CANSU YETİMOĞLU SOCIAL INVESTMENT WELFARE STATE IN A LEAST-LIKELY CASE: POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN FAMILYPOLICY IN TURKEY Bilkent University 2021

SOCIAL INVESTMENT WELFARE STATE IN A LEAST-LIKELY CASE: POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN FAMILY POLICY IN TURKEY

A Master Thesis

by
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Ankara
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to my lovely fiancé, Muhammed Bilal Sağlam, for his companionship and support

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POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN FAMILY POLICY IN TURKEY

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

CANSU YETİMOĞLU

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ANKARA

AUGUST 2021

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL INVESTMENT WELFARE STATE IN A LEAST-LIKELY CASE: POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN FAMILY POLICY IN TURKEY

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August 2021

This thesis aims to examine similarities between family policy in Turkey and the Social Investment policies implemented in the European Union members. This research agenda will be explored through examining the extent to which family policy in Turkey has moved towards Social Investment. The relevance of Turkey as a crucial case for the development of Social Investment perspective lies in the fact that Turkey, among Southern European welfare states, is a least-likely case with stronger familialism with an especially lower probability of developing Social Investment state. Thus, the thesis answers the question of how much change has happened in Social Investment welfare structure in Turkey. The empirical analysis of Social Investment welfare structure in Turkey is twofold. First, the thesis analyses Social Investment effort by incorporating and adapting the SIWE data set to the case of Turkey. Second, the thesis examines an ensemble of Social Investment policies with a particular focus on family policy in Turkey, using the policy structure approach. On the basis of the empirical evidence, the thesis reports a development of Social Investment perspective at policy level even in a least-likely case of Turkey. Furthermore, IPA funds, as a financial instrument, facilitates the development of Social Investment perspective in Turkey at expenditure level. This conclusion demonstrates the possibility of the development of Social Investment in a least-likely case. In addition, the confirmatory evidence from the case of Turkey increases our confidence in the generalizability of the thesis' findings across other highly familial countries. The study provides insights for further research in terms of accounting for the nature of Social Investment state development in highly familial countries in general and in Turkey in particular.

Keywords: Family Policy, Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), Least-likely Case Design, Policy Structure, Social Investment, Turkey

ÖZET

EN AZ BENZERLİK GÖSTEREN VAKADA SOSYAL YATIRIM REFAH DEVLETİ: TÜRKİYE'DE AİLE POLİTİKASINDAKİ DEĞİŞİM

Yetimoğlu, Cansu
Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi Programı
Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Hasan Tolga Bölükbaşı
Ağustos 2021

Bu tez, Türkiye'deki aile politikası ile Avrupa Birliği üyelerinde uygulanan Sosyal Yatırım politikaları arasındaki benzerlikleri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu benzerlik, Türkiye'deki aile politikasının Sosyal Yatırım perspektifine ne ölçüde kaydığını inceleyerek araştırılacaktır. Türkiye'nin Sosyal Yatırım perspektifinin gelişimi açısından önemli bir vaka olarak alaka düzeyi Türkiye'nin, Güney Avrupa refah devletleri arasında, daha güçlü familyal altyapısı olan ve Sosyal Yatırım refah devleti gelişimi olasılığının daha az olduğu en az benzerlik gösteren vaka olmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Böylece tez, Türkiye'de Sosyal Yatırım refah yapısında ne tür bir değişikliğin meydana geldiği sorusuna cevap aramaktadır. Türkiye'nin Sosyal Yatırım refah yapısının ampirik analizi iki yönlüdür. Birinci olarak tez, SIWE verilerini Türkiye vakasına uyarlayarak Sosyal Yatırım refah çabasını analiz eder. İkinci olarak tez, politika yapısı yaklaşımını kullanarak Sosyal Yatırım refah program yapısını Türk aile politikası temelinde inceler. Ampirik kanıtlara dayanarak tez, en az benzerlik gösteren vaka olarak Türkiye'de politika düzeyinde Sosyal Yatırım perspektifinin geliştiğini tespit etmiştir. Ayrıca tez, finansal bir araç olarak Katılım Öncesi Mali Yardım Aracının (IPA), Türkiye'de Sosyal Yatırım perspektifinin gelişimine olanak sağladığını harcamalar düzeyinde tespit etmiştir. Bu sonuç, en az benzerlik gösteren vaka olarak Türkiye'de bile Sosyal Yatırım perspektifinin gelişiminin mümkün olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, Türkiye örneğinde elde edilen kanıtlar, tezin bulgularının diğer en az benzerlik gösteren ülkeler için genellenebilirliğine olan güveni artırmaktadır. Tez bünyesinde yürütülen bu çalışma, genel olarak yüksek düzeyde familyal altyapısı olan ülkelerde özelde ise Türkiye'de Sosyal Yatırım perspektifinin gelişiminin doğasının ne olduğunu açıklaması bakımından ileri bir araştırma önerisi sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile politikası, En Az Benzerlik Gösteren Vaka Çalışması, Katılım Öncesi Mali Yardım Aracı (IPA), Politika Yapısı, Sosyal Yatırım, Türkiye

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL INVESTMENT AS A NEW WELFARE ARCHITECTURE

1.1. Introduction

How does your life differ from your grandfather's? What are the new risks and needs you face in post-industrial socio-economic order of the 21st century? How are these risks and needs to be managed? What does this management mean for government? These, probably, would be initial questions that come to one's mind when the world is witnessing diverse economic, social and demographic transformations in the 21st century. When you ask your grandfather what kinds of risks he faced with respect to social and economic life, you would probably encounter with the answer that unemployment, illness, disability and aging constitute the major risks that would affect his welfare. Within this scenario, when he becomes unemployed, gets sick, develops disability or experiences aging, the government provides social protection against these risks in the form of health, pensions and unemployment insurance. In other words, the social welfare system in your grandfather's time reduces or neutralizes harmful effects from these risks when they are materialized (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002). Centered on ex-post protection against the traditional risks, the traditional concept of social welfare is passive and reactive. This is the welfare state-as-we-knew-it.

However, the social welfare system in your time is very different from your grandfather's time. This new welfare system is ex-ante (or, in other words, pre-emptive) because of the newly emerged socio-economic order. This new order is principally marked by an increasing rate of female labour force participation (Morel & Palme, 2012). In addition to women's embracement of economic independence and lifelong careers, a new global economic order has been establishing its own structure. At the heart of this economic order is the technological transformation and the emergence of service sector employment. While technological development, on the one hand, increases skill intensity, expansion of service

sector, on the other hand, calls for skilled labour force. Demand for skilled and professional labour force further requires knowledge and training of the members who are going to work in the sector. This is why the 21st century socio-economic order is also referred to as knowledge-intensive economy. Since knowledge is considered as the main pillar of economic development, sustainability of the new economic order is based on a skilled and flexible labour force. The overwhelming focus on skilled and professional labour force pays a particular attention to investment in human resources. The meaning of increased attention to human resources for individuals is that their life chances are based on their accumulation of human capital in the economist's lexicon.

This new order, marked by increased participation of women in the labour force, technological development and service-sector employment, bring both new risks and needs for individuals such as yourself. With respect to risks, for example, those with insufficient human resources may easily face the risks of unemployment or precarious jobs. With respect to needs, with the participation of women in the labour market, a further need for parents to ensure the work-family life balance has gained predominance and attracted the attention of policymakers. Furthermore, the fact that women gain economic and personal independence increases the likelihood of divorce. This implies the need to resolve the issue of single parenthood (Morel & Palme, 2012). In addition, in order to train individuals for later stages in life, to make them be adaptable to changing demands of the new economy, a particular need to invest in people's capabilities has emerged. This need not merely insures individuals against undesirable risks but prepares them to various challenges of the new economy.

