Another category of classification emerged with Castles and Mitchell's (1993) reinterpretation of Esping-Andersen's original classification. The researchers examined Esping-Andersen's typology both theoretically and empirically, and pointed out that a fourth category could be added as a 'radical regime'. Thus, with focusing on the welfare state differences from redistribution of social transfers and purveying of welfare services, they define four types of welfare regimes, namely Liberal, Conservative, Non-Right Hegemony and Radical welfare states. Their analysis was based on the level of welfare expenditure, average benefit equality and income and profit taxes as a percentage of GDP (Arts and Gelissen 2002, p. 146).

Although Esping-Andersen's analysis on Antipodean welfare states is the prototype of the liberal welfare regime, unlike the standard liberal model, Castles and Mitchell claim that Australia and New Zealand are a separate welfare model because of their more inclusive approach to social protection. In these countries, Antipodean households benefit from means-tested social benefits. Instead of social programs, redistribution maintains through wage controls and employment security and thus, income guarantees provided by market regulation. Moreover, Korpi and Palme (1998) state the distinct position of Antipodean states, specifically Australia, by institutional structures of two social programmes, old age pensions and sickness cash benefits (Arts and Gelissen 2002, p. 147).

2.2.2.5. Gender and Family Based Welfare Types

Alternative welfare regime models developed from the gender perspective in the 1990s are also frequently discussed in the literature. This discussion is particularly relevant to the provision of welfare and nursing care for the family, which is mentioned as incomplete. More specifically, it is the ignorance of the interaction between women's role in the labor market and their social responsibilities in the context of domestic services. Thus, for many feminist authors, the gendered division of paid and unpaid work, especially care and housework, should be included in typologies (Lewis, 1992; O'Connor, 1993; Sainsbury 1996).

In this context, Lewis (1992) states that, by using the level of decommodification as an indicator for welfare analysis, Esping-Andersen (1990) ignores the crucial position of women's unpaid labor in a family as constructive part of welfare regime (p. 161). In her article, she claims that the idea of the male-breadwinner model has played an essential role in the formation of established typologies of welfare regimes. In this model, in which the status of woman's dependency is continued, a male is responsible for earning money and home, while a woman is responsible for domestic service and care. The man is responsible for the woman and the children. In this structure, Lewis (1992) classified the male household head as strong, moderate and weak. According to this, Lewis (1992) exemplifies the UK and Ireland

as a strong male-breadwinner model (p.162), France as a moderate male-breadwinner model (p.165) and Sweden as a weak male-breadwinner model (p.168). According to Lewis (1992), especially after World War II, compulsory women participation in the labor market has led to the loss of the dominant male-breadwinner model in many countries. Lewis's threefold welfare classification has been developed as breadwinner, liberal or neutral gender and gender egalitarian with the contribution of many writers (Sainsbury, 1996; O'Connor, 1993; Orloff, 1996). The breadwinner model is the dependence of women on men who earn money economically. Liberal states provide little family support and do not actively promote or encourage women's participation in the workforce. Finally, gender equality welfare states are actively promoting women's employment through generous maternity and parental leave policies and high quality, affordable and extensive childcare system (Lambert, 2008, p. 318).

Another feminist criticism of welfare literature claims that most comparative studies focus on state-market relations and neglect the importance of the family as an actor and a provider of social services (Daly and Lewis, 2000; Daly and Rake, 2003; Orloff 1993). Orloff (1996) draws attention to the 'blindness' of gender differences in the notion of gender-based state attitudes, welfare citizenship, and the limitation of decommodification of the family paid and unpaid labor as a dimension of welfare distribution (p. 304).

In addition to this approach, new analysis sequences and classifications have been developed with an approach that centers on the experiences of women. Daly (1994), states that if a gender-sensitive approach is to be followed in the comparison of welfare states, three crucial points come to mind: what is the purpose or scope of welfare state intervention, what ideology or understanding is underpinning welfare policies and practices, what are the concrete outputs in terms of their access to resources and their personal roles and responsibilities.

Ostner and Lewis (1994) suggest an alternative classification of welfare regimes; these reforms are an indication of unpaid work and the participation of women in

formal labor markets. Their typology is based on a gender-based division of labor and the male breadwinner/family wage model as a proxy measure. In a famous typology, looking at mothers' employment, individual social security of women and public care services for children and the elderly, identified three groups of countries: strong, moderate and weak male breadwinner models. Grouping differs significantly from Esping-Andersen: for instance, The UK, Germany and the Netherlands are considered as robust breadwinner models, while France or Belgium are moderate and Sweden is classified as a weak breadwinner model.

Similarly, Siaroff (1994) brings together family policy institutions and labor market inequalities to make the typology of Esping-Andersen more socially sensitive. For this reason, he asserts a more gender-sensitive typology for the social state regime. He analyzes welfare states based on female welfare orientation, female work desirability, and the extent of family benefits paid to women. While comparing the work-welfare choice of men and women across countries, he makes a distinction between Protestant social-democratic, a Protestant liberal, an Advanced Christian democratic and a Late Female mobility type of welfare regime. The last category resembles a group of countries where other authors have labeled 'South' or 'Mediterranean' species while the first three species show substantial overlap with the original typology (Arts and Gelissen, 2002, p. 148; Siaroff, 1994).

Additionally, Sainsbury (1996), states that the male-breadwinner regime concept is one dimensional and cannot precisely analyze the patterns of variability existing between welfare states. By different dimensions of social policy, she asserts a distinction between a male breadwinner model and an individual model of social policy (Ferrarini, 2006, p. 11). These categories include dynamics, such as the equality of family ideology, in which the gender-based division of labor is closely tied, or that both women and men both earn income and the way to qualify for welfare services is different or the same.

Another relatively recent contribution to gender-sensitive typologies is Korpi's (2000) analysis on the relation of welfare state and family. In his analysis, he focuses

on the impact of gender and class dimensions to patterns of inequalities. For Korpi, gender equality is supported or restricted by different institutions. Considering different dimensions of policy institutions, he distinguishes three family policy categories. Firstly, family support models (e.g., Germany, France) prioritize the breadwinner position of men via family cash and tax benefits. Secondly, in market-oriented models (e.g., USA) family-work wage is regulated by the market because of insufficient family policies. Lastly, dual-earner support models (e.g., Sweden, Finland) empower both parents to participate in the labor market through public services (Ferrarini, 2006, pp. 12-13).

Daly and Lewis (2000) argue that the concept of social care is essential when analyzing different variations of the welfare state. Daly and Lewis (2000) state that, while there is no single or simple way to categorize welfare states, certain trends in care in certain welfare states can be identified. For instance, the Scandinavian countries have strongly institutionalized care for both the elderly and children. In the Mediterranean countries care attention to be privatized to the family whereas, in Germany, it is seen as most appropriately a function of voluntary service providers. On the other hand, in France, there is a definite distinction between care for children and older adults. The former is collectivized, and the voluntary sector plays a minimum role (p. 289).

Jenson (1997), states that a welfare policy should be developed in this framework, focusing on who, what quality and how care services will be provided. Home care services, early childhood education, should be made a fundamental right as a requirement of social citizenship. It is possible to reduce the dependence of older people on their relatives by improving the services and retirement months (p. 185).

Ejrnaes and Boje (2008) made a welfare classification through family policies, taking into account care services and other practices. According to this, family policies emerging in working time, maternity leave and childcare axis are gathered in five primary groups. Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and France are among the countries that implement large family policies that are the most costly option within this

classification. The UK and the Netherlands in short-term maternity leave and part-time working patterns; Germany and Austria in the long-term maternity leave and part-time working model; Spain, Greece, and Italy in the family care model and Hungary, Poland and Finland in the last extended parental leave model.

2.3. Turkey as a part of Southern Europe Welfare Regime

Mingione (2002) notes that the authenticity of Southern Europe can be resolved with a historical perspective in the light of the late industrialization experience by the labor markets of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece (Buğra, 2012, p. 48). Indeed, in other areas of social-economic life since the beginning of the development of social policy in the Republic of Turkey, it has been accompanied by political and cultural development.

Understanding Turkey's welfare regime and social policy implementations will be more meaningful with Ottoman tradition. During the Ottoman period, three social institutions, family, occupational organizations (*ahi's*) and foundations (*waqfs*), were compensating individuals when individuals encountered social risks. In the Ottoman economic system, agricultural production based on family effort, extensive family ties and mutual assistance between family members constituted the basic components of social security. In addition, *zakah* and charity (*sadaka*) practice and foundations played a crucial role in ensuring social cohesion and constructing social life. (Karaman, 2015, p. 96).

Despite the distinctive 'social state' tradition, Turkey did not become institutionalized, and neither had a stable social policy approach since the establishment of the Republic. Inadequate social policy arrangements before 1945 have developed with the influence of domestic and foreign politics after World War II. After 1950, with high rural-urban migration and transition to multi-party political life, developments in Western Europe led to the institutionalization of social policy in Turkey. However, these new social arrangements also did not include measures to prevent poverty, especially the family and child benefits, as well as unemployment insurance. Buğra (2008) notes the sequence of these measures is in

line with the historical development of other late-industrializing Southern European countries (p. 161).

Turkey's historical, economic, political and social process when considered as a welfare regime that carries four features can be specified. (1) Welfare is distributed through state- and family-centered institutional mechanisms. (2) Local actors based on traditional and religious values, such as non-profit organizations or religious or ethnic groups, have welfare functions. (3) The market has a relatively minor but increasing role in welfare distribution. (4) Populism and patronage are two crucial welfare distribution forms used by governments (Aysan, 2018, p. 106). These characteristics parallel the Southern European welfare regimes when evaluated in the context of welfare regimes.

Firstly, in parallel with the Southern European welfare regime, family in Turkey is located in a vital position in the production of ensuring social solidarity and prosperity. The inadequacy of the state in social politics has made the family a fundamental part of the community and a welfare distributor for a long time. The problems based on social insecurity arising from the migration from rural to urban after 1950 showed the fundamental role of the prosperity of the family and traditional solidarity networks. As in the south, the family finds a stable balance between the complex labor market and complex income support systems that function as a social equilibrium mechanism (Ferrera, 2006, p. 204). In this context, the family has remained as a central institution of socialization and as a reliable network of micro-solidarity (Moreno, 2002, p. 2). Indeed, Prime Minister's General Directorate of Family and Social Research (ASAGEM) conducted by the recent Turkey Family Structure Research (TAYA) (2014) demonstrated that the social effects of economic changes in the family structure experienced in Turkey versatile through kinship, marriage, aging, and family. This considered that social relations still provide social balance mechanism in society. The institutionalization of the marriage, strong family values, relatively low female employment and an extended period of cohabitation of the family members (Guerrero and Naldini, 1996, p. 62)

has been featured as accurate for Turkey as for another Southern European welfare regime (TAYA, 2014).

The family places social security and social assistance in the face of social risks at the center of the social order. In this case, for women who are positioned as spouses or mothers, ensuring the continuity of the family. Within the system, the position of the women are defined by the duties they carry, i.e., domestic services, child / elderly care, kin relations. This central position of the woman in the family also limits her participation in the public life. Given the distribution of tasks within the household, it is not possible for a woman to work in a full-time job. Indeed, 28% of employment in Turkey is the female workforce (TURKSTAT, 2017). Mingione (2006) states that in the Southern European welfare regimes, the family is a system that provides many services for the inadequacy of social welfare practices, and that the economic characteristics of the countries in this regime are 'weak proletarianization' and low female employment (p. 272).

Secondly, civil society organizations, as well as families in Turkey, are active in the distribution of welfare (Aysan, 2013). Volunteer organizations that provide social assistance and social solidarity during the Ottoman Empire met many services that the community needed, such as *ahi's*, *waqfs*, and *imarets*. These institutions, which serve many fields such as education, health, aid, professional support, have a very fundamental position in the distribution of wealth. Moreover, in 1950, the hometown association established in the cities during migration from the village to the city functioned as a 'buffer mechanism' for newcomers in the process of urban adaptation (Tekşen, 2003). Local actors based on the region, associations that can be assessed, as well as support for urban residents to find a job and shelter. At the same time, the migrant population has also been seen as a tool and a trusting mechanism for city alignment (Ayata, 1991, p. 99). Moreover, 17 August 1999 earthquake and the 2011 Van earthquake are significant events that have an impact on local actors in Turkey. Today, the government has systematically supported voluntary initiatives that continue to be one of the actors of prosperity as well as

the leading actors for the reduction of poverty and the provision of social services, especially with the post-2000 AK Party government (Yazıcı, 2012, p. 110).

As a third characteristic, the market has a relatively minor but increasing role in welfare distribution in Turkey. With the neo-liberal policies implemented after the 1980s, the state turned into a market-oriented strategy. In this process, it is stated that the state has moved away from the protective and balancing role and has become the 'spectator state' (Dedeoğlu, 2002, p. 44). Neoliberal policies and industrialization incentives have led to the development of the private sector. With the privatization of state-owned enterprises, the increase in outsourcing and the flexibility of the workforce, there has been a shift in the labor market. For Aysan (2018), this new policy, the distribution of wealth in Turkey was affected by two critical ways. First, the state was slowly pulled out of the vital welfare role as an employer through the privatization of state-owned corporations. Second, neo-liberalism has led private entrepreneurs to invest in various traditionally government-led sectors such as health and education. These trends have brought new challenges to workers in relatively safe and well-paid jobs in public and private sectors (p. 105).

Fourthly, populism and patronage are two crucial welfare distribution forms used by governments. Due to Turkey's unique socioeconomic conditions, social policies are developed under the influence of a paternalistic state tradition. In the society with this tradition, the relation of politics with the individual is a form of 'top-down-jakobean'. Just as in the process of social change, the state serves citizens with policies that are mostly self-determined by need-based social policies. In the 1950s, with increased immigration to the city, competition between parties led to increased sensitivity of the masses to economic and social conditions. Distorted urbanization practices show that populist policies are being implemented in big cities and short-term solutions are being produced, rather than long-term solutions. When the defining characteristics of the Southern European welfare regime are considered; aversion to high taxes, spreading of informal economic activities, the division of market structure, clientelist activities, the prevalence of localism and

political patronage activities, it is seen that it shows similarity with Turkey (Mingione, 2011, pp. 270-271).

All along with this assessment, many experts (Buğra, 2012, p. 51; Dedeoğlu, 2012, p. 218, Aysan 2013; Gough 1996; Gal, 2010; Grütjen, 2007; Tiyek ve Yertüm, 2016) state that Turkey's prosperity, offering the most useful analytical perspective when discussing the system's model implies a Southern European welfare model. The factor of a fragmented structure of formal and informal employment, the importance of family and traditional solidarity networks across social problems and patronage in the welfare distribution, support the claim that Turkey is close to the Southern European welfare regime.

Thus, the welfare regime of Turkey has some characteristics similar to ones that have been attributed to Southern European welfare regime. This quadripartite classification of welfare states provides a useful framework to analyze the dynamics and practices of welfare states' family policy. In this context, in the next chapter, after explaining the approach of the welfare regimes towards overall family policies, the primary family policies (leave policies, childcare services, cash and tax benefits), the characteristics of the regimes and the collected data will be comparatively assessed in order to allow a comparison with Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILY POLICIES IN THE CONTEXT OF WELFARE REGIMES

3.1. The Content of Family Policies

In future, the most mature welfare democracies are likely to face one of the most significant challenges in the history of the welfare state. The population ages rapidly as fertility levels decrease. An increasing number of women in these countries prefer a labor market career before giving birth to children, which reflects the fundamental contradiction between the workforce and the family. At the same time, the trend towards income inequality and poverty continues in many countries. Increasing effectiveness of women in the labor market and active presence of men in the labor market are changing the family-state-market balances and moving them to different dimensions. On the other hand, family policies rearrange with children factor. However, despite all these variables, there is little systematic information about the long-term causes and consequences of different family policy strategies.

The intervention of the government's family affairs also affects the components that make up the family and the regulations that determine the obligations of the family members. At this point, it appears that the limits of state intervention to the family begin to compete with relatives, religious authorities, local communities, and traditions. Access to marriage, conditions for divorce, separation of a family and acceptance of family relations, legitimate and illegitimate discrimination, discrimination between gender and intergenerational obligations, permissive practices of how birth control and abortion are made and how they are done, domestic violence, etc. have become a subject of legal issues. In addition, age-related issues have become powerful tools for family members to organize their lives, such as the age of starting schooling, the age of marriage, and age of starting work (Saraceno, 2011, p. 2). When all these determinants are considered, family policies have a longer and broader profile.

Indeed, factors such as education, health, working life, insurance, and social services, which fall within the scope of the social policy, affect the family both in theory and practice. Therefore, “family policies cannot be assessed separately from the other components of social policy systems because they are integrated into all spheres of social policies” (Ferrarini 2006, p. 5) and also with welfare regimes. At this intersection, welfare state institutions are influencing social class lines and a wide range of social relations regarding gender. Working life as an area of social policy shapes family policies allowances/transfers and parents' positions in the labor market. Different views and norms are reflected in how the gender distribution of paid, unpaid jobs and family structure will be established. It is therefore likely that this area is associated with different family-market-state relations of a different welfare state legislation (Ferrarini, 2006, p. 23).