In light of newly arising needs and risks, what kind of strategies should be implemented to prepare individuals for new social risks and needs of the contemporary economy? As a new policy paradigm, Social Investment (hereinafter SI) emerges as a strategy of welfare state adaptation in response to recent structural developments, at the heart of which

is the notion of *new social risks,* defined as "the income and service gaps generated by the transition to post-industrial labour markets and societies" (Jenson & Saint-Martin, 2006: 430). The new social risks mainly stem from the changes in the nature the labour force (i.e., increasing female labour force participation); changes in the nature of the family structure (i.e., single parenthood and new types of family structure); a new demand for skilled and flexible labour force, the lack of which would result in long-term unemployment or precarious employment. SI, in the words of the European Commission, emerges as a novel approach, aiming to "prepare individuals, families, and societies to respond to the new risks of competitive economy, by investing in human capital and capabilities from early childhood through old age; rather than in policies that simply repair damages after moments of economic or personal crisis" (European Commission, 2013a).

Given the fact that SI assumes ex-ante protection in the face of new social risks, it considers state involvement as its vital component. This is why SI as a new welfare architecture presumes an active social welfare policy, at the heart of which is state involvement in welfare provision. The literature on comparative welfare state explains the state involvement in welfare provision by giving reference to the concept of *de-familialism.* While de-familialism refers to state or market provision of welfare services, familialism refers to the state endorsement of the family as the main element in welfare provision (Grütjen, 2008). Since SI calls for active state involvement in addressing new social risks of post-industrial knowledge-based economy, it is interested in the extent to which a state moves from familialism to de-familialism.

This thesis aims to examine similarities between family policy in Turkey and the Social Investment policies implemented in the European Union members. This research agenda will be explored through examining to what extent family policy in Turkey has moved towards SI. The importance of this research question lies in the fact that Turkey is a great

single-case study to examine the two competing factors behind the development of SI. On the one hand, a more active, pre-emptive social welfare policy is required to meet the needs and challenges of the contemporary socio-economic order. This is one factor that drives the introduction of SI as the new social welfare policy. However, there is a counter-balancing factor that makes it difficult to introduce the new SI welfare policy: familialism. This is because familialism presumes that families, not states, should take all responsibilities for members' well-being. With these two competing factors, it is important to see that which factors outweighs the other. For this purpose, Turkey is a great country to conduct a single-case study because Turkey is a great "least-likely case" for the development of SI given the fact that Turkey is a country with high degree of familialism (Gerring, 2007).

In addition, preoccupation with such kind of a broad theoretical question makes the thesis not a traditional area study of Turkey but makes it a comparative scholarly endeavour. Following Rueschemeyer's (2003) and Pepinsky's (2019) discussions on single-country study, the thesis believes that single-country study can provide comparative conclusions when its selection is justified with reference to a larger population. This point is critical in terms of understanding the issues of internal and external validity. There is a common-sensical claim in the literature that single-country studies favour internal validity but they lack external validity because they are unable to be generalizable across country cases (Pepinsky, 2019). However, this common-sensical claim is treated with increasing scepticism because, many scholars agree, a concern for external validity is existent even in a single-country research and the degree of external validity is maximized through justifying the case selection with respect to a larger population of countries. In this thesis, the case selection of Turkey is justified as a least-likely case for the development of SI. Thus, the examination of the extent of policy change in Turkey would yield theoretical conclusions not only about Turkey but also about larger population of countries of which Turkey is a selected sample; i.e., other least likely

cases for the development of SI (Singleton & Straits, 2010). The rationale behind the selection of Turkey as a least-likely case for the development of SI is further elaborated in Section 1.3.2.

1.2. Social Investment in the EU: Policy Development, Intellectual Roots, and Building Blocks

In order to fully understand the novelties brought by SI at policy level, it is significant to present the policy development of SI, its intellectual roots and its building blocks. After a short introduction to the policy development of SI, its intellectual roots are outlined. Next, key building blocks of SI are discussed in order to better understand the core of SI as a new policy paradigm.

Identified as a strategy of welfare state adaptation in response to recent structural developments, SI refers to a new welfare architecture, at the heart of which is the notion of *new social risks* (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Pearson & Scherer, 1997; Bonoli, 2005; Taylor-Gooby, 2004). Furthermore, the idea of new social risks envisages a new welfare architecture, which would cover new social risks (i.e., single parenthood, lack of skills, which would result in poor employment) in addition to traditional risks of unemployment, illness or disability (Vandenbroucke, 2001). Thus, the idea of SI points to "new public demand for welfare expansion" in response to new social risks (Nelson & Stephens, 2009: 67).

1.2.1. Social Investment: EU Policy Development

Normative foundations of SI go back to the late 1990s. In 1997, the Dutch Presidency of the European Union (EU) rebranded "social policy as a productive factor" (Hemerijck, 2015: 242). The Amsterdam European Council Presidency Conclusions summarized the critical relationship between employability and social inclsuion both by affirming "the importance of promoting employment and reducing high levels of unemployment, particularly for young people, the long-term unemployed and the low-skilled" and by paying attention to "creating

conditions in the member states that would promote a skilled and adaptable workforce and flexible labour markets responsive to economic change" (European Council, 1997).

Ideas put forward in the Dutch Presidency became the cornerstone of the Lisbon Strategy, which emerged under the Portuguese Presidency of the EU in 2000. The Portuguese Presidency set a new strategic goal, which constitutes the most popular way of defining what SI state is: "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (European Council, 2000).

The most concrete step was taken in 2013 with the launching of the *Social Investment Package for Growth and Social Cohesion* by the European Commission. The Commission drew the framework of a new welfare architecture through stating that "novel welfare policies are needed to prepare individuals, families, and societies to respond to the new risks of a competitive economy, by investing in human capital and capabilities from early childhood through old age; rather than in policies that simply repair damages after moments of economic or personal crisis" (European Commission, 2013a).

1.2.2. Social Investment: Scholarly Rationales

While normative foundations go back to the late 1990s, recent scholarly rationales are brought together in a key volume by influential scholars, Gosta Esping-Andersen, Duncan Gallie, Anton Hemerijck and John Myles (2002). The volume was commissioned by the Belgian Presidency of the EU in 2001. The central aim of the volume is how to create a knowledge-based economy along with a concern for social justice. The book provides two intellectual innovations in academic debate on SI.

The first intellectual innovation is referred to as a *life-course framework*, which acknowledges interconnectedness among different stages in one's life. Welfare conditions at one particular stage in the life cycle are directly linked to welfare conditions at earlier stages

in the life course (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002). For instance, poor or precarious employment in later stages of life is often directly linked to disadvantages in earlier stages of life cycle such as child poverty or family poverty. This is why the interconnected nature of fragments in different stages of life is called as *life-course multiplier* (Hemerijck, 2019: 18). The idea here is that advantages in earlier stages in life are multiplied in terms of generating further advantages in the future. In a similar way, disadvantages in earlier stages of the life-course are multiplied in terms of generating further disadvantages in the future life-course. This is why SI paradigm aims to minimize disadvantages by investing in human capital.

The second intellectual innovation is known as *a new gender contract*, which focuses on the changed role of women in the knowledge-based economy (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002). While female labour force participation improves family welfare, it creates an issue of how to ensure the parenting of a child, which is extremely crucial for child development. Here, the policy challenge is how to make parenthood compatible with a working-life. This is why *Why We Need a New Welfare State* has an interest in reconciling the work and family life.

1.2.3. Social Investment as a New Policy Paradigm: Building Blocks

The literature identifies major building blocks of SI as a new social policy paradigm. On the one hand, SI is considered as a LEGO paradigm of an active society (Jenson & Saint-Martin, 2006; Jenson, 2008). It, on the other hand, is regarded as a new policy paradigm (Hemerijck, 2019). To start with Jenson's identification of SI as a LEGO paradigm, she marks SI as a paradigmatic shift towards the idea of reducing the effects of new social risks. The reason for Jenson to name this paradigmatic shift as a LEGO paradigm lies in the fact that LEGO is a very well-known toy. At this point, Jenson reports that the LEGO company's website sees children as natural learners. Furthermore, by helping children to learn through LEGO, the company will build resourceful adults (Jenson, 2008). Thus, LEGO refers to a new welfare architecture, which is children- and future- oriented and investment-centered.

Moreover, the LEGO paradigm draws the basic contours of the new welfare architecture by focusing on two building blocks of a new active society. The first building block is the new understanding of the notion of *security*. In mainstream understanding, security refers to having some protection from the market, termed as "a social citizenship right to decommodification" (Esping-Andersen, 1990). In LEGO terms, however, security no longer means the right to decommodification. Rather, security is understood as "having capacity to confront challenges and adapt, via life-long learning to acquire new or up-date old skills as well as via early childhood learning" (Jenson & Saint-Martin, 2006: 439). This implies the view that security understanding in LEGO paradigm aims to confront challenges, which stem from new patterns of social exclusion.

The second building block is the new understanding of the notion of *time*. This new understanding of time is future-oriented in the sense that there is a particular focus on the relationship between child poverty and future life chances. Paying attention to the fact that those who spend their childhood in poverty will be exposed to a considerable degree of disadvantage in terms of future life chances, the LEGO paradigm aims to increase intergenerational future life chances, thereby embracing the social inclusion dimension of the notion of equality (Jenson, 2008). Thus, the notions of time and equality are geared towards future and aims to remove disadvantages, which would disproportionately affect future life chances across generations.

Having presented Jenson's identification of SI as a LEGO paradigm, it is time to account for Hemerijck's identification of SI as a new policy paradigm. He starts his discussion by identifying what policy paradigm is. He refers to Peter Hall, who defines policy paradigm as "the overarching set of ideas specifying how the problems facing (policy-makers) are to be perceived, which goals must be attained through policy and what sort of techniques can be used to reach those goals" (Hall, 1993: 279) He further states that SI perspective points to a

transformation of this overarching set of ideas. This transformation is twofold, focusing on the question of redistribution and the gendered work-family life course.

The first transformation is the shift from mainstream welfare provision to in-kind benefits. In social policy literature, it is increasingly believed that mainstream way of welfare provision – which is through redistribution of cash benefits- easily overlook the increasing significance of in-kind benefits. Since new social risks are increasingly difficult to predict, they become uninsurable through ex-post compensating social insurance. Thus, there emerges a need to introduce ex-ante preventive as well as capacitating social services or public interventions (Sabel, 2012; Hemerijck, 2019). However, the increased attention to in-kind benefits does not minimize the significance of cash benefits altogether. Rather, the importance of in-kind benefits is underlined in terms of complementing the effectiveness of cash benefits.

The second transformation is the gendered work-family life course, at the heart of which is the idea that "people are most vulnerable over critical transitions in the life course: (a) when they move from education into their first job; (b) when they aspire to have children; (c) when they experience spells of labour market inactivity; and (d) when they move to retirement" (Hemerijck, 2019: 16). Thus, SI perspective aims to identify how disadvantages at four critical transitions have multiplier effect in terms of effecting later conditions and calls for policies that would prevent such disadvantages.

As a summary, the discussion on the origins and merits of SI has demonstrated that SI is identified by its goals, functions, and policies. With respect to goals, SI as a new policy paradigm aims at; (a) preparing, supporting and equipping individuals to increase their future life chances in the knowledge-based economy; and (b) reducing their future risks. With respect to functions, SI is marked by the function of the creation, preservation and mobilization of skills, whose idea is culminated in the notion of human capital. Finally, with respect to policies, many different policies can serve the goals and functions of SI. Most

obviously, SI finds its relevance especially in strengthening education and social policies and in developing accessible, inclusive and high-quality welfare services. On the basis of this particular focus, SI includes the following policies: (a) Early childhood education and care (ECEC); (b) higher and vocational education; (c) life-long learning & training; (d) reconciliation (or work-family balance) policies; (e) skill-oriented Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs); (f) policies to support women's employment (leave policies, childcare etc.); and (g) social protection of flexible employment.

1.3. Research Methods & Case Selection

1.3.1. Research Methods

With respect to research methods, the thesis adopts a multi-methods research strategy, which "entails the application of two or more sources of data or research methods to the investigation of a research question" (Bryman, 2004b: 677). The multi-methods research emerges as a third distinct approach - in addition to quantitative and qualitative methods – "in terms of collecting and analysing data; integrating the findings; and drawing inferences using both quantitative and qualitative approaches in a single study" (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007: 4). Thus, at the heart of the multi-methods research is the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The word *combination* embodies the ultimate rationale for the choice of multi-methods as an approach for scientific research (Creswell, 2009). Here, the value of multi-methods research lies in the fact that it is based on "the strength of both qualitative and quantitative research and on minimizing the limitations of both approaches" (Creswell & Creswell, 2018: 297). Thus, the rationale for multi-methods research is driven by the principle of triangulation, which refers to the systematic use of multiple methods in the investigation of the same phenomenon for the purpose of strengthening the validity of inquiry results (Greene et al., 1989). Acknowledging that both quantitative and qualitative methods have their own

limitations and that the use of only one method has limited results in the investigation of a given phenomenon, multi-methods researchers believe that when more than one method are used and the findings of these methods support one another, then the validity of the between-method findings is enhanced.

The validity of the between-method findings is referred to as *convergent validity*, which refers to "the degree to which different operationalization constructed on the basis of identical conceptualization convergence on one another" (Bolukbasi & Öktem, 2018: 87). When the correlations of qualitative and quantitative measures of the same phenomenon are large, then the convergent validity are greater. When the convergent validity becomes greater, the confidence about the research findings will become larger. Since multi-methods research provides triangulation in terms of demonstrating the convergent validity of the between-method scores, it increases the confidence about the inquiry findings (Adcock & Collier, 2001).

While triangulation is the first identified purpose of conducting multi-methods research, many additional purposes are discussed in the literature (Bryman, 2006; Greene et al., 1989). In addition to triangulation, complementarity needs a particular emphasis to discuss. Complementarity in multi-methods research refers to the idea that "quantitative and qualitative methods are used to measure overlapping but also different facets of the same phenomenon, yielding an enriched, elaborated understanding of that phenomenon" (Greene et al., 1989: 258). The idea of complementarity is different from triangulation in that "the use of multiple methods serves complementary purposes as when different methods are used for different components of a multi-task study" (Greene et al., 1989: 257).

Several typologies for classifying and identifying types of multi-methods strategies have been discussed in the literature. Here, the literature points to three basic dimensions that influence the type of mixed methods strategies. The first dimension is timing, determining

whether the quantitative and qualitative data collected simultaneously or sequentially (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2009). The second dimension is weighting, asking which has the priority – the quantitative or the qualitative method (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Finally, the third dimension is mixing, which accounts for at what stage(s) in the research process (at the data collection, the data analysis, interpretation, or at all three phases) multi-strategy research occurs? (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2009; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Based on these three dimensions, various types of multi-methods strategies are identified in the literature. For clarity and length, the thesis explains its rationale for conducting what is called *Concurrent Triangulation Strategy* as a research methodology and as a type of multi-methods research.

Referred to as *Convergent Mixed Method* (Creswell & Creswell, 2018: 300) or *Parallel/Simultaneous Multi-Strategy Method* (Bryman, 2004b: 680), concurrent triangulation strategy is a research strategy in which a researcher collects both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously. Thus, with respect to timing, data collection is conducted simultaneously. After the data collection, a researcher analyses data separately. After that, a researcher will be in a good position to compare the two databases in order to determine whether there is convergence, difference, or some combination between the two (Creswell, 2009). This is why concurrent triangulation strategy is also referred to as confirmation or disconfirmation (Greene et al., 1989).

With respect to weighting, in concurrent triangulation strategy, the weight is ideally equal between the quantitative and qualitative methods. However, the equal importance of the quantitave and qualitative methods, most of the time, is not the case in practice. (Creswell, 2009). In this thesis, the major focus will be on qualitative method because it tries to explore how much change has happened in the development of SI paradigm through the examination of the family policy in Turkey in post-2000 period. Thus, the major research question of the

thesis is to what extent the family policy in Turkey has moved towards SI paradigm. The formulation of the research question in spatio-temporal limitations with a focus on causes of effects guides the thesis into designing a case-oriented study and following a configurational approach (Hancke, 2009). At this point, the thesis is interested in a particular combination of factors leading to a specific institutional development in the Turkish case. Furthermore, as a result of detailed analysis of all operationalized conditions, the thesis' outcome establishes specific causalities for the Turkish case that would hold for other similarly organized cases under the same conditions. Therefore, the specific type of answers the thesis will give does not prevent it from climbing the ladder of abstraction to say something about sources of institutional development from the perspective of SI (Mair, 2008).