The family-market-state relationship reproduces its balance and causes different definitions and also directly/ indirectly affects the family structure. It is a known and documented fact that family structures and family forms have changed considerably since the 1960s and 1970s. Recent studies indicate that the idea of a standard ‘nuclear family model’ is gradually shifting to different family forms and lifestyles (Kuronen, 2010 cf. Kapella et al., 2009). Thus, changes in family structure such as high divorce rates, increasing number of female-headed households, more dual earners in the family, declining birth rates, make it difficult to determine the definition and scope of the family. It is challenging to address family policy and explain its goals. Despite significant differences in their families, the core elements are common to all families and form the basis for considering the integrity of the family policy (Mercier and Garasky, 2000, p. xii).

According to Kamerman and Kahn (1978), family policies are all activities that the state carries out directly towards the family as a whole (p. 3). For instance; childcare facilities, child welfare programs, family counseling, family planning, family income support programs, tax deductions, and housing, etc. programs are within the scope of family policies. Additionally, Kamerman and Kahn (1978) draw attention to the importance of separating roles and individual situations in the family when defining

family policy. Attention is drawn to the separate use of the concept of family policy to think about policies affecting children and women (Fox Harding, 1996, p. 206). Parallel with this approach, Gauthier (1999) defines family policies as policies aimed at increasing the prosperity of families with children. These policies include various issues such as employment, transport, food and education policies (Gauthier 2002, p. 456).

For Zimmerman (1995), the family policy “constitutes a collection of separate but interrelated policy choices that aim to address problems that families are perceived as experiencing in society” (p. 3). Therefore, it is useful to consider the family policy as a perspective to think about family policy (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 4). This perspective emphasizes that change in family life should be a perspective that creates awareness of the impact on the central institutions of society (Zimmerman, 1995, p. vii). Thus, the family policy shares a broader social goal to stabilize and support family life by meeting the needs of the broader segment of society that the market can or cannot afford. This is done through distribution, redistribution, and, regulatory, descriptive, procedural and structural policy functions (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 18). This viewpoint is sensitive to the fact that policies and programs have different effects on different types of families and aspects of family life. From a family perspective, the power of family ties can constrain the responsibilities of family members. Moreover, the family is considered to be an indispensable partner in providing health care, education, and social services to individuals. Finally, it helps to integrate the family as an essential unifying component in policy analysis and program evaluation (Mercier and Garasky, 2000, p. xi). Another view is that ‘family policy’ refers to any legal arrangements, administrative decisions, and practices put forward by national and international authorities and organizations to protect and strengthen the family as an institution, to fulfill its essential functions and to solve the problems it faces (Alican, 2013, p. 22).

Kammerman and Kahn (1978), differentiate between explicit and implicit family policies. The explicit family policy, called ‘direct policy’, has specific programs designed to achieve clear aims related to the family and there is a family-based

institution directly in the country. In implicit family policies, policies do not directly target the family, but the results are indirectly related to children and their families. For Zimmerman (1995), a family policy can be explicit or implicit, manifest or latent, direct or indirect, intended or unintended regarding its family effects or consequences. Furthermore, none of these terms (open, explicit, direct, intended) or their counterparts (implicit, secret, indirect, unintended) are separate categories. Different policies can be classified into more than one category at the same time (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 5). Moreover, there may be transpositions among these categories, both in country implementations and in practice itself. For example, birth and parental leaves have passed from labor market policies to family policies.

The definition, scope, and classification of family policies are not only conceptual but also value-based. The principles and context of the discussion vary in the questions, perceptions, and attitudes of the actors. Family policies are closely linked to the assumptions about the role of the family in society (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010). In this context, as the primary policy maker, the state inherently supports and strengthens a particular pattern of the family model and family organizations. In other words, family policy is the means by which governments or powers provide institutionalization and structuralization of the family.

The state that interferes with family affairs through different legal norms about marriage, dependency, schooling obligations, and working-age, plays a vital role in many aspects related to these issues. It reflects the values and norms that are possessed by the family with the means at hand and provides institutionalization within the society. In this context, the policy field is highly normative, and while the highly ideological position of the actors shapes this area, it has also restricted policy reforms in many cases. At this point, some scholars have stated that family policies are *de-ideologized* (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010). This does not mean that norms and ideas no longer play a decisive role, but family policy means that the reason and justification have changed from value to purpose.

The definition and scope of family policies vary according to periods, political policies, ideologies and countries. In particular, family policies take shape according to the changes in population policies, and so different stages of family policy are emerging. Dumon (2003) speaks of three types of family politics that may come in response to three historical revolutions, especially in Europe; respectively, activating economic policy (money), (non-economic) family support and family replacement (services) and quantity to quality of life (time). Gauthier (1996) examines family policies in five periods according to main landmarks.

In early family politics, 1870-1929, family policies aim to provide social justice and support instead of fighting poverty. First paid/unpaid maternity leave arrangements have been made. Primary family policy measures during this period are child allowances. Child allowances also constitute additional payments made to the family member's wage. There are strict legal practices regarding abortion. In this period, not only in the area of family benefits but also in other social security branches such as pensions, health insurance, through solidarity funds continue (Dumon, 2003; Gauthier, 1996, p. 193).

In the second period, 1930-1944, family organizations function as a population policy that promotes equality in society. In this period, which has similar characteristics to the first one, child allowances were given to every woman who took care of her child by deducting from the pay of the father (Dumon, 2003). In this period, open pronatalist policies were implemented in some countries (e.g. France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain). Moreover, states have made cash benefits (either as the cost of living or as family aid) to those working with dependent children.

After the World War II, in the third period between 1945 and 1959, new forms of family policies emerged. Esping-Andersen (1999) pointed out that post-war welfare states were limited to health care and family allowances, focusing on family care issues through money transfers for children or additional costs in need of care (p. 54). After improvements in social policy areas such as state pensions, health care or

unemployment, they have worked for the development of the family. Universal family allowances, initially limited in some countries, have been gradually expanded to all families and children. (Gauthier, 1996, p. 194). In the 1950s, childcare services for families and nursing homes for the elderly and those in need of care were opened (Esping-Andersen, 1999, p. 55).

In the fourth period between 1960 and 1974, means-tested benefits were provided to the low-income families and special benefits to lone parent families. For dependent children, the tax reduction reform was organized. Also, some countries have had liberalization in contraception and abortion regimes (Gauthier, 1996, pp. 194-195). In addition to essential services, policies have been developed for family planning, gender education, family life education, and family counseling services. In this process, besides the state, NGOs, commercial firms and media organizations have undertaken essential duties over time (Dumon, 2003).

The rapid change in family policies since 1970 has brought the state, market and family balance to different dimensions. Particularly after the World War II, the policies that entered into force were on the male breadwinner model, while in the late 1970s, the dual-earner families multiplied, resulting in instability and diversification of family structures. Gauthier (1996) points out that the period after 1975 is the fifth period, the changes in the economic situation of the families, and the political changes within the European Union and the global economic integration are other problems encountered in this process (p. 193). These changes are seen not only in certain societies but also in all industrialized societies (Gauthier, 2002, pp. 447-450).

Moreover, since the 1980s, with the loss of the effectiveness of the state, the widening of the importance of the market has brought a shift from the welfare state to the idea of a 'changing society'. This situation undoubtedly also has consequences for the role that the government fulfills. It is also possible to refer to this as the establishment of codes of conduct in the form of change towards becoming a supplier/provider/manager. It is also possible to consider licenses as a

'mediator' for the services to be implemented. The 'market' becomes a new actor of corporate family policy (Dumon, 2003-4).

Briefly, Dumon (1991, p. 6) often refers to three types of family policy practice. These policies are economic measures that can be called family strengthening policies and which will make the family a permanent income owner. This policy includes employment policies as well as income generation. The second group includes services to improve and ease family life, such as education and counseling services. The third group is the measures to prescribe the services (nurseries, nurseries, foster care, elderly care, etc.) that will take the place of the family or take over the work that family members perform separately or partly.

When the state is going to influence the policies that affect the family openly, it usually uses one or more of the six motives: institutional, demographic, economic, socio-political, gender equality, children's welfare (Kaufmann, 2000, pp. 426-428).

- *Institutional motives*, to protect the family as an institution of its right, frequently linked with conservative policy and a traditional family model;
- *Demographic motives*, awareness of the importance of demographic changes through measures to increase birth rates or reduce abortions;
- *Economic motives*, emphasizing the importance of family to human capital in a population and stressing the economic function of the family (e.g., strengthening the workforce through childcare)
- *Socio-political motives*, try to diminish opportunity costs of family responsibilities (e.g., caretaking, income losses) and reduction of poverty
- *Gender equality motive*, to reduce economic and social disadvantages especially for women; measures to reach a more gender-equal share of family and employment tasks and set special incentives for fathers;

- *Children's welfare motive*, to provide the framework for the public provision of children's needs.

In this context, the six main purposes of states can be mentioned when they carry out family-support policies. In these processes, where there are mutual interactions, to provide individual assistance to low-income families in order to reduce poverty and to sustain income, to implement policies to provide work-family balance to increase employment, to help plan the process after parents have children in order to ensure gender equality, to increase the birth rates, encouraging policies and improving early childhood care services (Thévenon, 2011, pp. 58-60).

Political measures that intervene in the family are involved in more than one motive. However, the other can contradict one of these goals. The emerging policies differ not only in the design of specific regulations but also in supporting people's decisions about work and family. This change is reflected in a different mix of cash benefits, in-kind support, and current flexible work-time arrangements.

Typologies on the family policies differ according to the number of countries considered, as well as the criteria used as the indicator. In an early typology, Kamerman and Kahn (1978) examined family policy-making styles and differentiate into the three models of family policies; explicit and comprehensive (e.g., Sweden, France, Hungary), implicit and reluctant (e.g., the UK, the US), and sectoral (e.g., Austria, Germany, Poland). Gauthier (1996) identifies four groups in the historical analysis of family policy traditions in OECD countries; the pro-egalitarian model (Sweden, Denmark) provides conciliation and wage employment for both parents in parallel with considerable state support and accepts different family forms. The pro-family/pro-natalist model (France) focuses on demographic policies and compromises policies for mothers (childcare services, birth benefits). The pro-traditional model (Germany) provides moderate government support for families. The pro-family but not interventionist model (the UK) provides limited support and means-tested support.

Among these classifications, various family policy typologies have been developed according to gender regulations. The concept of gender regimes was initially developed by Orloff (1993), which deals with the concept of de-commodification by including Esping-Andersen's social gender-based concept of social citizenship. This is the extent to which policies help women achieve paid employment and balance it. The classification of Lewis (1992) is based on the extent to which he weakens or strengthens the male breadwinner model. Korpi (2000) classifies gender policy models by comparing them with care and income transfers of public services. These family policy classifications are generally gender-based and are often associated with work-family balance debates.

Kaufmann (2000) distinguishes the profile of four family policies in Western Europe by their generosity, that is, the level of support they provide to families (cash benefits) and infrastructure (services). Regarding generosity and service, these profiles range from the most generous (the Nordic countries and France) to least generous (Italy and other Southern European countries). Related with the degree of generosity, Branshaw's (2006) typology is based on the well being of children, which focuses on the generosity of cash benefits, tax credits and service delivery for children in different family situations. Additionally, Gauthier (2002) develops her well-known analysis by using two indicators, cash benefits and support for working parents. Based on empirical indicators in 22 OECD countries, she analyzes the trends in family policies since 1970 and their degree of cross-national convergence.

It can be concluded that there are well established and useful typologies for family policy systems, but country groups are different. Moreover, there is no 'frozen landscape scenario' as indicated by ongoing studies and Gauthier's (2002) study, and welfare states and their corresponding typologies will change over time.

3.2. Family Policy Implementations in the context of Different Welfare Regimes

Welfare states have been adapting to various demographic, economic, and political challenges, but the answers have changed between the welfare states and thus have made significant differences (Gauthier, 2000, p. 451). In this context, Esping-

Andersen's threefold welfare regime classification is aimed to reveal the similarities and differences in the theoretical framework of family policies applied in different welfare regimes. Esping-Andersen's threefold welfare regime typology - Liberal, Conservative/Corporatist, Social Democratic - was taken as a basis, considering that family policies are being considered in the context of welfare regimes and that they are more likely to allow analysis from a social policy perspective. The Southern European Welfare regime, upon which Esping-Andersen emphasized in his later work on threefold typology, was also included in this evaluation. While evaluating the family policies based on the axis of the welfare regimes, their analysis focuses on country cases that allow the general framework of each regime to grow.

3.2.1. Liberal Welfare Regime Implementations

In the Liberal welfare regime, individuals are held accountable for their well being, and this responsibility is fulfilled according to market conditions. At this point, the state can only provide refunds in the necessary conditions and on minimum conditions. This neutral attitude of the state to the social and economic field also affects family policies. These services, which are provided on minimum terms in this welfare regime where countries such as the USA, the UK, Ireland, and Canada are located, are often inadequate when considering children and elderly care.

In recent years, it has been seen that in countries like the USA, UK Canada where the liberal welfare regime dominates, there are significant developments in labor/economic policies supporting parents about employment and family. After World War II, family and employment trends in community structure have changed. In addition to the change in the structure of the male-breadwinner model based on family, it has also brought about a shift in the role of women in society, as women have fewer children, the emergence of single-parent families and the acceleration of divorce rates. The number of 'working mothers', which has increased compared to previous periods, indicates the necessity of rearranging the labor market and social life (Millar, 2011, pp. 223-225).

Given the family changes in these countries, governments have faced a choice between facilitating participation in the women's labor market and promoting gender equality or encouraging and supporting parents to stay at home (Kamerman and Kahn, 1997).

While the Social Democratic regime treated women and men equally, the Conservative regime behaved differently, while the Liberal regime considered women and men equally unlike the Social Democratic regime, ignoring the weight of women's family responsibilities. In the regimes in which individuals are responsible for their well being, care is not the responsibility of the state, neither additional payments and permits. Individuals are required to acquire care services from the market. This situation brings with it different difficulties in access to services. In fact, in the UK, parents' participation in the cost of childcare and early childhood education services is 80% on average of their income, depending on service level and income levels (OECD, 2006). This restricts the access of low-income parents to these services and directs their families to the traditional methods (Dedeoğlu, 2007, p. 236).

The child's penalty, determined by factors such as maternal behavior, maternity leave policies, and access to affordable childcare (Esping-Andersen, 2011, p. 112). It can be argued here that the care services encouraged to be met by the market in the direction of the welfare regime created a polarization between women of different income levels. As a part of this cluster, Esping-Andersen (2001) notes that American women are faced with a more challenging environment for the harmonization of work-family life and the reduction of child punishment due to the lack of public childcare services (p. 113). Therefore, the strategy in these countries is to leave parents on both the choice of work-family balance and the challenges that arise from their choices (O'Hara, 1998, p.vi).

Despite the weak labor market participation rates due to women's care responsibilities in the UK, part-time working rates are on the average level (Bettio and Plantenga, 2004, p. 105). In addition to the high cost of living conditions, the

effect of the adaptation of work-family life to the flexible employment opportunities provided to women is quite high.

3.2.2. Conservative/Corporatist Welfare Regime Implementations

Measures towards equal opportunity for women and men in the area of social policy are both slower and weaker in the Conservative/Corporatist welfare regime, which has been of great importance to the family and the traditional solidarity institutions. In these regimes, which historically have a conservative attitude towards the family and the gender because of their closeness to the Church traditions, women are not encouraged to participate in the labor market while the 'breadwinner' man has a significant place in the labor market. Within the family, men are placed in the position of 'breadwinner' while women are considered as wife and mothers. In this regime, which is not a full employment target for ensuring the participation of all citizens in the labor market, childcare and parental leave practices seem to be underdeveloped. The state supports welfare services that cannot be provided by intermediary institutions (especially families and churches) and is thus compensatory.

States exemplify the Conservative welfare regime in Germany, Austria, France, and Belgium. In Germany, which is a typical example of this regime, support for the family is mostly included in social security policies. These policies can be considered contributions to the family in the period when pensions are taken into consideration, such as benefits and benefits for families, taxes, arrangements arising from work contracts, child allowance, and parental leave (Özaydın, 2013, p. 2). Parents are granted a childcare allowance of approximately three years for each child with a standard salary rate, and it is possible for this to be shared between parents, but the fathers do not use this permission too much because the fee is too low. Ejrneas and Boje (2008) concluded that Germany and Austria are part of a 'long-term maternity leave-part-time' policy, which is based on part-time employment, often shaped by low working hours and low wages. In the case of returning to the labor market after an extended and relatively higher paid maternity leave to assess. However, with the new reform in 2010, Germany and Austria

introduced the income-related parental leave that encouraged more salaried women to re-enter their job without significant loss of income (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 59).

Countries in the Conservative/ Corporatist regime generally have insufficient care opportunities for children under the age of 3, and parental leave allowances are low. In Germany, childcare has traditionally been a family responsibility, and formal childcare for children aged 0-3 is linked to severe conditions. For this reason, only a limited proportion of children in this age group, such as 10%, can be provided with formal care services. However, since 1999, the right to receive care and education for every child from the age of three to the age of school has been provided in Germany, and more than half of the children in this age group have benefited from these services (Koray, 2012, p. 273). It is also known that in the 1980s in Germany, cash transfers encouraging the maintenance of informal family and kinship relations were a vital policy tool. Another example of this incentive can be seen in France. In countries where unemployment is high, like France, the provision of care services by individuals, relatives, and neighbors has increased employment and has become an alternative to expensive services for society (Kalfa, 2010, p. 201).

In France, which is a different example in the Conservative regime, the increase in female employment is accompanied by high fertility rates, which is regarded as a consequence of policies for harmonizing work and family life, especially institutional care services. France is separated from other countries of its regime type due to the relatively adequate formal care services it provides for children aged 0-3 years. With France, Luxemburg and the Netherlands have high care facilities and developed educational standards. As Morgan (2003) states, France has been a 'hybrid case' between the other Continental countries and Scandinavian standards (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 59).

The Netherlands is entirely different from the other countries in this cluster. Full-time employment of the societies are receiving little institutional support here, but part-time employment (women and men) is widespread. These have generally had

a significant impact on female employment, especially on the employment of mothers. After giving birth, not only part-time employment of women but also a move towards the traditional male bread-winning model is quite common. This shows that caring responsibilities of women profoundly influence their employment (Uhlendorff et al., 2011, p. 38).

Among the countries in the Conservative/Corporatist welfare regime, Germany and Austria are close to each other regarding policies supporting the family; France and Belgium are seen to be closer to Scandinavian countries with better public care facilities (Kağnicioğlu, 2013, p. 29).

3.2.3. Social Democratic Welfare Regime Implementations

Social Democratic regimes whose underlying philosophy is 'universality', social services/politics are all-inclusive and equal. The welfare needs of the citizens are also the least targets of the dependence on the market and the family (Esping-Andersen, 1990). As far as possible, regime countries that are trying to regulate social policies independently from the market are encouraged to transfer policies from the family to the public sector in family policy arrangements. State-based social policies aim to reduce the individual's dependence on the family and to raise the individual's economic dependency (Esping-Andersen, 1999, p. 45).

Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden) are considered within the scope of this general welfare regime. However, the Netherlands, which is among Continental European countries, has characteristics close to this welfare regime. With a high employment rate among European countries, these countries have the best work-family life adjustment arrangements with advanced public care services, high payment during maternity leave and flexible working arrangements and ease of entry into the labor market (Kağnicioğlu, 2013, p. 28). The institutionalization of the arrangements makes these country's policies universal than temporary social support (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 28). In this context, states with this type of regime are also called 'service states'.

In these regime countries, the aim is to maximize the capacity of the individual (Arts and Gellisen, 2002, p.142). For this reason, besides the principle of equality, the same conditions of employment are provided for men and women. There are practices such as the opening of the education system to women, the arrangement of wages such that it is same for women and men, the provision of increasing participation of public sector labor-seeking women, and the expansion of public childcare and other forms of care so that women can work more comfortably. In these countries, particularly in Europe, women are encouraged to participate in the labor market, especially in the public sector (Arts and Gellisen, 2002, p.142). The state publicly finances children's services and receives relatively low allowances for it. Women are thus able to return to their jobs easily after childbirth. Esping-Andersen (2011) states that jobs in the public sector, which usually provide greater security and flexibility, are a factor in increasing the fertility of women employed in the Social Democratic welfare regime by reducing ambiguity and maximizing compliance (p. 113).

In addition, in these countries, not only the employment increase but also gender equality is being tried to be provided. The system, which is trying to achieve this in the family as well as in the business life, regulates the parental leave as a model shared by the woman and the man. One of the first examples of such arrangements is Sweden. Parental leave rights include 'father's quotas' in Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, and the fathers can only take the specified part of the leave. (Denmark is an exception in this regard.) When paternity leave and father's quota are counted together, the full-time equivalent leave of father is more extended than in Scandinavian countries elsewhere (Thevenon, 2011, p. 66).

Another factor contributing to the high participation of women in employment is their parents' ability to return to postpartum care and government policy to provide under-3 care services. In Scandinavian countries, 0-3 age's care and education services are both widespread and accessible as compared to other EU countries and are at the lowest cost (Aysan and Özdoğru, 2015, p. 173). In these countries, care and education services provided to children up to six years of age are defined as

citizenship rights that can be purchased, accessible and qualified for the whole population. These services provide parental autonomy while continuing the education of children.

3.2.4. Southern Europe Welfare Regime Implementations

Comparative research on welfare states has often regarded Southern European countries as more 'family-oriented' or 'familialistic' (Esping-Andersen 1990; 1999). Family policies in Southern Europe are characterized by a lack of an explicit family model and a series of multi-part measures financed poorly. Regarding the diversity of familism, it is necessary to classify the southern countries concerning the supported family. Indeed, the principle of 'loyalty' has a strong influence on the way of state support for families, particularly for children in Southern Europe and for aged care and services (Andreotti et al., 2001).

Accordingly, the primary responsibility of the dependent care belongs to the family. The inadequacy of publicly funded programs reinforces the strong family obligation to support this service delivery. The state is obliged to intervene only as a second resort, and in case the family is in a problematic situation (Naldini and Jurado, 2009, p. 5). Suitably, family policies are not fully developed in all four welfare states, and public spending for family with children remained very low, at least in Spain, Italy, and Portugal until at least the first decade of the 21st century, with only a slight increase in Greece in such expenditures (Naldini and Jurado, 2009). Also, these countries are inadequate in providing services such as childcare facilities for very young children and social services for vulnerable elderly people.

The Southern European countries are also characterized by limited paid child allowances and less comprehensive childcare services. In all cases, the total duration of full-time equivalent leave is very short (17.4 weeks in Southern European on average in these countries and 32 weeks on average in the OECD). Portugal is separated from other Southern European countries by more extensive coverage of childcare services under the age of 3, and more particularly with more

coverage (40 hours per week on average). One explanation for this is the relatively low part-time employment opportunities in Portugal, where the employment rates of women and the subsequent childcare request volume are high. Paternity leave and financial benefits are also higher for two-parent families, indicating an interest in gender equality. The main characteristic feature in these countries is the relatively low volume of cash transfers, which represents a significant difference from the Anglo-Saxon group. Provision of childcare services for preschool children is also quite low, equal to regular averages, but the net cost paid by parents is also relatively low. These countries are characterized by 'open' policy, whichever is taken into account (Thevenon, 2011, p. 70).

The Southern European welfare regime is mainly widespread with the male breadwinner model. However, it is observed that the participation of women in the labor market has also increased in the last 15-20 years. This leads to debates about the protection of the elderly and the model provided by the channels of internal solidarity of social services (Mingione, 2011, pp. 274-275). On the other hand, while the Southern European welfare regime has a relatively traditional and conservative perception of gender roles within households, it appears that there are severe obstacles to women entering the labor market due to strict work regulations. When these two dimensions come together, it results in a low level of female employment and creates problems at the point of harmonizing work-family life regarding women who want to enter the labor market (Kağnicioğlu, 2013). The unique economic and social transformation of these countries, combined with the political atmosphere, has led to the family becoming a critical component of the Southern European welfare regime, even in situations where women employment has risen.

3.3. Family Policy Trends in the Welfare States

There are differences between the regulatory, legal frameworks and practice of family policies. In the literature, analyses of family politics are carried out on issues such as care, allowances, family benefits instead of family law and institutions. However, following legal regulations that reflect the state's view of the family and

which contain structural regulation are also very important in determining the living conditions of the family.

Social policies, institutions, norms, and regulatory frameworks mostly limit the extent of actions for policymakers and shape future policies, based on institutional theoretic approaches and path dependence. Traditionally, a small number of countries have adopted open and inclusive family policies, while Conservative countries foresee that the state should protect the family and have been working on and regulating them for many years.

Social Democratic countries are more preoccupied with the interests and freedom of the individual than their families (Hantrais, 2004, p.133). For this reason, there are no family policies that are publicized by the ministry or other government agency. Legitimate family policies are weak, and more policies are individual centered. In the context of increasing women's employment, more childcare is being undertaken. Also, government-NGO cooperation in family policies is strong (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 33).

In Conservative countries, the influence of churches and conservative parties is generally seen on family policies. The state is the solution for social problems, and churches or voluntary organizations for family problems. Traditionally Germany and Austria have long family policies. France and Belgium have the most explicit and most consistent family policies across Europe. In these countries, the protection of the child and the woman is ensured by family and marriage relationship (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 34 cf. Hantrais, 2004, pp. 117, 138).

In Liberal countries, the arrangements for the family have not been regulated by the state. The state does not blame itself for the protection of the family and for making specific regulations. This responsibility is often referred to voluntary and private institutions. The government is less integrated with NGO associations compared to Scandinavian countries (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 3).

The Southern European countries have a family structure based on the male breadwinner model, similar to Conservative countries. As regards family law, Mediterranean countries bear obligations to the legally extended family, and the state only supports low levels when these resources are exhausted (Hantrais, 2004, p. 129). State duties for the protection of the family are mentioned in the national constitutions. In the context of a poorly coordinated policy approach, NGOs do not contribute to the policy formulation except for some exceptions. When generally considered, Social Democratic and Liberal countries have less open family policies than Conservatives. Unlike the other countries, Southern European countries protect the family with legal regulations.

Legal regulations, which reflect state's view of family, with structural adjustment are critical in determining the living conditions of the family. In addition to the legal regulations concerning the family, policies that support the family will be taken into consideration in this study because policies supporting the family provide comparable tangible data about the main program of welfare regimes. Therefore, family policies will be examined within three policy areas: leave policies, childcare services, cash and tax benefits.

3.3.1. Leave Policies

Policies supporting the maintenance responsibilities of working parents began to be implemented, especially in the late 19th century. Maternity leave is an application that has been carried on for many years by the welfare states to support the mental and physical development of both the woman and the child. Therefore, it is possible only for women before and after birth. Given the rising female employment in the welfare states the importance of state leave and maternity leave increases.

Maternity leave is generally provided for women working in all welfare regimes. On average, in OECD countries, mothers have 18 weeks of paid maternity leave at the time of birth. Almost all OECD countries offer paid maternity leave for at least three months. The only country that does not recognize statutory rights for paid leave at the national level is the USA. For some countries, the maternity leave period is not

limited to women (Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden), and for some, it is compulsory (Austria, Germany, Italy). In some countries, maternity leave can be extended (Czech Republic, Ireland, Hungary). In some countries, the paid maternity leave lasts for more than six months. For example, in the UK, mothers can get a nine-month paid maternity leave. Table 3.1 summarizes paid leave entitlements for mothers and fathers. Table 3.1 includes the duration of paid maternity leave, paid parental, and home care leave available to mothers, and total paid leave available to mothers.

Maternity leave is generally well paid. Most OECD countries offer payments that replace 50% of previous earnings during the maternity leave. As shown in Table 3.1, payment rates for parental and home care leave tend to be lower than those for maternity leave. Most countries procure benefits from varying between about 40% and 60% of previous earnings, but this varies significantly between countries. The objectives behind paid home care differ slightly from paid parental leave. Rather than providing short-term compensation for gains earned by withdrawing maternal employment, these extended benefits seek to provide medium-term financial support to parents (OECD, 2018).

In Liberal countries, Australia, the UK, and the USA paid parental leave, and home care leave is not available for mothers. In addition, payment rates in the UK (30.9%) are the lowest among the OECD countries. Despite the long-paid leave, full-paid equivalent paid maternity leave in the UK lasts twelve weeks. Social Democratic countries (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden) are quite generous with paid parental leave and home care leave. In Norway, the total length of paid leave is 91 weeks, while 49.4% of the previous earnings are paid to the mother. In total, full-paid equivalent paid maternity leave lasts 45 weeks. After Norway, Germany comes with 42.6 weeks. In Southern European welfare regimes, the total number of paid leave days is insufficient. However, when the total wage-equivalent maternity allowance is assessed, Southern European countries pay more than their mothers in France, Norway, and the UK.

Table 3.1. Paid Leave Entitlements for Mothers and Fathers, in selected OECD Countries, 2016

	Paid maternity leave						Paid parental and home care leave						Total paid leave						
	Length, in weeks		Average payment rate* (%)		Full-rate equivalent, in weeks		Length, in weeks		Average payment rate* (%)		Full-rate equivalent, in weeks		Length, in weeks		Average payment rate* (%)		Full-rate equivalent, in weeks		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m
Liberal	18	2	42,3	42,3	7,6	0,8	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	2	42,3	42,3	7,6	0,8	
UK	39	2	30,9	20,2	12,1	0,4	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	2	30,9	20,2	12,1	0,4	
USA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conservative/ Corporatist	15	2	64,1	73,4	9,6	1,5	17,3	17,3	20,2	20,2	3,5	3,5	32,3	19,3	40,6	25,7	13,1	5	
France	16	2	94,2	92,8	15,1	1,9	26	26	14,5	14,5	3,8	3,8	42	28	44,9	20,1	18,8	5,6	
Germany	14	0	100	0	14	0	44	8,7	65	65	28,6	5,7	58	8,7	73,4	65	42,6	5,7	
Social Democrat	18	2	53,6	53,6	9,6	1,1	32	0	53,6	0	17,1	0	50	2	53,6	53,6	26,8	1,1	
Norway	13	0	97,9	0	12,7	0	78	10	41,3	97,9	32,2	9,8	91	10	49,4	97,9	45	9,8	
Sweden	12,9	1,4	77,6	61,2	10	0,9	42,9	12,9	57,7	77,6	24,7	10	55,7	14,3	62,3	76	34,7	10,9	
Southern European	21,7	0,4	80	100	17,4	0,4	26	0	30	0	7,8	0	47,7	0,4	52,7	100	25,2	0,4	
Italy	6	5	100	100	6	5	24,1	17,3	59,6	43,6	14,4	7,5	30,1	22,3	67,7	56,3	20,4	12,5	
Portugal	16	2,1	100	100	16	2,1	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	2,1	100	100	16	2,1	
Spain	16	1	66	100	10,6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	1	66	100	10,6	1	
Turkey	18	1	-	-	-	-	37,2	7,1	-	-	-	-	55,2	8,2	-	-	-	-	
OECD Average	18	1	-	-	-	-	37,2	7,1	-	-	-	-	55,2	8,2	-	-	-	-	

*The 'average payment rate' refers to the proportion of previous earnings replaced by the benefit over the length of the paid leave entitlement for a person earning 100% of average national (2015) earnings.

Note: m: mother; f: father

Source: OECD Family Database (2018)

Paternity leave is only possible for fathers to support the mother in the care of the newborn baby after the birth. Paid leave, specific to or reserved for fathers, tends to be much shorter than paid leaves offered to mothers. On average OECD countries offer eight weeks of paid father-specific leave.

Generally, paternity leave periods are on the same basis as the maternity leave, with payments ranging from two to ten days. Sweden, Iceland, and Norway are the most endeavoring countries (Saxonberg, 2013, p. 16), to encourage their parents to share parental leave. In Liberal countries (the UK, the USA), as in some other countries, the parental leave includes only a period reserved for fathers (father's quota), and the distinction between paternity leave and parental leave for fathers is blurred (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 38). Within the Southern European welfare regimes, Portugal is distinctly different from the others. The total duration of paid leave for fathers and full-rated equivalent in a week is significantly higher than the others.

Parental leave is the period of leave for both parents after delivery. This division of the welfare is at parent's initiative. The length of this period varies between countries, with with the majority of countries allowing three to nine weeks leave.

Regarding period payments, the government generally pays more than half of the existing wage. Social Democratic welfare countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) are more generous than the others. In many countries, however, parental leave allowance is means-tested, flat rate, low earnings-related rate, or only part of the leave period. In five countries (Estonia, Norway, Portugal, Hungary, and Finland), additional childcare leave may be granted after parental leave (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 39). In Liberal countries, it is deficient in the UK, and there is no parental leave in the USA and Australia. However, in the countries of the Southern European welfare regime, especially in Italy and Spain, the situation is similar to Liberal countries. In these countries, mothers should either have their children at home or have enough money for specialized care. In Conservative countries,

maternity leave is quite generous, but parental leaves are means-tested (Saxonberg, 2013, p. 39).

An alternative method for comparing leave policies according to countries is to consider public expenditures on parental leave. An average of USD 12300 is paid for childbirth in maternity leave and parental leave payments. Luxembourg (USD 36000) is the highest payment per child, while Turkey (USD 350) is the lowest payment. Scandinavian countries are quite generous with paid leave for their parents and their payments in welfare regimes (OECD, 2018).

Although the majority of the welfare regime countries entitle workers to take care of sick or ill family members, the precise details of these permits vary considerably between countries. Most countries provide at least some kind of rights to working parents. However, many countries provide employees with a broader right to look at other (adult) family members. In most cases, qualified 'family members' are limited to partners/spouses, parents, and sometimes siblings. However, in some countries (e.g., Australia, the Netherlands, and Sweden), these broader rights can be used to look more generally at family members and/or household members. Leaves taken to look after the family members can be arranged in a short or long time, depending on the severity of the illness. Paid leaves vary among countries according to the type of reasons. For example, in the USA, Belgium, France short-term leave is unpaid, even for childcare (OECD, 2018).

3.3.2. Childcare Services

Childcare has been one of the critical issues and reform areas of family policies in many countries over the past few years. It is considered to be an essential reconciliation that contributes to multiple goals such as women's employment, gender equality, birth rates, and pre-school learning. For this reason, welfare state classifications are centering on care policies (Lewis, 1992; O'Connor, 1993; Sainsbury, 1996).

Policies on childcare generally develop with demographic trends. Trends such as declining fertility rates and the aging of the population are causing concerns about employment, and governments thus create policies to reconcile work and family life. Besides, migration is one of the factors that trigger this process. Parental involvement in employment facilitates the child's education, language, and cultural adaptation through early childhood education (Bütün, 2010, pp. 41-42).