The third dimension asks at what stage(s) in the research process (at the data collection, the data analysis, interpretation, or at all three phases) multi-strategy research occurs? In the thesis, the mixing occurs in the data collection and data interpretation phases. This mixing consists of three phases. In the first phase, the thesis analyses the quantitative data in terms of statistical results. In the second phase, it analyses qualitative data collected through semi-structured elite interviews and official reports. In the third phase, the thesis integrates the two databases by merging the results from both the quantitative and qualitative findings.

The merging in multi-methods research is referred to as "integrative multi-methods" strategy (Seawright, 2016). It is integrative in the sense that each method is used for what it is especially good at. The quantitative data, on the one hand, provides an initial summary in terms of illustrating expenditure patterns of Turkey from the perspective of SI. The qualitative data, on the other hand, go beyond the mere illustration of expenditure patterns and are used to measure the extent to which Turkey has moved towards SI. Thus, integrating the two datasets provides a good opportunity to shed light on different but extremely crucial aspects

of the same phenomenon. This is why incorporating a concurrent triangulation strategy would provide a more complete picture about Turkish SI welfare state structure.

1.3.2. Case selection

With respect to case selection, the thesis follows a least-likely case study design. Constituting one of the two types of crucial case studies in addition to a most-likely case, a least-likely case refers to a case study that "on all dimensions except the dimension of theoretical interest, is predicted not to achieve a certain outcome and yet does so" (Gerring, 2007: 232). One critical point about crucial case studies in general and a least-likely case study in particular is the fact that hypothesis testing constitutes the heart of crucial case studies (Levy, 2008:3). The hypothesis that will be tested in the thesis is the following: Countries with lower degree of familialism will develop a higher degree of SI state change.

With respect to the case of Turkey, the hypothesis predicts Turkey to perform an unlikely policy reform given the fact that Turkey is the most familialistic nation within the extended family of Mediterranean nations. For example, Culfaz (2016) examines Turkey's position within the Southern European welfare model. She finds that in terms of public spending as percentage of GDP, Turkey diverges from other group members, with significantly lowest level percentage. This illustrates the outlier position of Turkey in terms of having the lowest level of state penetration in welfare provision. In a similar way, Bolukbasi & Kutlu (2019) compares Turkey's female labour force participation with Southern European countries and find that Turkey diverges from members of Southern European welfare regime, by 1980s, in terms of having the lowest female labour force participation (Bolukbasi & Kutlu, 2019: 55). Furthermore, they call the outlier position of Turkey as "Turkish puzzle". Thus, the thesis incorporates Turkey as a least-likely case with strong familialism with an especially low probability of developing SI welfare state change.

The thesis, at this point, tests this hypothesis through analysing Turkey as a least-likely case. As a result of this hypothesis testing process, if we find any development in SI policies, then, by the virtue of its being as a least-likely case, we could generalize the results observed in Turkey to other countries. Gerring (2007) explains the confirmatory nature of a least-likely case study by giving reference to the concept *Sinatra inference*: "If it can make it here, it can make it anywhere" (237). This implies the view that if SI policy development is observed in Turkey, then, it is very likely that SI is implemented very well in other countries with strong familialism (but weaker than Turkey). Thus, the thesis explores the extent to which Turkey, as a least-likely case, facilitates SI perspective in post-2000 period by looking at welfare state change in a particular field of family policy. The next section presents the rationale behind spatio-temporal limitations of the thesis.

1.3.3. Focus on Family Policy

The rationale for choosing family policy within the range of social investment policies lies in the fact that this sub-area constitutes the heart of SI paradigm. The particular importance given to the notion of human capital makes education and training in general and childhood education in particular extremely crucial (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002: 29). Given the fact that individuals acquire most of cognitive and emotional skills during their childhood, this makes the issue of childhood education important. In childhood education, family policy constitutes the first stage compared to education and training policies (Morel & Palme, 2012; Esping-Andersen et al., 2002). In other words, family policy is regarded as an investment more crucial than education and training policies because good cognitive skills and abilities start to be learned in early childhood education within the family. The acquisition of skills and abilities in early childhood is absolute precondition for educational attainment and lifelong learning in life.

When family policy is observed from the social compensation logic, it is clearly seen that welfare of children is ensured in the form of family allowances. However, consider a new environment where a child might be subject to single parenthood; might have all parents working and might be in need of both quality childcare services and of reconciliation, on the part of the parents, of the work and family life. How is the welfare of children ensured in light of these challenges? Clearly, it is not sufficient for the government to grant child benefits in the form of family allowances. Rather, the existence of quality childcare services, where children could be able to learn cognitive skills, is discussed as one crucial component of family policy reform in the 21st century.

The importance of day-care services also lies in the fact that children (learning cognitive skills at day-care) and their parent(s) (working during the day) could spend the remaining time with each other. Second, leave policies are discussed as a way for the reconciliation of work and family life immediately after a baby is born. Furthermore, not just maternal leave but parental leave is increasingly becoming discussed policy reforms under family policy. Third, long-term care policies point to another crucial way for the reconciliation of work and family life. These three policy areas express the goals of SI strategy in terms of investing in human capital of women by ensuring their existence in the labour force and of investing in children by providing them quality early-childhood education and care (Jenson, 2012).

More importantly, for a child to have quality day-care services in order to attain cognitive skills; to develop consolidated relationships with her/his parents; to prepare herself/himself for future employment conditions; to project a sustainable career life; and to be able to live a life of dignity under the shadow of risks related to labour force, the assessment of SI strategy constitutes the rationale of the thesis. With this normative stance in mind, the thesis hopes to touch the urgent needs of today's children, who will be tomorrow's

adults. It also hopes that findings of the thesis would provide today's governments an opportunity to project better policies for today's children in order to make them tomorrow's professional, skilled, and prepared adults.

In summary, it is crucial to underline the fact that three sub-fields (i.e., long-term care policy, early childhood education & care, and leave policy) constitute the essence of SI perspective in family policy (Bürgisser, 2020). Thus, for operational definition, the thesis looks at the three policy sub-fields. It is also important to note that family policy constitutes the core of SI perspective at policy-level. Early Childhood Education and Care, reconciliation policies (long-term care policy etc.), policies to support women (childcare, parental leaves etc.), and skill-oriented Active Labour Market Policies are major policies that reflect SI perspective (Garritzmann et al., 2017). Within the four major policy fields, the ECEC policy, long-term care policy and leave policies are within the framework of family policy. Thus, systematic analysis of family policy would provide a good understanding of the development of SI in a given country.

1.3.4. Period under study: EU exports SI after 2013

To start with, the thesis takes the year 2013 as a critical juncture as the EU's interest in SI perspective at policy-level was officially acknowledged during this period. The European Commission drew the basic contours of SI perspective in its 2013 Commission Report "Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion, including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020" (European Commission, 2013a). Through this report, the Commission officially declared a new European vision for SI. In 2015, the European Social Policy Network (ESPN) started to prepare its country reports, looking at overall approach to SI in EU member states and candidate countries (Bouget et al., 2015). A further thematic report on SI in Turkey was prepared in 2015 (European Social Policy Network, 2015).