Early childhood education and care include care and education processes that support the physical and psychological development of children from birth. Before compulsory school age, various people and institutions give care to the child except for the parents of the child. Maintenance services aimed at meeting the child's basic needs continue with more extensive and qualified formal or informal educational activities in the following years. The cultural characteristics and social policies of societies determine how formal or informal these services are provided (Aysan and Özdoğru, 2015, p.172). Besides, the expenditures allocated by countries for early childhood education and care also indicate their approach to the issue.

Table 3.2. Public Spending on Early Childhood Education and Caring, in selected OECD Countries, as percent of GDP, 2013

		Total	Childcare (0-2)	Pre-primary (3-5)
Liberal	Australia	0.7	0.4	0.2
	UK	0.8	0.1	0.7
	USA	0.3	0.1	0.3
Conservative/ Corporatist	Belgium	0.8	0.1	0.7
	France	1.3	0.6	0.7
	Germany	0.6	0.2	0.4
Social Democratic	Denmark *	1.4	--	--
	Norway	1.3	0.5	0.7
	Sweden	1.6	1.1	0.5
Southern European	Italy	0.5	0.1	0.4
	Spain	0.5	0.1	0.4
	Portugal *	0.4	--	--
	Turkey	0.2	0.1	0.1
OECD Average		0.7	--	--

*Data cannot be disaggregated by educational level.

Source: OECD Family Database (2018a)

As shown in Table 3.2 early childhood education and care expenses include daycare and pre-primary services in cash or kind. Formal day-care services generally include services for 0-2 ages, creches, day care centers, and family day care. Pre-primary services provide educational content as well as traditional care from 3 to 5 ages through kindergartens and day-care centers.

Despite the significant differences between countries, early childhood education and care spend an average of just over 0.7% of GDP. Given the total spending on early childhood education and care, the Nordic countries and France are above 1.0% of GDP, while the Southern European countries and the USA are below 0.5% of GDP. Most countries spend on pre-primary education more than childcare services. Moreover, the country allocates USD PPP 4300 on average for a total of 0-5 years of age regarding early childhood education and care per child. However, it varies considerably among these countries. Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) spend more than USD PPP 9000 per child aged 0-5 years. In some other countries (Chile, Estonia, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, and Turkey), spending is less than USD PPP 2000 per child aged 0-5 (OECD, 2018a).

The institutions and sectors that provide childcare services vary considerably among countries and are influenced by regulations regarding different financing and support for childcare. Participation in childcare and early childhood education varies according to age. In this case, the approach of the state, cultural factors, formal and informal opportunities are influential.

Table 3.3. Enrolment in Childcare and Pre-school (0-5 ages), in selected OECD Countries, 2014

		0-2 ages	3-5 years old	3 years old	4 years old	5 years old
Liberal	Australia	32,0	67,4	15,0	85,2	101,3
	UK	33,6	93,7	83,7	98,6	99,0
	USA	28,0*	66,8	41,9	67,7	90,3
Conservative/ Corporatist	Belgium	54,7	97,9	97,6	98,0	98,2
	France	51,9	100,3	99,6	100,5	100,8
	Germany	32,3	97,0	93,8	97,9	99,2
Social Democratic	Denmark	65,2	95,5	90,9	97,2	98,4
	Norway	54,7	96,6	95,3	97,0	97,5
	Sweden	46,9	94,3	93,2	94,6	95,1
Southern European	Italy	24,2	95,1	92,0	96,1	97,0
	Portugal	47,9	87,9	76,9	90,6	96,4
	Spain	38,1	96,7	95,8	97,2	97,1
	Turkey	--	37,3	7,8	32,3	70,6
OECD Average		34,4	83,8	69,9	86,4	95,0

*2011 data.

Source: OECD Family Database (2018a)

Table 3.3 shows the proportion (%) of children aged 0-2 enrolled in formal childcare and pre-school, and the proportion (%) of children aged 3-5 enrolled in pre-primary education or primary school. Participation rates for children between 0-2 years in formal childcare and pre-school services differ significantly in the OECD countries. In OECD countries, on average, about 35% of children between the ages of 0 and 2 participate in one kind of childcare. In addition to the high participation rates of Scandinavian countries, France, Belgium and Portugal are around 50%. Participation rates of children between 0-2 years in formal childcare and pre-school years are increasing in the majority of the OECD. Between 2006 and 2014, the OECD-28 average participation rate increased from 29% to 34%.

Pre-school education or participation in primary schools generally varies according to individual ages. When OECD countries are generally assessed, enrollment rates for 5-year-olds are high. Notably, in Conservative and Social Democratic countries are over 90% of the participation of three, four, five years. Also, participation rates in Southern Europe countries are very high.

While many countries surveyed in the context of welfare regimes are obliged to fulfill the same social and economic obligations as members of the European Union, early childhood care and education often take the form of their characteristics of welfare regimes. There is a more developed and widespread formal early childhood education system in the Scandinavian welfare regime at this point. It is not possible to mention the general formal care and education services for Continental Europe and Southern European welfare regimes, especially for the 0-3 age group. However, in the period between the age of 3 and the age of compulsory schooling, there is little difference between the countries and all the children are benefiting from pre-school formal education institutions in these countries (Aysan and Özdoğru, 2015).

Additionally, OECD childcare costs demand an average of 15% of the net family income of a single parent or couple employed. However, costs for single parents, in particular, vary between the OECD countries. In the USA, childcare costs for a single parent are more than half of their net income. Couples in the UK spend about one-third of their income on childcare costs. On the other hand, Denmark operates a system in which municipalities are obliged to provide a place for state-sponsored childcare for all children who are six months older. In Sweden, municipalities must provide at least 15 hours of childcare per week. There are also low childcare fees in Belgium, Iceland only providing priority access to childcare services for parents (OECD, 2016, p. 29).

When the maintenance periods are examined, it is observed that half-time maintenance services have surpassed full-time maintenance services. Conservative countries, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, as well as Liberal countries like Ireland, Malta, and the UK, are said to be of the same institutional traditions, and cultural norms (Blum and Rille-Pfeiffer, 2010, p. 10).

Regarding policymakers, Social Democratic and Liberal countries are two different models concerning achieving high female employment as well as high fertility. Support for mothers working in Scandinavian countries stands out concerning being lengthened, diversified and sustained in a way that will enable women's

participation in the workforce market on a full-time basis in a severe manner. The Anglo-Saxon policy model constitutes a critical parameter in the balance between work and family life, part-time work for the child at school age (Thévenon, 2011, pp. 75-76).

3.3.3. Cash and Tax Benefits

Cash payments and tax reductions made for families have an essential position in the family policies of the states. OECD (2013) provides information on the family spending proportions of cash, services, or tax measures. In OECD, expenditures for family benefits include only public expenditures for family allowances, including financial support for families and children. Spending on other social policy areas such as health and housing also helps families, but not exclusively, and this indicator is not included. In general, there are three types of public expenditure on family allowances: child-related cash transfers (cash benefits) to families with children, public spending on services for families (benefits in kind) with children, and financial support for families provided through the tax system.

Table 3.4. Public Expenditure on Family Benefits by Type of Expenditure, in percent of GDP, in selected OECD Countries, 2013

		Cash Benefits	Services and in kind Benefits	Tax Reductions	Total
Liberal	Australia	1.9	0.9	0.0	2.8
	UK	2.4	1.4	0.1	4.0
	USA	0.1	0.6	0.4	1.1
Conservative/ Corporatist	Belgium	1.8	1.0	0.5	3.3
	France	1.6	1.3	0.7	3.7
	Germany	1.1	1.1	0.9	3.0
Social Democratic	Denmark	1.4	2.2	0.0	3.7
	Norway	1.2	1.8	0.1	3.1
	Sweden	1.4	2.2	0.0	3.6
Southern European	Italy	0.8	0.7	0.6	2.0
	Portugal	0.7	0.5	0.2	1.4
	Spain	0.5	0.8	0.1	1.5
	Turkey	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.4
OECD Average		1.2	0.9	0.3	2.4

Source: OECD Social Expenditure Database (2018b)

When countries are analyzed according to family spendings, OECD countries spend 2.43% of GDP on family benefits, with significant differences in their overall extent. While family-based public expenditures are above 3.5% of GDP in Denmark, France, Iceland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, they are much lower, i.e., below 1.5% of the GDP in Canada, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United States. The proportional amount spent on cash, service and tax measures. However, as it is, most countries spend more money than services or tax advantages. Some exceptional countries with higher expenditures for services include Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Korea, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United States (OECD, 2018b).

Tax reductions constitute an essential part of government expenditures for the family, primarily as a policy instrument in balancing childcare costs. Services are provided by the private sector in tax reductions as well as cash payments made to parents to subsidize childcare costs. In many countries, there are tax reductions in this way. The tax reduction is not applied in Scandinavian countries only generally but is applied when specialized care is purchased in Norway. In most Conservative countries, the scope of tax reductions is limited, while in Liberal countries like the United States and Canada, they are quite prevalent (Gornick and Meyers, 2003, pp. 379-408). According to OECD (2013) latest data, in the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary and Italy, the GDP is more than 0.5% of public expenditure for families.

Within the scope of cash benefits, family cash benefits are provided by the state to support families to cater for the cost of raising children. These benefits are often limited to families with children. More than half of the countries do not depend on family income and are paid universal benefits. Among those countries, France, Austria, and Germany, respectively, have added additional income-tested benefits to low-income families, families with young children or unemployed parents. Universal family cash benefits may vary depending on the working status of the household. In some countries, the benefits are increased to the status of family income and the number of children (OECD, 2018b).

Table 3.5. Development of Total Expenditures on Family Cash Benefits, in percent of GDP, in selected OECD Countries, 2001-2013

		2001	2009	2013
Liberal	Australia	2.3	1.9	1.9
	UK	1.8	2.6	2.4
	USA	0.2	0.1	0.1
Conservative/ Corporatist	Belgium	1.7	1.8	1.8
	France	1.4	1.7	1.6
	Germany	1.3	1.3	1.1
Social Democratic	Denmark	1.5	1.6	1.4
	Norway	1.9	1.4	1.2
	Sweden	1.5	1.5	1.4
Southern European	Italy	0.6	0.8	0.8
	Portugal	0.6	1.0	0.7
	Spain	0.3	0.6	0.5
	Turkey	0.1	0.2	0.2

Source: OECD Social Expenditure Database (2018b)

When the post-2000 OECD Social Expenditure data are evaluated over selected welfare states, public expenditures on family cash benefits increased in eight countries in Belgium, Italy, Turkey, and were retrenched in Australia, the USA, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. In France, Portugal, Spain and the UK, family cash benefits have been fluctuating. This assessment shows that state spending should be carefully monitored in the application areas of family policies.

3.3. Family Policy Trends in Welfare States

In the context of welfare regimes, through selected countries, the significant trends of state family policies are as shown in Table 3.6 considering leave policies, care services, and cash and tax benefits. The Social Democratic welfare regime countries are more advanced regarding scope and efficiency than other welfare regimes in the realization of these policies. Conservative countries are trying to preserve the existing position of the family in the framework of values and apply policies in this respect. Liberal and Southern European countries limit these expenditures for different reasons. Liberal countries invest less in family policies because of individual and market-based approaches. Southern European countries are still spending less on family policies because of reliable and effective family structures.

Nevertheless, in recent years, changing demographic indicators, changes in employment patterns, variations in family structures and even 'sustainability' problems in the country's family policies have created new questions and problem areas for the welfare regime countries.

Table 3.6. Family Policy Trends in the Welfare States

	Overall Characteristics	Leave Policies	Care Services	Cash Support	Countries
Liberal	Low-level, need-oriented support and market forces	Low-level leave policies	Strong private sector	Low-level, need-oriented support	Australia Canada UK USA New Zealand
Conservative/ Corporatist	Employment-related state supports, driven by more traditional gendered division of labor	Long leave policies	Limited childcare facilities	Medium-to high level cash support	Austria Belgium France Germany Ireland Netherlands
Social Democratic	Universal state support, high commitment to gender equality	High-level support to both parents, long leave	Extensive childcare facilities	Medium-level of cash support, high-level for other benefits	Denmark Finland Norway Sweden
Southern European	High occupational fragmentation, mix of universal and private benefits	Limited leave policies	Low-level childcare facilities	Low-level cash support	Greece Italy Portugal Spain

Source: Adapted slightly modified from Gauthier (2002).

In this context, in the next chapter family policies in Turkey after 2000 will be evaluated considering leave policies, care services, and cash and tax benefits in the context of comparative welfare regimes.

CHAPTER 4

FAMILY POLICIES IN TURKEY

4.1. The Historical Evaluation of Family Policies in Turkey

Analyzing social welfare applications in Turkey, the state and the market alone not seem to be dominant and inclusive of a position. Family, extended forms of kinship and other close social networks play an active role in ensuring social welfare. Moreover, the influence of religious values in particular and regional ties is crucial in the distribution of wealth in Turkey (Aysan, 2018, p. 104). When limited state intervention and social structures are evaluated, it is observed that the scattered and fragmented structure of the applications has historically reached to the present day (Kesgin, 2012).

The young Republic had to deal with the economic and social problems left over by the Ottoman Empire after long wars and losses. Social and economic reconstruction of society and the state is possible with a healthy and productive population. In this period, mortality rates are high, and birth rates are low. Pronatalist population policies have been adopted for the revival of production and development, for political and military empowerment. In 1930, the Public Hygiene Law (*Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanunu*), which was accepted as the official document of the pronatalist policies, was put into force and the Ministry of Health and Internal Assistance (*Sıhhat ve İctimai Muavenet Vekâleti*) was established to encourage births and to reduce child mortality (Aysan, 2016, p.73).

Another important reason for the early republican population policies is the nation state process. The rapidly increasing population will provide the country's development, and even the national Turkish culture will be adopted. Thus, this new generation will be the maintenance and carrier of the state. Therefore, appropriate discourses and studies were carried out to ensure the continuity of the state. Especially the discourses of modernity and Turkishness and expressions of youth

and women did not go beyond ideological rhetoric although they included a reference to family policies (Karagöz, 2015, p. 3).

Because of the different political, economic and social challenges, it is not possible to come up with social policy, as a manifestation of the social state principle, in the early period constitutions (1921 and 1924 Constitutions). The adoption of the Civil Code of 1926 was regarded as the first political initiative because it included statements about family life (Karagöz, 2015, p. 3). Nevertheless, there is still no emphasis on the social state in the constitution. Thus, apart from the Civil Code in the first years of the Republic, closed policies are structured around the needs of women, children and young people in areas such as health, population, working life. These policies, shaped by the ideological concern that continued the carrier mission of the revolutions, continued during the One Party era.

In the 1950s, multi-party regime transition and the effect of Great Depression after the World War II brought substantial change in Turkey. Efforts to get out of the economic crisis encouraged the state to adapt to the global system with Marshall aid and to engage in industrial moves. The rapid and unplanned migration from rural to urban and the change of demographic structure have been the primary sources of severe changes in the society, especially in the families. In this process, the state has faced many problems with rapid and unplanned urbanization such as widespread squatting in cities, increased crime rates, difficulty in accessing education, employment problems, and infrastructure deficiencies, weakening of social solidarity, and cooperation with the emergence of secondary relations. In order to deal with these problems, the state has prepared five year Development Plans since 1963 (Karagöz, 2015, p. 3). In the first development plan, the fact that family policies remain within the scope of economic issues such as population, wages, and housing, shows that the government still conducts closed policies in family policies. One of the most critical developments in this process is the adoption of the 1961 Constitution. With the 1961 Constitution, the family has been accepted as the foundation of the society, and its protection has been left to the state. The Constitution also emphasizes the training of the family and raising awareness and

work towards the preservation of family integrity (Turğut, 2016, p. 418). However, these policies have not been reflected in practice.

The 1960s brought along different breaks in the context of social policies. One of the most significant developments with family policies in this period is the family planning aimed at preventing population growth. The pressure on the growing young population of 1965 to sectors such as education, employment, and infrastructure brought about the birth control. In 1965, the Population Planning Law No. 557 passed antinatalist population policies. With this law, the transition from pronatalist policies to antinatalist policies in Turkey officially passed. (Aysan, 2016, p. 75). In this period, besides birth control applications, the state made improvements for civil servants such as maternity insurance, childbirth aid, breastfeeding aid, and family benefit allowance. Another significant development during this period, with the effect of the global youth movement, the agenda for the problems of youth and youth in Turkey began to form. The Ministry of Sports, established in 1969, has been its most crucial result reflected in politics (Karagöz, 2015, p. 4).

Additionally, internal and external migrations affected the social changes during this period. The Turks who went abroad went through severe integration troubles in the European countries where they had migrated. When immigrant families returned to Turkey, they faced different social problems in adaptation to social life. The problems encountered by the families who migrated from the villages to the cities with internal migration are also among the basic family affairs of this period (Aktaş, 2015, p. 436). While the family has always been the primary provider of social protection in this period, it has also played a crucial role as an employer and provider in informal ways such as illegal accommodation for new immigrants in a city (Buğra and Keyder, 2006, p. 221). The first empirical studies and large-scale studies are on villages and squatter families (Aktaş, 2015, p. 424). One of these studies is the 'Gecekondu Parents in Ankara' prepared by the Law (1966) and the 'Trends of Modernization in the Turkish Village' prepared by the State Planning Organization (DPT) in 1970 (Canatan and Yıldırım, 2013, p. 25).

The 1980s represent a tidal process that is shaped around many factors in the context of social policies. These years are a time when economic problems are increasing, military coups are being tried to shape the society, and globalization gradually begins to feel itself. Although the 1982 Constitution, which is the result of the military coup, the social state principle accepted. Despite the social state principle finds its place in the constitution, Coup d'état process made it difficult to implement social policies could be applied (Turğut, 2016, p. 417). Also, the process shows that the necessities of the principle cannot be internalized regarding politicians.

In this period, the opposite of the social state principle is the existence of the applications. One of the essential, necessary steps taken in this period is that the Fifth Five Year Development Plan enters into force. This plan is essential because it shows that the steps to increase family well being are being considered. However, the lack of any development of these issues did not contribute to the solution of the problem (Karagöz, 2015, p. 4). In the late 1980s, the Family Research Institute was established in 1989 in agreement with the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the European Social Charter on family policies. It is possible to expect that this institution will add considerable acceleration to family policies when considering its purpose and functionality. Additionally, this institution theoretically made family discussions, publications, researches, and activities to protect the integrity of family policies, to strengthen the social welfare and to determine the effects of living social developments for the family. However, due to the political and economic policies of the state in this period, family-related achievement has not become a comprehensive state policy (Karagöz, 2015, p. 4; Turğut, 2016, p. 418).

Globalization, which began in the 1980s, had severe effects on families in the process of spreading mass culture to societies and unifying societies. Globalization has begun to shape the relationships that families need to develop and the emotions and behaviors their families must gain. This has brought with it serious concerns about the destruction of family unity, the deterioration of family integrity and the complete liquidation of the family institution (İçağasioğlu-Çoban and

Özbesler, 2009, p. 32-3). These hazards have exposed the importance and needed for family policies, and the state has been obliged to take severe measures regarding these issues.

Turkey in the 1990s, where there are many improvements in internal and external politics, society is nested in a period of many problems and new cultural experiences. It is a period when the effects of the Gulf War are being felt firmly and the 1994 economic crisis and the peak of unemployment and inflation. Moreover, the political and social tension created in the axis of secularism-sharia/reactions in this era of increasing terrorist incidents has been further exacerbated by the February 28 Military Coup, and the country has entered into an atmosphere of long-term conflict. In the 1990s, when political, economic and social stability was not possible due to these reasons, social policies were also fragmented and problem-focused. This is the period where dominant new cultural experience appeared with the opening of Turkey's private television and radio stations. The rapid and widespread popularity of popular and innovative culture has been considered as a threat to family integrity by the state and other circles. In this period, many governments emphasized national unity and solidarity for the protection of the family. Besides, the issues of both women movements in the period, as well as the effects of economic and social changes and the issues of state gender equality and women's employment have become part of family politics in this period (Karagöz, 2015, pp. 4-5).

In 2004, the AK Party was restructured as the ASAGEM. The institution was established with the aim of helping to establish national policy towards families and to develop and support projects, to implement and conduct national and international scientific researches for the protection, strengthening and social welfare of the Turkish family with the determination and solution of social problems in the country (Family and Social Research, 2004). Unlike the Family Research Institute, which is based on the family as an independent subject only, ASAGEM has accepted the family as an institution in the social space and interacting with the items in this area. For this reason, the scope has been broadened to deal with social

problems as a whole, while addressing family problems alone. The institution has functioned as an advisory body in the family and women-based politics and has undertaken qualified work with activities and researches (Turğut, 2016, p. 419).

In this process, another critical issue in defining the family and social policies is the reforms that must be made for entry into the European Union. While the family of nations and the reconstruction of moral values, the arrangement for increasing the employment of women to adapt to the European Union has brought a controversial process in the social policy context in Turkey. (Karagöz, 2015, p. 6).

In order to centralize and coordinate the family-based implementations, The ASPB was established with the decree number 633 issued in 2011. With the establishment of ASBP in 2011 instead of the Ministry Responsible for Women and Family, it was ensured that the family directly entered into the agenda of social policy as a whole. The primary target in the new regulation is a coordinated structure due to the dispersed institutions and organizations that provide services in the field of social services and social assistance in many studies initiated before. A more centralized structure was established with the Ministry. With this work, family policy implementations have been made more systematic and auditable so that it can be moved to different parts of the society. Thus, social quality services have become a unit that provides services instead of providing essential services by acting on different components of the society (local governments, voluntary organizations, real persons, legal entities). ASPB has been tasked with the implementation of national and international policies, control and coordination, national strategies and guidance work (Organization of ASBP, 2011; Kesgin, 2012, p. 48).

In 2011, with the establishment of the ministry, more systematic and holistic policies had been targeted. Nevertheless, the government has not done serious work on long-term fertility and family. However, in 2013, related ministries came together to work on sustainable policies that encourage birth. The policies planned to be carried out by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu on January 2015 under the

framework of 'Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program' have been publicly shared. With the program, the state has prepared an action plan, mainly to protect the family, to protect the dynamic population structure and to harmonize the work-family life. The Tenth Development Plan with the program prepared addition, Turkey's protection of population structure to support the economic and social development, strengthening the family institution and thus is intended to increase social welfare and social capital (Ministry of Development, 2015). In particular, policies towards the harmonization of work-family life are essential breakthroughs.

In the light of social challenges, family policies conducted in Turkey until the 2000s were generally engaged after the problem occurred. In other words, family policies are realized by finding partial solutions to problems rather than protecting and empowering (İçağasıoğlu Çoban and Özbesler, 2009, p. 36). The Republican governments frequently changed due to political powerlessness. Therefore family policies produce short-term interests and populist policies instead of using scientific data in the formation of family policies (Arıkan, 2005, p. 119). This fragmented structure of family policies has been left to a policy that aims to be more planned, stable and lasting with the global and local changes after 2000. For this reason, the social policies to increase the prosperity of the family in the process that started with the establishment of ASAGEM in 2004 and continue with the establishment of ASBP will be examined in more detail in the next section. Also, Turkey's policy in the context of family welfare regime will be evaluated comparatively.

4.2. Legal Framework and Regulatory Settings

ASBP is based on a comprehensive family definition of "ensuring the integrity and prosperity of the family". (Organization of the ASBP, 2011). For the protection of family integrity, the protection of the family structure and values against social threats, the education of the child in the family, the provision of material, spiritual, social support for the broken families and the provision of services for the needy. The Decree also included children, women, people with disabilities, elderly people and relatives of martyrs and veterans within the family and was included in the

ministry's mission (Organization of ASBP, 2011). Thus, there are many institutions and organizations within the ASBP; General Directorate of Family and Community Services, General Directorate of Child Services, General Directorate of Women's Status, General Directorate of Disabled and Elderly Services, General Directorate of Social Assistance, Relatives of Martyrs and Veterans. Various legal frameworks and regulatory settings have been arranged in line with the working areas of these units within ASBP.

4.2.1. Family Law

With many references to the family institution, Article 41 of the Constitution puts the following provisions under the heading 'Protecting the Family': 'The family is the foundation of Turkish society. The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the peace and welfare of the family, particularly the protection of the mother and the children and the teaching and application of family planning.' The state is responsible for the peace and prosperity of the family and the production and implementation of family planning in the law. It is seen in this article that the establishment of an institution to work in the field of the family is stated the Constitution explicitly.

The Constitution shapes the services related to the family, the Civil Code, the Law No. 4320 on the Protection of the Family, and the Family Courts Law No. 4787 (Protecting the Family, 1998; Establishment of Family Courts, 2003). In a sense, these laws constitute the basis of the family policy of the country. Apart from these laws, there are also regulations for women in different laws such as Labor Law, Civil Servants Law, and Population Planning Law.

The section on the 'Family Law' of the Turkish Civil Code was last replaced by the Civil Code No. 4721 in November 2001. The law is an arrangement that considers gender equality, ending gender discrimination, evaluating women's empowerment. With the new Civil Code, changes have been made in the field of family law, taking into consideration the developments, changes and needs experienced so far.

First of all, Family Integration Law No. 4320; has entered into force in 1998 to prevent/ protecting domestic violence. In Law, the first time the concept of domestic violence in Turkey led to the definition in the legal text, the content was expanded in 2007 with some changes (Protecting the Family, 2008). Thus, by law, spouses living in divorced or separate households and their children are included within the scope of family identification. As a complement to this law, Law No. 4787, published in January 2003, aimed at the establishment of family courts and the protection of family members who were exposed to domestic violence. These courts, based on the integrity and continuity of the family, identify the problems that spouses and children face and seek solutions through peace (Establishment of Family Courts, 2003). Besides, the experts in the institution follow the decisions taken by the court, and the decisions are implemented.

Despite these arrangements, the Law on the Protection of the Family and the Prevention of Violence Against Women, 6284, entered into force in March 2012 to eliminate the problems in practice. The purpose of this law is; the protection of women, children, family members who are subjected to violence or who are at risk of violence, and the protection of persons who are unilaterally insistent pursuant victims, and also to regulate the procedures and principles regarding the measures to be taken in order to prevent violence against these persons (Protecting the Family and Violence Against Women, 2012).

Again in this context, the Prime Ministry Circular on the Prevention of Violence against Children and Women and the Prevention of Honor Murders was published in July 2006 to prevent domestic violence against women and children. It has been stated that violence against women and children is still very much on the agenda in the country and it is stated that such violence should be resolved, and urgent measures should be taken, and it should be coordinated with various institutions and organizations in detail (Violence against Children and Women, 2006).

The Labor Law numbered 4857, enacted in June 2003, stipulates that the employer-employee relationship cannot be discriminated regarding fundamental human

rights for any reason, including gender. Regulations concerning women and families in their minds are regulated in the areas of work dismissal, annual leave of absence, days considered to be working, the prohibition on employment (Labor Law, 2003).

By the Civil Servants Law No. 6111, the 'Restructuring of Some Receivables and Social Insurance Law and Other Laws Amending Certain Laws and Decrees on the Laws' have been amended. The applications of pre-natal and post-natal permits, maternity leave, paternity leave, etc. were reorganized (Restructuring of Some Receivables, 2011).

Abortion law bearing the name of Population Planning Law was adopted in May 1983 in Turkey. Abortion of a woman is possible until the tenth week of her pregnancy. Again, according to this law, when serious health problems for women and children arise in an emergency situation, women have the right to abortion with a justified report based on the objective findings of a specialist in obstetrics and gynecology and a related dental extension (Population Planning, 1983).

There are differences between the regulatory, legal frameworks and practice of family policies. Despite these differences, legal regulations that reflect the attitude of the state to the family and which contain structural regulation are critical in determining the living conditions of the family. When welfare regimes are examined within the legal framework and regulatory settings, value-oriented is noticed. Traditionally, Scandinavian and Liberal welfare regimes have adopted open and functional policies centering on individual well-being. Countries in this cluster stand back from protecting the family and making family-specific arrangements. Conservative countries foresee that the family should be protected by the state and have been regulating this for many years. In Turkey, Southern European welfare regimes considered as part of the protection of family 'values' has been taken in the context of the center. Especially in 2015 with the Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program to protect the structure of the family has made legal arrangements.

4.2.2. Children's Rights

Risks and social and economic deprivations that children face in their social life are obstacles to their healthy development. In this context, arrangements have been made to educate the children as healthy and qualified.

Measures have been taken to prevent children from experiencing domestic violence and exploitation within the scope of the legal regulations prepared for domestic violence. With the Child Protection Law enacted in 2005, it is necessary to regulate the procedures and principles regarding the protection of children who are in need of protection or who are being succumbed, as well as the safeguarding of their rights and well being. With this law; protection and support measures, investigation and prosecution, courts and the public prosecutor's office, social examination, and inspection (Child Protection Law, 2005). For the protection of children driven to crime to juvenile court, it has been given new powers and responsibilities. In practice, priority is given to the acquisition of the child; the family and social life are being revived. In this direction, the court is not only making decisions but also making prosecution of the decisions taken.

In 2012, the General Directorate of Child Services of ASBP issued a circular for the prevention of child labor. There is also some regulation in this circular for the children of those who work as workers, especially those who go from one place to another where they live as seasonal workers. With this circular, it has been decided that mobile health teams should be set up for families for regular health screening of infectious and epidemic diseases, development of children and pregnancy tactics, psychological support for families, and support for disabled people in the family. It is stipulated that children in the age of education should continue their education in their territories or in schools where they are going to continue their education. With this circular, various regulations have been made to increase the cooperation between all related public institutions and non-governmental organizations in the direction of the identification of the children and their families who are street vendors and the development of preventive services for the services provided for this purpose (Child Protection Law, 2005).

Another circular for children in 2012 is the Protection of Our Children and Young People from the Losses of Voluntary Material of the General Directorate of Child Services of ASBP. With this circular, it is decided that children and young people who are addicted to drugs should be taken to treatment centers for substance abuse treatment and they should be monitored and followed up according to their seriousness. Provisions to prevent substance dependence have taken an essential place in this general. The Circular also prohibits the use of chemical substances, odor-containing materials, toys, liquid adhesives, thinners, lacquers, and paint-type odoriferous chemicals threatening the health of children and young people and regulates tobacco and tobacco products (Child Protection Law, 2012).

4.2.3. Flexible Working

Flexible work is the essential regulation as advanced work-family balance adjustment policies. The politics of harmonizing the work-family balance, which countries are practicing, differs according to dominant welfare regimes, gender approaches, and employment and population policies. These practices are shaped by flexible work afterward, maternity leave, care services, and cash and tax benefits. In detail, within the frame of 'Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program', policies for increasing fertility with flexible employment were also considered (Ulutürk Ünlütaş, 2014, pp. 82-85). Thus, The Ministry has tried to create flexible working models to increase women's employment, especially in the period of having children, to carry out care obligations and work life together.

In the Labor Law and the Law No. 4447 (Unemployment Insurance Law, 1999), with the amendment made by Law No. 6663 (Income Tax Law, 2016) in the year 2016, the regulations regarding the permission for half-work after childbirth have been made because of the unique period in which the female workers of the maternity and puerperium period are subjected to different physical and psychological influences. With the provision (Article 74/2) added to the Labor Law, a female worker was allowed to work for half of the weekly working hours after the maternity leave for the care and upbringing of their children (Labor Law, 2003).

With Law No. 4447, it is foreseen to pay a half working allowance to prevent the economic difficulties that women do not work. These periods are sixty days in first birth, one hundred and twenty days in second birth, and one hundred eighty days in the next birth (Aydın and Demirkaya, 2017, p. 91).

Another legal arrangement to establish the work-family balance is part-time work. According to Article 13/5 of the Labor Law No. 4857, part-time work is defined as a significantly less frequent worker's regular weekly work period than a full-time worker. In addition to scheduling, the salary is also paid in proportion to the full-time worker. In this process, part-time to full-time, full-time to part-time work is considered by the employer (Labor Law, 2003). The number of premium payment days is determined by proportioning as well as being paid (Social Security Institution, 2016).

In these two applications, a half-work allowance is granted to the mother and child following the maternity leave. Half-work allowance is paid from the unemployment insurance to compensate for the wage loss of the employee, who is not employed for half of the weekly work period. Regarding the demand for partial employment, one of the parents asks for maternity leave, unpaid leave or partial employment from the employer to be used from the end of half-time work until the time of primary child education. There is no mechanism to compensate for the loss of income that may arise due to this working scheme (Aydın and Demirkaya, 2017, p. 91).

Apart from these, flexible working styles that can be applied by those with family obligations, working from home (Article 461) in the Law of Obligations; on-call and remote work (Article 14), overwork (Article 41), intensified (compressed) work week (Article 63), compensation work (Article 64), short work (Article 65), the shift work (Article 73) is regulated in the Labor Law.

Another aspect of business law enforcement is the regulation of women's retirement. For women working in the Law No. 5510, the total number of premium

payment days for those with severe disability at the time of early retirement is reduced from the age of retirement (Article 28/8). Additionally, another practice that gives women the possibility of retiring at an earlier age is to reflect on the prime time that women have to work with their premium days to borrow their time to give birth, and so they must retire earlier (Social Security Institution, 2006).

Government-oriented regulations on flexible work are aimed mainly at increasing women's employment and encouraging birth. In Turkey, women's labor force participation rates remained well behind the EU and the OECD average. This ratio was 66.5% among the 28 EU member countries in 2017 (EuroStat, 2017). In 35 OECD member countries, the average female labor force participation rate is 60.6%. Iceland among OECD countries (82.6%) has the highest female employment rate while Turkey (33.1%) is far behind (OECD, 2018c).

According to TurkStat data in April 2018 participation in employment of women in Turkey is 34%. The Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018), it is targeted that the employment participation rate of women will reach 34.9% by the end of 2018. For 2023, this target was set at 41%. The participation of women in employment is concentrated between 25-34 (41.3%) and 35-44 (42.1%) age groups (KSGM, 2014, p. 31). For many women, being married and having children is at this age. Women's participation in employment is one of the factors affecting childbirth rates. For this reason, in the framework of the Development Plan, it was aimed to encourage employers to harmonize work-family balance to prevent the dismissal of childbearing women from employment (Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2014).

Flexible working and employment of women in Turkey are associated with part-time work. Part-time work is suggested as the most important means of increasing the employment of women in Turkey in recent years. Women working part-time status in OECD (2017) countries average 25.5%, while they are 17.9% in Turkey. Partial term three times more women than men prefer to study in Turkey. However, flexible working hours are perceived mainly as a tool for women to perform their traditional roles more efficiently. This leads to a part-time work system in which

women do not have very qualified jobs as a necessity from an option. This pattern of work causes women to concentrate in certain areas and removes women from standard employment patterns. Therefore, it needs to be evaluated from a broader perspective considering not only the extent of women employees but also the quality (Karaman, 2015, p. 148).