In addition to thematic reports on SI, the European Commission prepares progress reports through which it regularly monitors the progress achieved by the candidate countries with respect to the Copenhagen criteria.[1] With respect to progress reports/country reports on Turkey, although the European Commission has not given an explicit reference to the notion of SI, it has discussed two issues, which would implicitly reflect SI approach. It is important to note that these two issues have started to be discussed in the post-2013 period. The first issue is related to the discussion on human and physical capital. In 2015 report, the European Commission established a close connection between human capital and sustainable & inclusive growth. The report's particular recommendation explicitly demonstrates this connection: "Turkey should upgrade and make better use of its human capital through the pursuit of the education agenda and the deepening and widening of labour market reforms. Specifically, the qualifications of low-skilled workers should be improved through training and female labour force participation should be stimulated through flexible working conditions" (European Commission, 2015a: 31). Thus, Turkey is urged to use its human capital to develop an inclusive economy. With respect to female labour force participation, the 2016 report points to the lack of care services as the major reason for low level of female labour force participation (European Commission, 2016: 60)

The second issue is related to the discussion on work-life balance. This concept was first used in Turkey 2018 report and it starts to be used in 2019 and 2020 reports as well. The issue of work-family balance is framed on the basis of the discussion on women's employment. At this point, the Commission states that "there is a wide gap in the employment rates of women and men, and a gender pay gap observed for all levels of educational attainment. The lack of institutions and services providing care for children and sick and elderly people continues to hinder women's employment, due to a gender bias in caring

[1] These reports were called ''Progress Report'' until 2016, and have been called ''Country Report'' afterwards.

responsibilities" (European Commission, 2018: 85). Thus, the Commission recommends Turkey to enhance women's employment in the labour market through policies that would balance the work and family life (European Commission, 2018).

While the adoption of SI perspective at EU level has repercussions on Turkey's policy-making process in terms of country reports and recommendations, policy-making still exclusively depends on government decisions. At this point, it is important to note that the thesis is not interested in exploring the causal impact of the EU on family policy in Turkey. It just tries to explore the extent of SI state development by looking at the case of family policy in Turkey. Here, the EU's adoption as well as export of SI perspective through country reports is critical in terms of grasping the beginning of the idea of SI and understanding when it has started to be popularized across countries.

Thus, in order to trace policy change at the domestic level in post-2013 period, the thesis looks at the past 20 years (i.e., the time period between 2000 and 2020). This would provide an opportunity; (a) to account for the extent to which Turkey facilitates SI perspective at policy level beginning from the origins of SI as a new policy paradigm; (b) to make a comparison between pre- and post-critical juncture periods; and (c) to give more comprehensive picture on the evolution of family policy in Turkey. Furthermore, the exploration of the extent of policy change in the development of SI would provide an insight on; (a) whether SI policies come at the expense of social compensation policies, or in addition to these policies; and (b) whether family policy in Turkey is heading towards SI model of family policy, social compensation model of family policy or a hybrid model between the two.

1.4. Data Sources

The thesis relies on three primary data sources. The first set of primary data includes official statistics provided by: (a) the European System of Integrated Social Protection

Statistics (ESSPROS) data set; (b) the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR); (c) the Ministry of National Education; and (d) the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services. The second set of primary data comes from official reports and other strategy documents of İŞKUR, the EU, the ILO, the OECD, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services and the Ministry of National Education. The third set of primary data comes from semi-structured elite interviews conducted with senior experts. In addition to the three sets of primary data sources, the thesis benefits from secondary empirical materials as well.

An interview is one of the ways of data collection in qualitative research. The importance of interviews lies in the fact that they are “an essential tool for making sense of political phenomenon" (Mosley, 2013: 2). This is why they are instrumental for researchers to unpack the fundamental factors behind the emergence, design and development of SI welfare programme structure in Turkey. During the process of interview, the sampling of the interviewees stands as a significant issue with respect to obtaining validity and reliability of the data. On the one hand, validity refers to the concern of asking relevant questions to the right people; reliability, on the other hand, is concerned with the accuracy of the data, asking whether the data changes if the same interviews are conducted in different contexts and in a different time (Mosley, 2013: 25). Thus, validity and reliability in interviews are obtained through selecting a proper sample of interviewees in a way that their answers are truthful and unchangeable throughout time.

Sampling, in general terms, "involves selecting a subset of elements from the universe of population of all such elements" (Lynch, 2013: 38). The decision for interview sampling relies on the particular goal of the study. Given the fact that the thesis aims to explore the extent to which Turkey has moved towards SI, the sampling of the interviewees needs to be purposive. Purposive sampling refers to the selection of the interviewees on the basis of their knowledge, expertise and certain qualities which represent the characteristics of the whole

population (Lynch, 2013: 41). In addition, the purposive sampling is strongly consistent with the purpose of opening the black-boxes in the sense that it unpacks the mechanisms that facilitate or hinder the development of SI in Turkey. Since the knowledge of these mechanisms is available only to those who take part in the agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation stages of the policy cycle, the thesis identifies three key senior experts who play an active role in these processes. For these reasons, the three senior experts stand as the most important actors thanks to their knowledge and expertise.

1.5. Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is composed of five chapters. This first chapter presents background information on policy development of SI, the choice of research methods, and the rationale for case selection. The chapter shows that the thesis follows a multi-methods research strategy in terms of mixing both qualitative and quantitative data in data collection and data interpretation phases. It also demonstrates that the thesis follows a least-likely case study design with respect to case selection. It further explains the rationale and justification for the selection of Turkey as a least likely case for the development of SI. The chapter concludes with an overview of the data sources used in the thesis. Chapter 2 presents the state-of-the-art on comparative social investment research. While the first part presents literature on the study of comparative welfare state, the second part moves to the empirics and looks at how SI state is conceptualized, operationalized and measured in comparative welfare state research. Chapter 3 and 4 demonstrate empirical details of SI state change for the case of Turkey. While Chapter 3 provides empirical details of SI effort in Turkey, Chapter 4 examines an ensemble of SI policies with a particular focus on family policy in Turkey on the basis of policy structure approach. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses comparative findings of the thesis and provides scholarly implications for further research.

CHAPTER 2: STATE-OF-THE-ART ON COMPARATIVE SOCIAL INVESTMENT RESEARCH

2.1. Introduction

This section presents the state-of-the-art on comparative SI research. The state-of-the-art is based on the literature on comparative welfare state and comparative public policy. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents literature on the study of comparative welfare state. The second part, on the other hand, moves to the empirics and looks at how SI state is conceptualized, operationalized and measured in comparative welfare state research.

2.2. Comparative Welfare State Literature

State-of-the-art on Comparative SI research has focused on the exploration, description or analysis of SI policies on the basis of the type of welfare state regime. For the sake of clarity and length, this section focuses on Southern European welfare state regime. This section, first, presents what a welfare regime is and discusses peculiarities of Southern European welfare regime. After presenting five particular characteristics of Southern European welfare regime, the next section engages with the discussion of whether it is possible to talk about the extended family of Southern European welfare regime, including Turkey. Finally, the section is concluded with how SI research is conducted on the basis of Southern European welfare state regime model, presenting two theoretical positions with respect to the prospect for SI state development in Southern European welfare regime.

2.2.1. Welfare Regime Typology

A welfare regime "is an interdependent way of distributing welfare among the state, the market and the family" (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). The ways of distributing the welfare among the three welfare pillars lead to the emergence of alternative welfare regime types (Esping-Andersen et al., 2002: 13). Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime typology is regarded as the first typology in the literature on comparative welfare state studies. He argues

that differences in the distribution of the welfare provision create three basic welfare regime types: The Liberal, the Social Democrat, and the Conservative (Esping-Andersen, 1999: 85).

Esping-Andersen presents a typology of welfare regimes of advanced developed countries. In his model, Southern European countries (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece) have been considered part of the conservative welfare regime (Esping-Andersen 1990; 1999). His typology directed criticisms, which try to ponder on aspects that are excluded in his typology. At the heart of the criticisms of Esping-Andersen is the affirmation that there are significant differences which distinguish Southern European countries from conservative ones. This is why grouping of Mediterranean countries of Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal within the conservative regime is not appropriate (Ferrera, 1996; Leibfried, 1993; Rhodes, 1997; Fargion, 1997; and Andreotti et al. 2001). Furthermore, there are certain peculiarities which make it necessary to talk about the existence of Southern European welfare regime as a distinct family of welfare regime.

2.2.2. Southern European Welfare Regime: Key Features

The existing literature identifies five basic traits of Southern European welfare regime model. The first characteristic is referred to as "a highly fragmented and corporatist income maintenance system" (Ferrera, 1996: 19). The income maintenance scheme is fragmented in the sense that it is based on occupational status. Since there exists a group-specific assistance schemes, this proves the fact that there is no national income safety net (Gough, 1996). Furthermore, this fragmented nature of social assistance schemes leads to "a polarized social security system", which makes certain groups in society privileged and makes others disadvantaged (Grütjen, 2008: 112). The second characteristic is marked by the establishment of national health services based on universalism (Ferrera, 1996). Along with the first characteristic of income maintenance occupationalism, the second characteristic of

contributions-based health care universalism is another peculiar trait of the Southern European welfare regime (Grütjen, 2008).