When women's employment is assessed in the context of welfare regimes, full-time employment is above 60%, excluding Southern European welfare regime countries. The OECD average is 60.6%. In the Social Democratic welfare regime countries, it is seen that female employment is also very high (above 72%). In Southern European countries, participation rates are Portugal (66.3%), Spain (56,1%) and Italy (49.2%). The Southern European welfare regimes in both Turkey and across the OECD have the lowest female employment, i.e., 33.1% in 2017 (OECD, 2018c).

A similar picture emerges when the employment rates of mothers (15-64 year olds, with at least one child under 15) are evaluated among the welfare regime countries. Mother's participation rates are generally over 60%. The participation rates in Southern Europe are Italy (55.3%) and Spain (59.5). Turkey has the lowest employment rate with 30% of mothers as well as in Southern European welfare regimes (OECD, 2018c).

The part-time employment rate for women is 25.1% on average in the OECD (2018e). Unlike the current cluster, the Netherlands has the highest rate of part-time employment. Liberal countries, UK (36.9%) and Australia (38.0%) have a high participation rate. In other countries the part-time employment rate is variable. In this variation, countries' gender approaches, employment and population policies, education levels are influential. When rates of women employees are evaluated in terms of family policies, flexible work, postnatal leave, care services, and cash transfers have an impact on full-time or part-time participation.

4.3. Contemporary Family Policies in Turkey in the Context of Welfare Regimes

4.3.1. Leave Policies

Maternity leave is a long-standing practice by welfare states in support of the spiritual and physical development of both women and children. There are different arrangements for the use of maternity leave for workers, and civil servants in Turkey.

One of the critical changes made in the sense that women who gave birth in recent years are reintroduced to work life is mentioned in Article 74 of Labor Law No. 4857. According to this, it is essential that female workers should not be employed for 8 weeks before birth and 8 weeks after birth for a total of 16 weeks. If the health condition is appropriate, the female worker with the approval of the doctor may work in the workplace for up to three weeks before birth. In this case, the periods worked by the female worker are added to the postpartum period. After this, female workers are granted free allowance for up to 6 months on request. Paid leave is granted for periodic checks of female labor during pregnancy (Labor Law, 2003). No amendment was made to the planned maternity leave, which was planned to be extended to 18-19 weeks, on 26 January 2015 with the 'Draft Law on Amendments to Certain Laws and Decrees on Decree Law for the Protection of the Population Structure'. With the proposal, it seems that only female civil servants have been given a limited arrangement to extend maternity leave in premature births (Maternity Benefit, 2015).

In accordance with Article 104/A of the Civil Servants Law 657, it is foreseen that the female civil servant will be allowed for a total of sixteen weeks, eight weeks before birth and eight weeks after birth. In the case of multiple pregnancies, the previous eight-week period from birth is to be added for another two weeks. With the improvement in 2016, one of the adoptive spouses of the child who has not completed the age of three, or the adopted child, has been granted the right to use maternity leave for eight weeks from the date of delivery to the family (Article 74/2). Furthermore, according to the same article, it has been changed to give civil servants a total of one and a half hours breastfeeding break for children of one year

of age. The female civil servant is granted three and a half hours breastfeeding break per day in the first six months and two and a half hours in the second six months after the end of the postpartum maternity leave to breastfeed the child. The female civil servant decides which time of day the breastfeeding break will be given and how many times a day will be used.

Although there is a parallelism between the female worker and the female civil servant regarding maternity leave, there is a difference in the unpaid leave and maternity allowance after the paid maternity leave. The period of six months unpaid leave granted to the female worker, the female civil servant is arranged to be a 24-month (For articles related to civil servants see Article 108 / B of the Civil Servants Law No. 657). In addition to this, one and a half hour daily breastfeed break should be given until the female worker who started work at the end of her leave has reached to 1-year-old (Labor Law, 2003). In this context, the equivalent of the woman giving birth is five days paid leave. Also, no compensation is paid to women who leave work for reasons such as birth or pregnancy, to prevent the woman from moving away from work (Labor Law, 2003).

Another difference in practice between female workers and female civil servants is that the amount of remuneration to be paid during maternity leave is different. Since female civil servants are deemed to have monthly leave during their maternity leave, they will not suffer any loss of income. Nonetheless, according to Article 18/1 (c) of the Social Insurance and General Health Insurance Law No. 5510 entitled 'temporary incapacity benefit', it is foreseen that female worker will receive temporary incapacity benefit up to two-thirds of daily earnings during maternity leave. According to the arrangement for female workers, women who paid at least 90 days of maternity insurance premium within the previous one-year are paid half of the daily earnings in inpatient treatments and two-thirds of daily earnings in outpatient treatment (Social Security Institution, 2006).

One of the non-controversial practices in national legislation in Turkey is the parental leave arrangement. Parental leave is when a child is allowed to remain up

to a certain age for a specified period by both parents. Partly implemented parental and paternity leave has progressed progressively in other welfare states in the world. The 'paternity leave', which can be considered as a stage of parental leave, has been increasing for both civil servants and workers in recent years.

Law No. 6645 on Occupational Health and Safety Law and Law on Amendments to Certain Laws and Decrees on Laws entered into force on April 23, 2015, and the five-day paid leave of a male worker who gave birth to his wife were legally secured. According to the amendment made in the Civil Servants Law in 2011, if the spouse gives birth, the paid leave of paternity leave, which was previously known as three days, has been increased to 10 days. However, the paid leave out of paternity leave is 5 days for male workers. Also, with Article 108 of Law No. 657, from the conclusion of the maternity leave period, the right of unpaid parental leave for six months of working time for both working parents is regulated as 'parental leave', and it is envisaged that this employee can be extended up to 12 months upon request. On the other hand, the same rights were not recognized as maternity workers. Moreover, the legislation does not include a period of leave that cannot be transferred between parents who will be unpaid to arrange parental leave and be used by men (Civil Servants Law, 1965).

In Turkish legal legislation, care leave is foreseen only for their children regarding workers. While the right to leave care for family members was recognized for civil servants, workers were not recognized. According to Articles 105 and 108 of the Civil Servants Law, civil servants can use care allowance for a parent, a spouse, a child who is obliged to look after, or a life-threatening relative if not accompanied. In this case, the civil servants may use a companion permit not exceeding three months, provided that the relevant patient has suffered a severe accident or that the medical treatment has been documented by a medical board report that the treatment is extended. In case of necessity, the period of three months is extended for another three months under the same conditions. During this period, the employee's monthly and personal rights are protected.

Table 4.1. Summary of Leave Entitlements for Civil Servant and Worker

	Civil Servant				Worker			
	Paid leave Length	Average payment rate (%)	Unpaid leave Length of weeks	Average payment rate (%)	Paid leave Length	Average payment rate (%)	Unpaid leave Length, of weeks	Average payment rate (%)
Maternity	16 (+2) weeks	100%	64	--	16 weeks	66.6%	24	--
Paternity	10 days	100%	--	--	5 days	100%	--	--
Parental	--	--	48 to 64	--	--	--	--	--
For Sick Family Members	12 (+12) weeks	100%	--	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Based on the Labor Law and the Civil Servant Law.

As a result, as can be seen in Table 4.1, there are differences between civil servants and workers in leave policies. Improvements in permits and periodic payments, especially after 2015, provide a variety of opportunities for civil servants but remain somewhat limited for workers. Despite improvements, there are still insufficient areas.

Maternity leave is generally provided for women working in all welfare regimes. In general, postpartum maternity leave varies between 14 and 20 weeks. In Turkey, this times a total of 16 weeks. The OECD (2016a) average is 18 weeks. In Turkey, there are parallels between the terms of maternity leave for female workers and female civil servants. However, there is a difference in the unpaid leave and maternity leave after the paid maternity leave. Paid paternity leave is about 1 week in welfare regimes (OECD, 2016a). This period is the maximum of 5 weeks in Portugal. The length of paid paternity leave for fathers is 5 days for workers and 10 days for civil servants. Paid paternity leave Turkey on issues close to the practice in other welfare regimes. Parental leave for both parents after birth and the distribution of these parents are at the initiative of their parents. The length of this work varies between countries. Countries that allow between 9-15 weeks are the majority, but some countries are allowed for three years. Parental leave is granted for 6 months as unpaid leave for both parents. This period can be extended up to 12

months if requested by the parents. In this period there is no reserved leave for fathers. Also, this arrangement is just for civil servants, not for workers.

Regarding maternity leave payments, most welfare regimes supply payments that replace over %50 of previous earnings. Social Democratic countries are more generous regarding payments. In Liberal countries, payment rates are lowest in the UK, and also there is no parental leave in the USA and Australia. Conservative countries are very generous concerning parental leave, but these are means-tested. Nevertheless, the Southern European countries, especially in Spain and Italy, payments are similar to those of Liberal countries. On parental leave, Turkey is similar to Liberal and Southern Europe countries. The state does not give a paid parental leave.

There are different applications for patients and dependent family members within the scope of leave policies for families. The severity of the illness determines the length of the period of the leave. Some countries (Australia, the Netherlands, and Sweden) provide broad rights for the care of family members, while in some countries (USA, Belgium, France) leave is unpaid, even for childcare. Turkey can be considered generous in this regard as it grants paid leave for three months. Nevertheless, only civil servants can benefit from the three-month paid leave.

An alternative method for comparing leave policies according to countries is to consider public expenditures of parental leave. An average of USD 12300 is paid for childbirth in maternity leave and parental leave payments. Scandinavian countries are quite generous with paid leave for their parents and their payments in welfare regimes. Luxembourg (USD 36000) is the highest payment per child, while Turkey (USD 350) is the lowest payment.(OECD, 2018b).

In Turkey regarding the maternity/paternity leave following are two options available to parents who wish to extend the permission: to take unpaid leave or work part-time or part-time. In the public and private sector, postpartum paid and unpaid leave periods are insufficient. In addition, a flexible employment policy

cannot be created for women because flexible employment practices are not in the private sector and the public sector is restricted. This also leads women to go to workplaces that are not secure or to make a choice between work and family life. In this dilemma, the mothers should have enough money for their children at home or special care. The existence of different implementations for employees in different positions in the current legal regime is unequal regarding permitting policies and payments. Besides, the absence of the 'father quota' within the scope of the parental leave continues the progress of the childcare over the woman.

4.3.2. Childcare Services

Childcare has become one of the most crucial components of family policies and reforms in many countries. It is considered to be a vital reconciliation that contributes to multiple goals such as women's employment, gender equality, birth rates, and early learning. Therefore, legal regulations have been made for childcare and early childhood education, especially after 2010.

According to article 15 of the 'Regulations Regarding Working Conditions of Pregnant or Breastfeeding Women and Breastfeed Rooms and Childcare Centers' in establishments subject to the Labor Law No. 4857 of 2004, breastfeeding rooms for children between 0-1 years are required in establishments employing 100-150 female workers. Workplaces employing more than 150 female workers are obliged to open a nursery/dormitory for the care of children between 0-6 years of age. It is also necessary to have a kindergarten for the group of 3-6 years in the dormitory. However, with the employment package introduced in 2008, employers were also given the option of receiving service from the market (Labor Law, 2003).

The legal regulations concerning childcare and education services have entered into force at a time when it is too late for the Civil Servants Law as compared to the Labor Law. Compared to the workplace conditions in the Labor Law, Article 191 of the Civil Servants Law states that child nursing homes can be established in places where there is a need for civil servants. It is left to the initiative of the institutions

according to the article, conditions, and conditions that do not obligate to public institutions.

Childcare services are related to women's employment by being assessed in the context of work-family life policies. In this context, the Ministry issued the Prime Ministry Circular on 'Increasing Women's Employment and Ensuring Equal Opportunity' in 2010. In this Circular, issues related to prevention of gender discrimination, ensuring gender equality for women, providing training for women concerning their professional development, providing counseling and guidance services for women during job search periods, establishing and supervising kindergartens and day nurseries in public and private places of work are emphasized (Increasing Women's Employment, 2010).

Maintenance services carried out by private kindergartens and daycare centers in Turkey was reorganized on April 30, 2015, published in the Official Gazette "Private Nursery and Daycare with the special Kid's Club Establishment and Operation Principles of Regulation' and are organized (Private Nurseries and Day Care Centers, 2015). Early childhood care and education services in Turkey, provided by MEB and ASPB Children's Services Directorate General (ÇHGM). The number of institutions providing childcare services to the MEB is 29,293. While different kinds of services are provided to children of 0-14 years in ÇHGM-affiliated schools to include different age groups, pre-primary education institutions attached to MEB include children aged 3-5 years (KEİG, 2014, p. 23).

With the amendment in MEB Primary Education Institutions Regulation in 2013, the age of starting elementary school was eroded with the application of 4 + 4 + 4. With the same regulation in the same year, the registration of children between 60-68 months before school was facilitated. From 2014-15, limited education assistance was provided for children aged 48-72 months who continue to pre-school education institutions. By 2019, it is declared that children who have completed 54 months will become obliged to attend pre-school education for one year. The fact that pre-

school education becomes compulsory indicates that the infrastructure and policies for pre-school should be developed (ERG, 2017).

Although the participation in pre-school education in Turkey increased over the last 10 years, enrollment rates and the OECD average is below the target set by the MEB in recent years as well. The Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018) aims to enroll 70% of children between the ages of 3-5 in childcare centers offering early childhood education until the end of 2018. However, in the 3-5 year-old group, kindergarten registrations are one-third lower than the target. Similarly, the pre-school in Turkey, according to the World Development Indicators in education gross enrollment ratio is 30.6%. Despite the widespread use of centralized childcare and pre-school education services, both service supply and usage rates are quite low. In comparison to countries with similar levels of GDP per capita such as Chile (113.6%) and Mexico (101.4%), and Bulgaria (85.7%), preprimary gross enrolment ratio is less than one-in-three children enrolled in center-based care in Turkey (World Bank, 2015). The net pre-school enrollment rate of 3-5 years, slightly over 10% in 2004-05, reached 35.2% in 2016-17. This ratio is 45.7% for 4-5 years and 58.8% for 5 years (ERG, 2017, p. 8).

The limitations of the diversity of early childhood care and education institutions leave families from different societies without alternatives. For families whose children can not go to the kindergartens and kindergartens, private kindergartens and private nurseries and day nurseries are available, these institutions are expensive and can only be used by affordable families. The private sector monthly care service fee may be twice that of public service providers (World Bank, 2015). Indeed, according to the Education Reform Initiative (ERG)'s (2017) research, participation in pre-school education in Turkey is increasing regarding the child's age and the income level of households. Although Turkey is generally a low enrollment rate in 3-5 years, the rate is even lower among the poor. The remaining two types of services are children's cribs that are opened by public authorities when needed, few of which are available to public employees, and no definite data is available for those that are opened to employers.

In addition, inadequacy regarding quantity and quality of childcare and early childhood education services, family relatives support parents because childcare is not regulated according to the different needs of working mothers. According to TurkStat Family Structure (2016), the day care of the children in the age range of 0-5 years is dominated by mothers in 86% of the dwellings. It is seen that the grandmother takes the daycare workers with the highest rate of 7.4% after the mother. Initiated as a pilot in certain cities in February 2017 by the General Directorate of Labor, which operates within the Ministry of Labor and Social Security was the Grandmother Project on childcare incentives. With the Grandmother Project, it was aimed to provide 425 TL unrequited financial support to the grandmothers for 12 months and to return to the mother's business life in a short time. (ÇSGB, 2018). Factors such as shortening the application period of the project, delimiting to specific branches, implementing the pilot, taking advantage of this incentive, and not exceeding a certain amount of total family income are obstacles to utilization of this incentive. There are still no developments in the project until March 2018 (March 22, 2018). Of the 105,000 women who applied for the project, only 6,500 benefited from this project.

According to the research conducted by the ERG, essential findings were obtained about participation in early childhood education between the ages of 3 and 5 years. Prevalence of social norms and the lack of institutional capacity for this age are shown as priority reasons for the use of early childhood care and education services at a low level in the age group of 3 years. The education level and the employment status of the mother are determined by pre-school education participation. The demand for 5 years of preschool education is met to a large extent, but factors are influencing the demand for 4 years of age. The most critical variables affecting pre-school education participation are household wealth level, maternal education level, and maternal employment status. The socioeconomic status of the families affects the situation of paying pre-school education service fees both in public and in the private sector. This situation affects children's pre-school education participation (ERG, 2017).

Considering these data and evaluations, the availability of early childhood education programs in Turkey, flexibility, reliability, quality of care, economic accessibility, issues such as the eligibility of parents working hours, emerges as problematic areas. In this general case, it would be correct to say that although there are some developments in the field of childcare services, there is no active role of the department and the families mainly perform the care services. In the family, usually the elderly (mostly women) are taking care of the child. For those who are working and have a high level of income, care services are purchased from the market.

When data and assessments related to early childhood care in Turkey are compared with other welfare regimes, it appears that more work needs to be done in early childhood care. Primarily, the expenditures allocated by countries for early childhood education and care also indicate their approach to the issue. Despite the significant differences between countries, early childhood education and care spend an average of just over 0.7% of GDP. Given the total spending on early childhood education and care, the Nordic countries and France are above 1.0% of GDP, while the Southern European countries and the USA are below 0.5% of GDP. This ranking is in Turkey at least 0.2% of GDP, total expenditure. Most countries spend pre-primary education more than childcare services. However, in Turkey, public spending on early childhood education and care are the same. Moreover, the country allocates USD PPP 4300 on average for a total of 0-5 years of age regarding early childhood education and care per child. However, it varies considerably among these countries. Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) spend more than USD PPP 9000 per child aged 0-5 years. In some other countries (Chile, Estonia, Mexico, Poland, Portugal, and Turkey), spending is less than USD PPP 2000 per child aged 0-5. In Turkey, the total public expenditure per child 0-5 years for early childhood education and care is less than USD PPP 500 (OECD, 2018a).

Additionally, participation in childcare and early childhood education varies according to age. In this case, the approach of the state, cultural factors, formal and

informal opportunities are influential. Participation rates of children between 0-2 years in formal childcare and pre-school years are increasing in the majority of the welfare states, and the average is about %35. In addition to the high participation rates of Scandinavian countries, France, Belgium and Portugal are around 50%. However, there is no legal arrangement for 0-3 years in Turkey. For pre-school education or participation in primary schools, enrollment rates for 5-year-olds are high. Notably, in Conservative and Social Democratic countries are over 90% of the participation of three, four, five years. Also, participation rates in Southern Europe countries are very high. Nevertheless, 3-5 ages for participation in primary education in Turkey is quite low even Southern European welfare regimes in other welfare regimes. Participation in pre-school education for 3-5 years, while the OECD average is 83.8%, this rate was 37.3% in Turkey. This ratio is 7.8%, 32.3%, and 70.6% respectively when examined for 3, 4, and 5 years of age (OECD, 2018a).

All this comparison and data shows that early childhood education and care practices are inadequate in Turkey in the context of welfare regimes. With the program of Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program, it is planned that the number of children receiving corporate nursery care services at 2.4% in 2013 will be 5% in 2018. The program is aimed at expanding affordable and easily accessible day care facilities for institutional care. In this context, public institutions will facilitate the purchase of services through private businesses and municipalities. To ensure equality of opportunity, work will be initiated to ensure that the children of economically inadequate families do not receive a contribution from state preschools to their children. In addition, tax deductions for MEB kindergartens will also be provided for the kindergartens opened in the ASPB for public formal care institutions. At the end of 2018, the results of the program improvements can be seen in part. In the following years, developments in early childhood education and care can be evaluated by the effects of employment, education, fertility, etc. factors within the scope of the identified targets. However, institutional early childhood care and education services are not only based on legal regulations but also on continuity. For this reason, the institutions that are established must be continuous, widespread and adopted by the society. In the

absence or inadequacy of institutions, it is demanded by the society, and it is necessary to allocate resources regularly to this area. Thus institutionalization can be provided for early childhood care and education services (Ecevit, 2010).

4.3.3. Cash and Tax Benefits

Another family policy is cash transfers and tax deductions made to individuals / families in order to provide care services. Cash transfers and tax deductions to families in Turkey are carried out directly or indirectly. Only civil servants benefit from family allowances for children under different circumstances and for a period. ASPB Family Assistance assists with food aid, housing, social housing, fuel, helping widowed women, helping dependents, birth aid, orphanage and orphan assistance (ASPB, 2016).

According to the Income Tax Law No. 193, the minimum subsistence discount (AGI) is to be excluded from the tax by deducting from the total income of the portion that will provide a minimum living for all employees older than 16 years which vary according to marital status and number of children. The employer pays the AGI on behalf of the state and is deducted from the employer's income tax.

The most notable issue about tax reductions is about the disabilities. People with disabilities are at least 40% reported. These people can benefit from early retirement and tax deduction if they report their situation to the Tax Administration (Income Tax General Communiqué, 2018).

According to the Civil Servants Act (Articles 202-206), the monthly (periodic) child benefit allowance is paid to the civil servants together with their monthly salaries. If both of the spouses are civil servants, this payment is paid only to the man. Civil servants are only granted a family allowance for two children. As a rule, the child is paid up to 25 years of age. However, if the 25-year-old girl is not married and the 25-year-old cannot work at the time of disability, the official health board report will continue to be paid for the payment for those identified.

The Maternity Benefit Regulation is a money-back guarantee for every child for whom they have children. It was published in the Official Gazette on 23 May 2015 with the request of ASBP and the adoption of the Council of Ministers. Accordingly, with the Maternity Benefit Regulation, a one-time birth allowance is made for the first child, 300 TL for the first child, 400 TL for the second child and 600 TL for the third child. This amount is made as an improvement of 22.83 TL for each child under the name of the child benefit every month given a one-time charge worker (Organization of ASBP, 2011).

In addition to child benefits and tax reductions, the state gives assistance to provide support in marriage and housing. In this context, Dowry Account and State Contribution, Regulation on Dowry Account and Government Contribution, which was prepared within the scope of Annex 2 of the Decree Law No. 633, entered into force on 16.04.2015. With the application of the dowry account, up to 20 percent of the amount young people make through their savings for marriage preparations and government contributions up to 5 thousand Turkish liras are provided.

The Law on the Civil Servants and Workers and Their Retirement Benefits regulated the first regulation with the acquisition of housing in 1986. Under the law, civil servants, civil servant retirement, old-age and productive pensioners and workers in enterprises employing at least ten workers, or other workers if they wish, can benefit from housing assistance. This law was later revised in 1999 and 2007. The final regulation on housing acquisition is the Regulation on Housing Account and Government Contribution published in 2016. This regulation aims to support the purchase of the first and only houses in Turkey by Turkish citizens who do not own a house. With this arrangement, a resident account is opened from a beneficiary bank and each month or every three months at least TL 250, up to TL 2,500 is paid. The contribution of the state cannot exceed 20% of the accumulation of the date of acquisition and maximum 15.000 TL.

Legal regulations introduced in recent years in Turkey are strengthening the family structure with cash and tax benefits and serves to support the population growth.

Despite recent improvements in family and child support, total public expenditures for families Turkey compared with other welfare regimes is quite low.

The family-based social expenditure covers the child-related cash transfers, public spending on services for families and financial support for families provided through the tax system. OECD countries spend 2.43% of GDP on family benefits, with significant differences in their overall extent.

While family-based public expenditures are above 3.5% of GDP in Denmark, France, Iceland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, it is much lower at below 1.5% of GDP in Liberal (Canada, USA) and Southern European (Portugal, Spain) countries (OECD, 2018a).

Turkey is the lowest with 0.4% of GDP in all OECD countries. Total expenditure, which was 0.2% of GDP in 2001, rose by 0.4% of GDP. Separately, total public expenditure on cash benefits for families 0.2% of GDP, services and in-kind benefits for families with children 0.2% of GDP, and tax breaks for families as a 0.0% of GDP. Total expenditures are above 1.2% of GDP in all welfare regimes except for USA (0.1% of GDP). When the post-2000 OECD Social Expenditure data are evaluated, public expenditures on family cash benefits is retrenching, while it is increasing Turkey.

4.3.4. Other Family Support Programs

Based on the principle of protecting the integrity of the family, the ASPB places priority on services focused on family support programs and services. In this context, the state aims to strengthen the family through education, counseling and social assistance. With Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program, education programs, support units, and, counseling services have been put into service for the protection of family well-being and the strengthening of the family institution.

In this context, the state aims to protect the family structure and the doctrine against extrinsic social and cultural backgrounds that are not reinforced by family education, counseling and social assistance. The education program, support units, and counseling services have been put into service for the protection of the family well-being and the strengthening of the family institution through the program of Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program.

The Family Social Support Program (ASDEP) aims to identify the needs of families and individuals for social assistance and social services, to plan and implement social assistance and social service models as needed, and to ensure that other public services (education, health, employment, etc.) guidance and counseling services. With ASDEP, it is ultimately aimed at improving the living conditions of the family (ASPB, 2016).

The Family Education Program (AEP) was prepared by ASBP to contribute to the creation of healthy, happy and prosperous families. AEP has been developed by taking into account the basic needs of families related to family education and consists of 26 modules in 5 areas. Family Education and Communication Area 5 modules; Legal Field 5 modules, Economics Field 5 modules, Media Field 4 modules, Health Field 7 modules. In the training that has been continuing since 2013, a total of 241 trainers training were given to 7,477 trainees, 9,280 public education and 550,316 trainees (ASPB, 2016).

The Pre-marriage Training Program (EAP) aims to prepare couples that come together for marriage and family formation, for marital life. The training program aims to give couples a chance to 'get a good start' on marriage by knowing each other well, building realistic expectations about marriage, knowing how to communicate effectively and how to cope with possible problems. The program focuses on communication and life skills, family law, marriage, and health.

The Social Service Centers were established in the Official Gazette dated February 2013, by the regulation published by ASPB. Organizations such as Community

Centers, Family Counseling Centers, Children's and Youth Centers, and Elderly Centers are integrated under this single roof. At least one service center planned to be established in each city aims to carry out social service activities in the fields that are needed for children, women, disabled, elderly, relatives of martyrs and veterans as well as services for protecting the integrity of the family and improving the family wellbeing. As of December 2016, the centers reached 215 in 81 cities (ASPB, 2016).

Family Counseling Centers were established with Official Gazette dated 04.09.2012 and numbered 28401. In these centers, it is aimed to organize free and open-ended seminars, conferences and similar programs related to the field of duty as well as psychosocial services and family counseling services for families. In these centers, there are experts such as a family counselor, psychologist, child development expert, and psychological counselor and guide. In family counseling centers, efforts are being made to develop problem-solving skills, such as parent-child mismatches, parent-child relationship problems, distribution of family roles and responsibilities, elimination of living problems and family members (Real People and Private Law, 2012).

Family and Divorce Process Counseling is a service provided to couples who have problems in the family, who are in the process of divorce or divorce, to manage this process in a healthy way. It is aimed to gain the skills of family communication with the counseling services given before and during the divorce, to ensure that the problems that they have experienced with their children and conflicts in the family are solved constructively, the relations with their spouses and the family support system are examined, problem-solving and stress coping skills are improved. After the divorce, to support the family in coping with the behavior problems of the children, to help the new posture of the divorced person in the society, to rearrange the relations of the families with the children, to support the solution of the problems caused by being a single parent after divorce.

ASPB Call Center the Alo 144 Social Assistance Line is provided such as conditional education/health aids, charity aid, food aid, disability pension, benefits for widowed

women, housing assistance, childbirth aid, etc. conducted by Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations. Thus, all kinds of requests, suggestions, and complaints regarding the project supports are taken, the database is examined, and information about the status of the applicant who is calling is given, and the referral is given to the related Provincial / District Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation.

ASPB Call Center The Alo 183 Social Support Line provides guidance and counseling services for families, women, children, disabled, elderly, relatives of martyrs, as well as calls for services related to veteran and veteran relatives. In addition, precautions are taken to prevent negligence, abuse, and violence or honor killings, and the Emergency Response Team Officer and law enforcement officers are informed that the case is in the case of urgency. The Emergency Response Team assesses the case and, if necessary, coordinates with the police or gendarmerie units to ensure intervention in the shortest possible time.

All these regulations, which are based on the preservation of the family, aim to improve the services for the family, increase the family well being and the intergenerational support. The family is of great importance in the context of protecting fundamental norms, values and moral reference measures. For this reason, units to provide social support to family and family members were established. The state has been supporting many studies so that family life can be organized together with employment, social life, education, and all other intersection areas and as a protector against social risks.

Nevertheless, there is not enough information on the success of reaching the target groups of all these programs. Finally, according to the Ministry of Family and Social Policy published in 2016, the number of counselors related to the family for ASDEP, which is organized within the framework of strengthening the family structure, has not reached the determined goal. The Ministry has determined the ratio of the number of families associated with ASDEP to the total number of families as 20% but stated that the household visits could not be done due to the completion of the

ASDEP infrastructure in 2016. Realization rates of AEP, EAP, family, and divorce counseling services are between 50% and 75% (ASPB, 2016). However, there is no information on subjects such as the profile of participants, the nature of the counseling and education services, and the level of satisfaction of the participants in the realization rates programs. The question of how the government responds to these services in the society in order to strengthen the family remains unanswered. Turkey in detecting the family is weakened and the value of the divergence in the direction the critics of concrete data and the state's Family Structure in Turkey (TAYA) as not known to produce what extent solutions for field problems reached with the research.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It is quite apparent that in a not-so-distant future, the most mature welfare democracies of the world will face one of the most severe hardships of the history of welfare states. As the fertility rate in these countries continuously decreases, the aging of their populations is becoming more and more evident. Many women in these countries prefer to join to the labor market and have a career before having children and consequently experience a forcing tension for being torn between participation to working life and family life. In addition, the tendency of income disparity and poverty rate to increase continues in many countries. The fact that women are actively involved in the labor market along with men and their effects continue to increase influence the balance between family, state, and market. New policies on considering this altering balance into consideration have been trying to be made. However, despite all these variables, there is little systematic information obtained regarding long term programs on family policy making strategies and their consequences.

The change in demographic structure, altering forms of employment conditions and inconstant nature of the institutions responsible for the integrity of the society make social policies and family policies even more important. The status of the welfare state that Turkey has been too late to acquire, altering social circumstances and the ongoing process of conversion of the family as the ruling actor of the society became the primary subjects of question and problem in Turkey after 2000. The data obtained from population projections and the field research lead the state to make policies on family-related issues and increase the share that these policies have in public expenditures. With the establishment of Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2011, institutionalized policies that are implemented as a whole aimed at including other actors of the distribution of the welfare within the process and becoming more concrete. Tangible outcomes of the family policies that have been included in the legal regulations and implemented afterward give information

regarding the progress and possible consequences of the process. Therefore, it can be said that there is a need to overview the regulations regarding the family policies in Turkey and their outcomes and assess them in comparison with the data obtained from other welfare regimes facing the same problems. Regarding this issue, I comparatively evaluated the family policies of Turkey for leave policies, care services, cash and tax advantages.

It is frequently stated that with the emergence of the modern welfare state, the burden on the shoulders of families has been lightened. This is true in a sense; welfare states shared the responsibilities of the families such as nursing, education, healthcare, and social security. On the other hand, in all welfare regimes of the post-war period, the basic needs of families were ignored while issues of healthcare and income support were focused on. In time, states took responsibility for families as well as after other social policy fields such as retirement, healthcare, and unemployment, and made legal regulations.

Elements of social policies such as education, healthcare, employment, social security, and social service influence families both in theory and practice. Family policies are included within the scope of social policies and welfare state practices. This is because they cannot be separated from other components of social policies due to their very nature. This overlap affects institutions of the welfare state, borders of social classes, and social relationships with regards to gender. Working life, as a subfield of social policies, shapes allowances/transfer payments for families and positions of parents in the labor market. Various views and norms regarding the gender distribution in both paid and unpaid employment and the ways to construct the family employment have been reflected in families. The prevailing ideology, religious and social values, and attitudes of the actors are influential on the regulations and practices of the state with respect to the family. Therefore, various welfare state regulations have brought about distinct family-market-state relations.

As Esping-Andersen (1990) stated, welfare regimes have been built on institutional regulations and rules guiding and shaping concurrent social policy decisions, expenditures, definitions of problems, and even demands and structures of demands of their citizens and welfare consumers. Welfare regimes realize their short term policies, reforms, discussion and decision processes within their countries' qualitatively differing structures and historical frameworks of institutionalization. Therefore, interdependence and coordination between the state, market, and family, and the production and distribution of the welfare have been manifested in varying forms. In addition to these three primary actors, nonprofit/voluntary organizations have been involved in the process of distribution of welfare. Therefore, in welfare regimes, welfare is created not only by social policies but also through social institutions.

Though the classification of Esping-Andersen (1990) regarding the welfare regimes – Liberal, Conservative/Corporatist, and Social Democratic– has been criticized due to various reasons (methodological critic, misclassification, and the lack of dimensions of gender and family), it has had a considerable influence on the literature. One of the distinct welfare regimes that were brought up with respect to criticisms and contributions to this tripartite classification was Southern European welfare regime. There are two reasons for the inclusion of the Southern European welfare regime in this study. Firstly, the family has been considered as the significant welfare provider and distributor in the society in the Southern European regime. Secondly, the welfare regime of Turkey has some characteristics similar to the ones that have been attributed to the Southern European welfare regime. Therefore, this quadripartite classification of welfare states provides a useful framework to analyze the dynamics and practices of welfare states.

The primary factors allowing us to analyze Turkey's welfare regime with reference to that of Southern Europe are the active position of the family and kin relationships and traditional structures in the face of social risks, hierarchal and segmented social aid structure, and the effects of populism and patronage on the distribution of welfare by the state. In addition, late industrialization experience

from Ottoman to the Republic period, paternalist state tradition, populist policies, the prevalence of localism and political patronage activities are similar characteristics of Turkey's welfare regime to that of Southern Europe. Furthermore, civil society in Turkey continues to be an active distributor of welfare, taking traditional and religious values as a reference. As a consequence of the change in the role of the state in the economy through privatization practices and liberalization, the effectiveness of the state in the society has decreased while that of the market has increased. Considering all these features together, it can be stated that Turkey displays similarities to the welfare regimes of Southern Europe.