The third characteristic is a low degree of state involvement in welfare provision. The low level of state penetration is interpreted as the major weakness of the Southern European welfare regime model. At the heart of this weakness is the low level of state provision in social welfare compared to Scandinavian countries (Andreotti et al., 2001). In addition, the low state penetration makes some group of scholars to call the Southern European welfare state as "a rudimentary welfare state" (Leibfried, 1993: 128). The fourth characteristic is the existence and persistence of clientelism and patronage system. The literature, at this point, indicates a double deficit of stateness in Southern European welfare regime model: "On the one hand, the Mediterranean welfare states display a low degree of state penetration in welfare provision. On the other hand, they also display a low degree of state power proper - public institutions in these countries are highly vulnerable to partisan pressures and manipulations. Italian parties, in order to gain votes, provide their clients with individual benefits in a number of ways: for instance, granting them job opportunities in the public sector or assisting them in obtaining a subsidy from the welfare bureaucracy" (Ferrera, 1996: 25).

The fifth and the last characteristic is called "a family-centered social fabric" (Ferrera, 1996: 30). Being the most basic trait of the Southern European welfare regime, the familial nature refers to "the state's endorsement of the family as the main element in welfare provision" (Grütjen, 2008: 112). This implies a delegation of care responsibilities to families, particularly to women (Andreotti et al., 2001; Moreno, 2002; Naldini, 2003). Trifiletti (1999) further points to the need for a fourth type of welfare regime from the perspective of feminist critique. She classifies four welfare types on the basis of whether the state considers women as wives & mothers or workers; whether state protects from market or does not protect from

market (Trifiletti, 1999: 54). She argues that Mediterranean welfare regime differs from three mainstream welfare regime models with respect to both the state consideration of women and state protection of women. On the one hand, Mediterranean welfare regime model differs from the male-breadwinner welfare regime model in that while the former does not protect women against the market, the latter does so. On the other hand, Mediterranean welfare regime model differs from both Universalist and Liberal welfare regime models in that while Mediterranean welfare regime considers women as mothers/wives, Universalist and Liberal welfare regimes consider women as workers.

With respect to the discussion on whether there is a room for the extended family of the Mediterranean welfare state, including Turkey, Gal (2010) includes four additional countries of Cyprus, Malta, Israel and Turkey in addition to the four usual ones (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy) to the family nations of the Southern European welfare regime. He points to the fact that there is one overarching theme that signify the essence of the Mediterranean welfare states. This theme is the role of the family in welfare provision. Thus, Gal makes a contribution to the literature in terms of underlining the significance of the family in the extended family of Mediterranean nations. Scholars apart from Gal also include Turkey in the recent discussions on the Southern European welfare regime model (Buğra & Keyder, 2003; Gough 1996; Gough et al., 1997; Grütjen 2008). Moreover, Turkey is further characterized by strong degree of familialism in the extended family of Mediterranean nations (Culfaz 2016; Grütjen 2008).

The above-mentioned exploration, description or analysis of SI policies on the basis of the type of welfare state regime particularly revolves around the question of to what extent the welfare regime of a particular interest moves from familialism to de-familialism. In other words, the focus is on the prospect for SI state development in a given welfare regime. At this point, it is important to note that Southern European welfare regime has a special place in

scholarly discussion in the sense that a strong familial nature of Southern Europe puts Southern European countries in a harder period in terms of meeting new social risks (Ferrera, 2000). Thus, the next section presents two basic theoretical positions with respect to the prospect for SI state development in Southern European welfare state.

2.2.3. Social Investment Policies in Southern European Welfare Regime

The comparative literature is divided between two camps. In the first camp, scholars whom I term "*familial pessimists*", expect that social structural factors of Southern European welfare regime, such as family-household structure, inhibit any reform whatsoever in the direction of SI policies. This means that scholars in this camp consider the development of SI policies unlikely. Thus, they point to the main competing force that hinders SI development. At least two groups of scholars may be placed in this pessimist camp.

One group of scholars in this pessimist camp argue that a high degree of familialism is the major reason for the failure of convergence towards SI policies. Furthermore, their empirical studies conclude that strong familialism in Southern European countries makes state capacity to confront new social risks highly inadequate (Gough, 1996). Thus, they report that "an alignment of Southern European standards to Conservative welfare states' norms and levels would only weak a walk down a dead" (Ferrera, 2000: 178). Trying to answer the general question whether the Southern European welfare model will persist in the future or it will change in the face of new structural pressures, the scholars in this camp believe that the family culture seems to explain and favour the continued reproduction of the Southern European welfare regime model (Guerrero & Naldini 1996).

A second group of scholars in this pessimist camp focuses on a low degree of state penetration, along with high familialism, as the major reason for the failure of convergence towards SI policies. At the heart of their argument is the view that the adaptation of Southern European welfare states to new structural challenges will be unlikely due to a low degree of

state penetration in welfare provision (Ferrera, 1996). This is why the Southern European welfare model is showing signs of diminishing resilience. The diminishing nature of welfare state resilience is further referred to as "*Southern Syndrome*", which is based on the idea that Southern European welfare regime model is highly resistant to pressures for policy change or convergence with SI norms due to a high level of familialism as well as a low degree of state penetration (Rhodes, 1996).

The second scholarly camp, which I term "*de-familial optimists*", expect that new social risks put pressure on states to meet these challenges. This pressure inevitably leads to reform possibilities in the development of SI policies. While the first *familial pessimists* camp sees reforms as a major challenge that can only fail, the second *de-familial optimists* camp sees reforms as a window of opportunity. Thus, the second theoretical position of de-familial optimists points to another competing force, which produces a theoretical prediction of SI state development.

The starting point of *de-familial optimists* is the argument that countries of Southern Europe welfare regime are quite similar to countries in Conservative welfare regime model. Since Southern European countries are late industrializers and relatively poor compared to countries of Conservative welfare regime, they spend less than the Conservative ones. Despite this, policy development in Southern European countries have been increasingly conforming to SI patterns because this policy development is driven by socio-economic development (Castles, 1995).

With respect to SI state development, studies in this camp analyse the prospect for SI reform on the basis of the question of whether Mediterranean welfare states, in light of the increasing participation of female workers in the labour force, can survive (Moreno, 2000). They observe that new social risks and needs are gradually replacing traditional paternalistic attitudes (Moreno, 2006). This is why scholars in this camp make a critical contribution to the

literature by pointing out the fact that new structural challenges as well as an increase in the rate of female labour force participation have considerably transformed the welfare structure in terms of paving the way for the development of SI policies in Southern European welfare regime countries.

The theoretical approaches of these two scholarly camps explain two competing forces regarding SI development. While the familial optimists point to familialism as the main competing force that hinders SI state development, the de-familial pessimists point to another competing force, which produces a theoretical prediction of SI state development. With these two competing forces behind the development of SI, an empirical test is required in order to see which factor outweighs the other. This empirical examination would be the contribution of the thesis to the literature.

2.2.4. Beyond the Binary Conceptions of de-Familialism versus Familialism

The conventional wisdom provided by the first (familial pessimists) and second (de-familial optimists) theoretical approaches points to binary conceptions of familialism and de-familialism as mutually exclusive positions. However, binary conceptions of de-familialism and familialism are in fact not adequate to understand developments in SI policy (Bonoli, 1997). Variegated policy developments in the degree of familialism as well as de-familialism present various pictures with respect to policy development in a given welfare regime. This means that there is no 'black' or 'white' picture of welfare regime development. Rather, varieties in the degree of familialism and de-familialism produce various grey areas for social research scholars to observe.

Based upon this critique, the thesis proposes to use Leitner's (2003) theory on varieties of familialism for understanding the prospect for SI state development. He develops dimensions of familialization and de-familialization (Leitner, 2003: 358). As Figure 1 illustrates, he identifies four ideal types of familialism. To start with de-familialism, Leitner

identifies a de-familializing state by strong degree of de-familialization because the welfare is ensured through the state or market provision of welfare services and is marked by weak familialization. Thus, the state plays an active role in the provision of welfare services. An explicitly familialistic state refers to a state which not only endorses the family as the main actor in care services, but also lacks any alternative to family care. The lack of state provision in care services, along with strong familialism, enhances the caring function of the family. An implicitly familialistic state, on the other hand, "neither offers de-familialization nor actively supports of the caring function of the family through any kind of familialistic policy. Nevertheless, the family will be the primary caretaker in these welfare regimes since there are no alternatives at hand" (Leitner, 2003: 359). Finally, optional familialism refers to a welfare structure which both offers de-familialism in the form of in-kind expenditure and familialism in the form of familialistic policies (Leitner, 2003: 359).

Familialization	**De-Familialization**	
	Strong	**Weak**
Strong	Optional Familialism	Explicit Familialism
Weak	De-familialism	Implicit Familialism

Figure 1- Varieties of Familialism

Source: Author's own conclusions based on information provided by Leitner (2003)

2.3. The Empirical Literature on Social Investment

The most crucial stage in the translation of the research question into an operational research design is the stage at which the concepts are defined (Mair, 2008). This is why there is a need for specifying and defining concepts at the very beginning of the research process. The relative importance of concept formation lies in the fact that operationalization and measurement is shaped on the basis of the way in which a particular concept is formulated (Sartori, 1970). Thus, the concept formation is crucial in terms of illustrating the connection between concept and data (Hancke, 2009). The strength of the link between the concept and

data is referred to as measurement validity, which is "specifically concerned with whether operationalization and the scoring of cases adequately reflect the concept the researcher seeks to measure" (Adcock & Collier, 2001: 529). Thus, the starting point in the formation of the link among three stages of conceptualization, operationalization and measurement is the concept formation. At this point, it is important to begin the research by addressing the "what-is" question (Mair, 2008: 179). This "what-is" question constitutes the cornerstone of the discussion on the "dependent variable problem" in comparative welfare state studies (Green-Pedersen, 2004).

At the heart of the dependent variable problem is defining the object of interest. In other words, the dependent variable problem is the problem of theoretical conceptualization of the object of interest (Green-Pedersen, 2004). The dependent variable problem points to the importance of the conceptualization of the object of a particular interest in the sense that the particular conceptualization identifies the most appropriate data for empirical investigation of the object of study, that is, operational definition. This brings the thesis to the discussion on the ways to conceptualize SI welfare state change. The overarching view in the literature is that "the SI perspective has become one of the most prominent angles from which to look at welfare state change" (Ronchi, 2016; 1). This means that the object of interest of the thesis is the welfare state change from the perspective of SI. The existing literature suggests three broad ways to conceptualize and measure welfare state change (Bolukbasi & Öktem, 2018; Öktem, 2020; Bolukbasi, 2021).

This section, first, presents a brief discussion on how three ways of conceptualizing and measuring welfare state are used from the perspective of SI. Then, a new way of measuring the welfare effort is outlined. Ronchi (2016), in his dissertation, has recently developed a new way of measuring welfare effort, which has been traditionally based on the OECD Social

Expenditure Dataset (SOCX). Finally, the section is concluded with a discussion on which conceptualizations and measurement tools will be used in the thesis.

2.3.1. From Welfare Effort to SI Effort

The first conceptualization of the welfare state as welfare effort refers to public social expenditure-based understanding of welfare state change. Being the most commonly used approach to conceptualize the welfare state, the welfare effort is characterized by public expenditures to functions such as healthcare, unemployment or pensions (Öktem, 2020). In terms of operationalization and measurement, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Social Expenditure Database (SOCX) is the most widely used dataset to track changes in expenditure compositions. It groups expenditure benefits in nine policy areas – Old age, Survivors, Incapacity-related benefits, Health, Family, Active labour market policies, Unemployment, Housing, and Other social policy areas. The dataset provides a useful tool to analyse trends in social spending and its composition (OECD, 2019c).

Studies that have focused on the budgetary side of welfare state change differentiate between investment-related expenditure and compensation-related expenditure in order to measure SI state and SI state change (Allmendinger & Leibfried, 2003). Here, the focus is on tracking Social Investment expenditure (i.e., spending on education, care services, activation policies) versus social protection expenditure (i.e., spending on passive cash transfers such as pensions, unemployment benefits and various allowances) (Vandenbroucke & Vleminckx 2011; De Deken 2014; Hemerijck 2013; Cantillon & Vandenbroucke 2014). Furthermore, the distinction between social investment-spending and social protection-spending is done on the basis of the way in which a benefit is provided: while cash benefits are classified as social protection spending, benefits in-kind are regarded as SI spending (Ronchi, 2016; Castles, 1998; Kohl, 1980).

In the literature on comparative welfare state studies, the Southern European welfare states are characterized as transfer-heavy and the Scandinavian countries as service-oriented. The importance of services is underlined in the literature on SI in terms of complementing the effectiveness of cash benefits (Daly & Lewis, 2000; Castles, 1998). For example, Nikolai (2009) compares expenditures for investment measures and compensation measures in the OECD world. His rationale for doing such a comparison is the fact that it would provide a tool to identify SI state and to compare the diversity across OECD countries. Moreover, he breaks down the social expenditure into cash benefits and benefits-in kind. In addition, Bonoli (2009) analyses expenditure-based welfare state change from the perspective of SI by looking at expenditure data in active labour market policy. While Bonoli (2009) has a particular focus on active labour market policy, Nelson & Stephens (2009) rely on expenditure-based understanding of welfare state change in education and training policy. They aim to trace spending patterns in order to account for whether expenditure patterns in this policy area improve individuals' human capital.

2.3.2. From Ensemble of Policies to the SI Ensemble

The second conceptualization of the welfare state as an ensemble of policies refers to a policy-based understanding of welfare state change. This understanding conceptualizes welfare state as "all mechanisms which provide social protection against and redistribution of market mechanisms and outcomes" (Öktem, 2020: 104). With respect to operationalization and measurement, the second conceptualization looks at policy development in terms of tracing whether countries have adopted policies or programmes in key branches of public policy. In terms of SI, the existing literature consists of studies that examine whether countries have adopted policies or programmes, which would reflect SI perspective.

To give an example, Bürgisser (2020) incorporates a policy-based measure of welfare state change in his analysis of family and labour market policy reforms in Southern European

countries of Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain. His focus is mainly on the policy content of all enacted labour and family policy reforms from 1990 to 2016. Particularly, he looks at policy changes in the fields of employment protection legislation, passive and active labour market policy, early retirement, short-time work, leave policy, childcare, and family allowances and benefits. In a similar way, Morgan (2012), by relying on a policy-based measure of welfare state change, looks at changes in family policy reform. With respect to family policy, family allowances are coded as traditional social compensation, while childcare and leave policies are coded as SI. In a similar way, Hausermann (2019) provides a policy-based measure of family policy by distinguishing income protection policies, including child allowances and family benefits, and SI policies, including childcare services and parental leave schemes.

2.3.3. From Social Rights to SI Rights

The third conceptualization of the welfare state as social rights of citizenship refers to an institutionalized system of social guarantees. This institutionalized system assumes universality in terms of applying citizenship to all citizens of a country. In terms of operationalization and measurement, the understanding of welfare state as social rights of citizenship is popularized by Esping-Andersen's Decommodification Index (DI), analysing welfare state change in terms of the state capacity for de-commodification (Öktem, 2020). Esping-Andersen defines de-commodification as "the degree to which individuals, or families, can uphold a socially acceptable living standards independently of market participation" (Öktem, 2020:106). The relevance of Esping-Andersen's Decommodification Index for social rights of citizenship lies in the fact that it traces the extent to which a country in a given welfare regime ensures social rights of citizens being protected irrespective of market participation.