Welfare states face various demographic, economic and political challenges today. Solutions generated for these problems differ according to the institutional traditions of the states. Family policies are evaluated under three fields of policy within this study: (1) leave policies, (2) care services, (3) cash and tax advantages. These evaluations are conducted comparatively in the context of welfare regimes.

Family policies of the state in Turkey were shaped by closed policies such as population, wages, employment, and housing policies from the establishment of the Republic to 1980s. New economic and social order that has been shaped by globalization and neo-liberal policies changed the balance between the state, market, family and nongovernmental organizations that were influential on the distribution of welfare. The protective 'fatherly' role of the state has been replaced by the determinative role of the market. Economic and social policies made the drawbacks and poverty more apparent. During this period, the state focused on and tried to improve the welfare of the poorest segments of the society, the elderly and the disabled. Family-based policies gained momentum in the late 1980s with the influence of International Labor Organization (ILO) and European Social Charter. Indeed, Institution of Family Research was established in 1989, and it was aimed to provide coherence between and empower family policies and improve the social welfare. However, due to political instabilities and economic depressions, an environment allowing the establishment of sustainable and integrative public and family policies was not present until the 2000s.

It can be seen that family policies were generally introduced as a solution only after a problem emerged. In other words, family policies had a more reactionary quality rather than being protective and empowering. On the other hand, governments were frequently replaced by one another due to the political instability, and that resulted in the inability to create long-term family policies and short term interests and populist policies to be influential on these policies. This disjointed journey of the family policies was replaced by planned, stable and long term policies along with the changes that took place both at the national and global levels after 2000. Taking these changes into consideration, a series of social policies aiming to increase the welfare of families has been implemented, beginning with the establishment of ASAGEM in 2004 and empowered with the inauguration of Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2011.

With the announcement of the Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program in 2015, the state initiated a plan of action for the protection of the family, protection of dynamic population structure and improvement of the compatibility of work and family life. This program was developed as a supplement of The Tenth Development Plan and aimed at the protection of the population structure in order to support the economic and social development of Turkey, empowerment of institution of family, and thus increase of social welfare and social capital. Within this context, social policies in three major fields related to and reinforcing each other were developed within the scope of the program.

In this context, the purpose of this thesis study is to evaluate the family policies in Turkey with reference to welfare regimes and especially within the framework of practices held after 2000 and legal regulations put into effect in 2015. Along with the legal regulations regarding the position of the family, supportive policies provide us with concrete data on the primary programme of family policies. In this regard, family policies will be evaluated primarily with respect to s policies, care services, cash and tax advantages.

Legal regulations, which reflect the standpoint of the state regarding the family and include structural arrangements, are of high importance in shaping up the living conditions of families. As the welfare regimes are examined with respect to a legal framework and legislative arrangements, a value-driven course of action can be observed. Scandinavian and Liberal welfare regime traditionally adopted open and functional policies centering around the individual and his/her welfare. However, these countries fall short when it comes to the protection of family and generation of regulations aiming at this end. Legal regulations on family policies are entirely insubstantial, whereas there are comprehensive policies and practices on women employment and related childcare issues in these countries. On the other hand, protection of the family is seen as an obligation of the state in Conservative welfare regimes and programs to this end have been implemented for a long time now. In the case of Turkey, which is considered in the same category with Southern Europe welfare regimes, the protection of the family is considered as a major component and is focused on within the context of 'values'. The family is thought to bear great importance in the protection of basic norms, values, and moral reference points. Therefore, units aiming to embrace and provide with social support to families have been established in Turkey.

Maternity leave is a practice that has a long history in welfare regimes in order to support both the psychological and physical development of both the mother and child. Considering that the women employment has been continuously increasing, the importance of maternity leave is also increasing in state and market relationships. Maternity leave has generally been provided for working women in all welfare regimes. The duration of the maternity leave in Turkey is below the average of OECD countries. Though conditions for maternity leave for women workers and public officers are similar to each other in Turkey, there are considerable differences in the case of breastfeeding leaves and unpaid leaves after paid maternity leaves. Duration of maternity leave in Turkey is close to that in Conservative welfare regimes. On the other hand, parental leave, which can be, used both by the mother and father is provided only to public officers. Father quota is not included in this practice. In this context, Turkey resembles the Southern

European and Liberal welfare regimes with respect to paid parental leaves. Considering the public expenditures on maternity and parental leaves, Scandinavian countries seem to be the most generous ones whereas Turkey provides the least benefit per child.

Options provided to parents who want to extend the maternity/paternity leaves in Turkey are unpaid leaves, or half-time or part-time working opportunities. The insufficiency of the duration of paid and unpaid leaves after the childbirth in public and especially in private sectors and lacking or limited flexible working conditions in the private and public sectors results in inadequate employment policies for women. This situation causes women to turn to dangerous informal jobs or force them to decide between work and family life. This dilemma requires women either to look after their children staying home or have enough money for paid care. In the case of Turkey, grandmothers have a significant role in childcare just after the mothers. Current legal regulations allow different practice for employees of different status, and there is inequality with regards to s policies and payments. Besides, the lack of 'father quota' contributes to the burden of childcare being substantially on the shoulders of women. Hence, the scope, duration, and payments of parental leave appear to be insufficient.

Childcare has been one of the most critical issues and reform areas in family policies of various countries. There is a consensus that the issue of childcare is closely related and contributes to several other target areas such as women employment, gender equality, birth rates, and early learning. These policies that are associated with demographic tendencies (e.g., fall in fertility rates and the aging of the population) create concerns regarding employment issues. Therefore, states make policies on childcare in line with the improvement of work-family life compatibility. In this context, more developed and commonly applied formal early childhood education systems are employed by Social Democratic welfare regimes, whereas the formal care and education services are entirely inadequate and rare in Conservative and Southern European welfare regimes. Though the popularity of preschool education in Turkey has increased during the last decade, schooling rates

are quite below both the average of OECD countries and the target rates identified by MEB in recent years. Furthermore, the schooling rate is approximately one-third of the target rate identified within the framework of The Tenth Development Plan for formal preschool education. Despite the proliferation of childcare and preschool educational institutions, both the supply of and the demand on these services are quite low. With regards to the expenditures on early childhood education and childcare services, Turkey is the country that makes the least payment per child among all welfare regimes. Whereas there are no regulations for children between 0 and 3 ages, facilities provided for children between 3 and 5 ages are quite limited. While the participation rates of children who are between 3 and 5 ages in early childhood education in other countries are quite high, this rate is less than the half of the average rate of these countries in Turkey. Comparing with Southern European welfare regimes where the family is an important factor in the distribution of welfare, this rate in Turkey appears to be remarkably low. An assessment of the situation in Turkey in comparison with other welfare regimes reveals that there is a need for further endeavors in early childcare and education.

Data obtained from field studies and assessments on this issue point out to some problematic areas in Turkey such as the availability, flexibility, credibility, quality, affordability, and timing of early childhood education and care programs and a lack in consideration of the needs of mothers. In addition to these problematic areas, social norms, educational level of the mothers and employment situation of the mothers also affect the participation rate in preschool education. Though certain developments with respect to childcare services have been realized in time, it can be said that public sector has not played an effective role in this and primarily the families have provided childcare services.

One of the other family policies is to make transfer payments or provide tax reductions to individuals/families in order to help them afford childcare services. Transfer payments and tax reductions to families are conducted both directly and indirectly in Turkey. Mostly state officers, not all the segments of the society, have drawn advantage from these benefits under differing circumstances and for

differing periods until now. With legal regulations made recently in Turkey, transfer payments and tax reductions help the empowerment of family structure and support to the population increase. Despite the improvements in family and child allowances, the proportion of these allowances in total public expenditures is the lowest one in Turkey among all welfare regimes. On the other hand, whereas the public expenditures on family allowances have decreased in many welfare states, these expenditures were increased in Turkey after 2000. Despite this development, the proportion of family allowances in total public expenditures is no more than one-third of the average of other welfare regimes.

It can be said that the family-focused public expenditures have increased thanks to the regulations conducted within Family and Dynamic Population Structure Conservation Program (improvement in ss, the proliferation of early childhood education and care facilities, extension of the scope of flexible working conditions) is a favorable development in the context of welfare regimes. However, despite all these improvements, the services provided in Turkey seems quite insufficient, especially compared with Southern European and Conservative welfare regimes which Turkey resembles with respect to the importance given to family, and with Liberal regimes which are market-driven when it comes to ss, childcare services, and expenditures. The assessments that are conducted on concrete data and the research on the quality of these services also reveal that the relevant policies are insufficient.

Considering the developments in Turkey concerning welfare state practices, essential developments that took place after the 2000s can be explained through several variables. One of these is associated with the identity of the political party ruling the country since then. The AK Party, which came into power after the elections held in 2002, defines itself as a conservative democrat party. Like previous government, the AK Party has made statements placing the family at a central position in their both developmental plans and government programs with respect to national and spiritual values. This perspective was presented as the protection of the family within the scope of national and spiritual values; however, it can also be

defined as a secular perspective to women and family policies in line with EU harmonization process. Along with the increase in the public expenditures since the 2000s, the government supported nongovernmental actors, the private sector and voluntary initiatives, especially collective contributions mobilized by nongovernmental organizations and municipalities in order to reduce poverty and empower the provision of social services. As Aysan (2008) stated, the observed increase in public expenditures cannot be explained solely based on the populist actions of AK Party or its attempt to make Turkish welfare regime a Social Democratic regime. Primary reasons for the rapid increase in public expenditures are structural problems such as Turkey being late to acquire the status of being a welfare regime, increasing level of welfare and the aging population, and new social risks that resulted in an increase in public expenditures in the 2000s. Therefore, recent developments in social policies and social expenditures of Turkey should not be explained through only global developments, but also through internal features of the country.

Demographic indicators, changes in family structures, altering employment conditions and even 'sustainability-related' problems with the country's family policies generated new questions and problematic issues for welfare regimes, including Turkey, in recent years. Therefore, Turkey is expected to face social risks and dilemmas in the near future.

First of these potential problems is the change in population structure. Due to the policies aiming at the reduction of the fertility rate after 1965, the rates of birth and death decreased until the 2010s. The growth rate of the population was 2.5 in the 2010s, and politicians started to reinforce the idea of 'having at least three children'. Turkey, as a country, was known for having a young population but has started to discuss the aging of the population. Population projections indicate that dependent-elderly population will increase, but the fertility rate will not change in 2050. That means a demographical opportunity will be lost. The ongoing change in the demographic structure of the population created significant problems with regards to satisfying the needs of the aging population. This process, which can cause the

economic growth to decrease, will make it harder to maintain the retirement benefits and bear the cost of healthcare service. Moreover, the questions that who will be responsible for the elderly care and how this will be realized will become important issues due to the changing social structure.

One of the most important factors in the change in population structure is the altering family structure. This is because the decrease in the fertility rate cannot be explained with only economic factors but also many intertwining social factors. The change in the structure of the employment area helped educational and technological opportunities to be available for everyone from all segments of the society. During this process, gender-based roles in traditional Turkish family structure where the father was the head of the house, and the women were responsible for house chores, and childcare changed as well. The increase in the educational level of women and their participation in the labor market changed the intrafamilial balance. On the other hand, averages of first marriage and childbirth ages increased as well. Moreover, the spread of cohabiting without marriage and the increase in the divorce rate affect the family structure and fertility rate. As the urbanization increases, both women and men participate in the labor market, and economic conditions aggravate and social policies offer limited support, children become a burden for parents.

In this context, the participation of women in the labor market is one of the critical factors influencing the change in the family structure, and thus the change in the population. The employment of women contributes to the income of families. Though this contribution supports families in economic and social senses, it did not make any change in the domestic responsibilities of the women. Women can be considered as working double shifts in a day generally; they participate in the labor market, and do house chores and meet their children's needs during the rest of the day. Increasing the rate of women employment brought up these problems within the family structure. Because having children has a substantial and direct effect on women's daily lives, women have to decide between their career and family life or live under these severe conditions. Attempts reinforcing women employment do

not necessarily bring about sufficient and high-quality public regulations and support along with them. Primary factors that are aggravating this conflict are insufficiently paid and unpaid leave policies, inadequate and poor-quality preschool and childcare facilities and lack of flexible working conditions. An assessment of the processes and results of the policies aiming at increasing the work-family life compatibility reveals that they do not focus on the family but employment. This situation indicates that the rationale and logic of family policies are more goal-oriented than value- and idea-oriented; and that even deepens the conflict between work and family lives.

Changes in the positions and names of the ministries, which are active in the regulation of the Turkish family policies, give the idea of positioning the family. First, the influence and position of the woman in the family were emphasized with the Minister of State for Family and Women. In 2011, it was evaluated within the scope of family social policies with the Ministry of Family and Social Policy and became a more institutional structure. After the system change in 2018, the ministry's name was organized as the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services in parallel with policies based on employment and social services.

To sum up, it can be said that protection and integrity of family have been one of the significant discourses and goals of many governments during the history of the Republic. Recent family support programs and services aimed primarily at protecting the family, increasing the welfare of the family and intergenerational solidarity and reinforcing of childcare and development. The states seem to encourage the arrangement of the family life along with employment, social life, education, and other intersecting areas and support the family as a protective actor against social risks. However, the policies of the Turkish state centering on the family should involve comprehensive education and consultation services along with more support, service and social intervention in practice. Certain areas needing intervention in this context include improvement of the working conditions, guaranteed and flexible employment conditions, appropriation of more flexible and supportive funds for ss, the betterment of quality and extensiveness of childcare

services. Generous policies and payments on parental leave in welfare regimes help to sustain the social and working lives without the burden of early childhood education and care, and pressures from public and private sectors. As a mechanism serving to balance the deficiencies of welfare regimes, the families have been disintegrating due to social conditions and especially increase in women employment and divorce rate and the decrease in the rate of marriage. Therefore, the state should give a role to the family in the distribution of welfare considering the individual characteristics of the social conditions in Turkey, and support the family with sustainable and fair policies. Policies protecting the family and its integrity should not be based on periodic tendencies and should be constructed as comprehensive and sustainable policies aiming at increasing the welfare of family members. Within this framework, certain policies that can be conducted in order to solve the specific problems identified by this study are suggested below:

- Family policies should be organized in a comprehensive and detailed way to meet the needs of different groups. Based on family members, consideration should be given to such issues as education, health and participation in working life for women, men and children and should be planned in full with other social policies.
- New policies and regulations should be developed to address the needs of different family types in order to strengthen families. In addition to the core family that is widespread in society, the scope of leave policies, care services, and family allowances should be regulated in light of the conditions of extended family and single parent families.
- Structural and data-based policies and practices need to be developed based on a future projection rather than periodic, populist, and short-term policies. Thus, it is ensured that long-term policies are passed on and that measures can be taken against anticipated social risks.

- Family support practices should be increased in the working life, and workers should benefit at least from the rights enjoyed by civil servants. The rights provided by the state must be equal for all employees. For this reason, the government should support the private sector to improve the conditions.
- In the work-family balance programs, social equilibrium should be observed as well as employment. Regulations under the harmonization programs need to be regulated in the family - market balance by taking into account the rights of both parties and the social conditions.
- Provision of a healthy parent-child relationship requires an extension of the allowance periods for women and men, the flexibility of circumstances and increased appropriations.
- Early childhood education and care should be organized as accessible, flexible, qualified and free of charge. Access to these facilities by different segments of the society is of great importance in terms of ensuring social equality. Government-sponsored incentives can be provided to parents for the preference of the private sector institutions as well as accessible and free services provided by the public.
- Early childhood education should not be linked to female employment alone. Qualified early childhood education and care contribute positively to the physical, cognitive and socio-emotional development of children. For this reason, parents should be aware of the benefits of early childhood education.
- Early childhood care and education should be supported in informal care as well as formal care. State-sponsored childcare benefits should be provided to the children of the working parents on request of themselves or their family members.

- Improvements should be made in order to improve the quality of early childhood care and education services (building structure, safety, curriculum, teaching materials, human resources). The state should provide incentives to increase the quality in public institutions and private sector and should carry out supervision of the institutions.
- Secure and flexible employment opportunities should be established for women active in the regulation of family life. There is a need to diversify opportunities for women to continue their family and working lives in a safe and healthy way. Nursery and kindergarten services for different age groups should be provided in public institutions, private businesses, and flexible workplaces. In addition, local nurseries and kindergartens offering care and education services by municipalities can be opened.
- State and non-governmental organizations should conduct further research on the needs of their families and family members in their work, education and social life. These surveys should be held regularly and qualitatively as well as quantitative. Quantitative data can be used to track the needs of the community. With qualitative data, data on the background of the problems and needs of the family can be obtained.

As a conclusion, family policies in Turkey, especially practices realized after 2000 and legal regulations initiated in 2015 were assessed within the context of welfare regimes in this study. The ways that policies are aiming at increasing the social welfare were realized in welfare regimes, the factors are taken into consideration during this process, and the results of the practices were examined. In order to obtain concrete data on the primary programme of family policies, supporting policies including leave policies, childcare services, transfer payments, and tax reductions were examined along with legal regulations on the position of the family. The position of Turkey in regards to family policies among other welfare regimes was comparatively assessed. Lastly, potential social risks associated with Turkey's family policies were discussed, and certain policies that can be used for the solution

of the current problems identified by this study were suggested. There is a need for research assessing the needs, processes, and results of family policies in the near future where scientific data is supported by the qualitative methods. In this way; fair, comprehensive and sustainable policies on social risks and their solutions can be developed.



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