In regard to the SI-based understanding of welfare state as social rights of citizenship, Jenson (2009) famously provides social rights of citizenship understanding of welfare state

change. She starts her discussion by referring to the concept of "*the responsibility mix*" among market, family, community and state (Jenson, 2009: 29). The concept refers to the distribution of responsibility among the market, family, community and state. Which responsibilities are taken by the state constitutes the essence of social citizenship. Here, Jenson points to the active nature of the state in providing well-being for its citizens. Furthermore, this active nature constitutes the cornerstone of SI paradigm. According to her, SI paradigm points to a *sea change* (Brady et al., 2010) in social citizenship understanding in two critical aspects. First, there has been an increasing attention to children. Given the fact that SI considers the youth as future citizens, children have become the major focus of social rights of citizenship discourse (Jenson 2001). Second, there has emerged a new vision for risk analysis within the framework of new social risks. Here, the function of social citizenship is to confront these newly emerged risks (Jenson 2009).

2.3.4. Social Investment Effort

Ronchi (2016) develops a new methodology for measuring SI effort in addition to mainstream measurement of SI effort based on the OECD SOCX. The rationale behind using Ronchi's methodology for the measurement of SI effort lies in the fact that his dataset is more comprehensive compared to OECD SOCX. At this point, he underlines the fact that mainstream understanding of expenditure-based welfare state change mainly relies on OECD SOCX. However, The Social Investment Welfare Expenditure data set (SIWE) proposed by Ronchi relies on the European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics (ESSPROS) rather than OECD SOCX. At the heart of his criticism of OECD SOCX is the fact that ESSPROS data set is more comprehensive compared to OECD SOCX. As Figure 2 shows, the ESSPROS data set includes public expenditure data for eight welfare functions. The OECD SOCX, on the other hand, includes public expenditure data for nine welfare functions.

When the two datasets are compared, it is seen that OECD SOCX excludes services related to sickness/healthcare and to the integration of the handicapped, which are taken from OECD Health data; excludes vocational training allowance and services for the unemployed and unemployment services, which are taken from the OECD Labour Market Programmes database; and childcare services, which are taken from OECD Education database. This means that the ESSPROS dataset is more comprehensive. This is why the new Social Investment Welfare Expenditure data set (SIWE), providing a new measurement tool to measure SI state, relies on the ESSPROS data set.

ESSPROS	OECD SOCX
1.Sickness/Health care	
cash	**3.Incapacity (excluding services related to sickness/health and economic integration of the handicapped**
services	
2.Disability	
economic integration of the handicapped	
3.Old Age	**1.Old Age**
4.Survivors	**2.Survivors**
5.Family/Children	**5.Family (excluding children)**
6.Unemployment	
cash	**7.Unemployment (excluding vocational training allowance and services)**
vocational training allowance	
services	
7.Housing	**8.Housing**
8.Social Exclusion	**9.Other Social Policy Areas**

Figure 2-Comparison of ESSPROS and OECD SOCX data sets

Source: Author's own conclusions based on information provided by Adema & Ladaique (2009)

The SIWE data set consists of three major data sources. The first source is the European System of Integrated Social Protection Statistics (ESSPROS). It includes public expenditure data for eight welfare functions. The second source in the SIWE data set is Eurostat Labour Market Policy Statistics (LMPS). The data set provides data on working age social programmes. The third source in the SIWE data set is Eurostat Education & Training Statistics and Science, Technology & Innovation Statistics (Ronchi, 2016).

Relying on previous works that have grouped welfare expenditure into SI expenditure and social protection (hereinafter SP) expenditure, Ronchi reaggregates welfare functions on the basis of the way in which a benefit is provided: while cash benefits are classified as SP, benefits in-kind (services) are classified as SI. Furthermore, Ronchi excludes healthcare

spending from the classification of SI and SP categories. The reason behind the exclusion of healthcare spending lies in the fact that healthcare is a multi-faceted welfare function, which relies both on cash transfers in the form of compensation for the occurrence of problems related to health and on benefits in-kind in the form of the provision of services. In addition, Ronchi includes public spending on research and development (R&D) into the SI category because R&D constitutes one of the building blocks of the EU SI strategy in terms of making the EU the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world (European Commission, 2013a).

Figure 3 reports the complete list of welfare functions which compose the SIWE dataset, grouped in the categories of SI, SP and "Others" (excluded from the dichotomy).

Category	Function	Social Programmes Included	Source (Eurostat tag)
SOCIAL PROTECTION	**WORKING AGE (cash benefits)**	out-of-work income maintenance and support	LMPS (cat.8)/lmp_expsumm
		early retirement	LMPS (cat.9)/lmp_expsumm
		housing benefits	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fho)
		disability pensions & early retirement	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fdi)
		minimum income support	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fex)
	FAMILY/CHILDREN (cash benefits)	family/children cash benefits	ESSPROS (spr_exp_ffa)
	OLD AGE (cash benefits)	old age pensions and other benefits	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fol)
		survivors' benefits	ESSPROS (pr_expfsu)
SOCIAL INVESTMENT	**WORKING AGE (services)**	ALMP (includes spending for PES)	LMPS (cat.1-7) /lmp_expsumm
		rehabilitation for disabled people	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fdi)
	FAMILY/CHILDREN (services)	family/children benefits in kind	ESSPROS (spr_exp_ffa)
	OLD AGE (services)	old age benefits in kind	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fol)
	EDUCATION	education (ISCED 1-4)	ESSPROS (educ_figdp)
	R&D	R&D (includes higher education)	ESSPROS (rd_e_gerdfund)
OTHERS	**HEALTHCARE**	healthcare & sickness	ESSPROS (spr_exp_fsi)

Figure 3- Re-aggregation of welfare spending functions

Source: Author's own conclusions based on information provided by Ronchi (2016)

2.3.5. Which Conceptualizations and Measurement Tools Will Be Used in The Thesis?

The thesis relies on the first and second conceptualizations of welfare state in order to track the extent to which Turkey facilitates SI perspective in a particular policy field of family policy. The first conceptualization of the welfare state as welfare effort suits well in terms of

answering the question of to what extent public social expenditure patterns illustrate SI perspective. For operational definition, the thesis relies on the distinction between investment-related and compensation-related public social expenditure. We aim to measure this distinction by tracking benefits in cash and benefits in kind through following Ronchi's reaggregation approach. This distinction is crucial in order to demonstrate to what extent Turkish expenditure patterns demonstrate Scandinavian service-oriented SI perspective.

The second conceptualization the welfare state as ensemble of policies suits well in terms of answering the question of to what extent Turkey introduces policies that constitute the cornerstone of SI perspective in family policy. For operational definition, the thesis focuses on policies that constitute the essence of SI perspective in family policy. These policies are long-term care policy, parental leave policy and early childhood education and care policy, following Bürgisser's (2010) operational definition. We aim to measure the existence or non-existence of these policies through looking at official reports and benefitting from semi-structured elite interviews. This policy-based approach allows for an encompassing, systematic and detailed analysis in terms of seeing how regulations with new set of policies are framed. Furthermore, the policy-based understanding of welfare state change is necessary in order to be able to see the scope of new policies adopted in post-2000 period. This is why the thesis finds it necessary to rely on the second conceptualization as well.

This thesis does not use the third conceptualization of welfare state as social rights because of data unavailability. At this point, a personal interview with the developers of SCIP data set for Turkey has been conducted. Social Citizenship Indicator Program (SCIP) is a database providing information on citizen's rights and duties based on legislation related to old age, illness, unemployment, work accidents and family change (Korpi & Palme, 2008). Given the fact that SCIP database has a particular focus on citizen's rights, it constitutes the

major measurement tool for measuring welfare state as social rights. Developers of SCIP dataset for Turkey indicated that data for social rights for Turkey are not available (Interview 4). Because of data unavailability, the third conceptualization of welfare state as social rights is not included in the thesis.

CHAPTER 3: SOCIAL INVESTMENT EFFORT IN TURKEY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents original data on SI effort generated for Turkey for the period between 2006 and 2018. It follows Ronchi's (2016) reaggregation approach in terms of dividing the welfare expenditure into two major categories: SP category, which relies on cash expenditure and SI category, which is based on in-kind expenditure. Table 1 demonstrates; (a) main functions of each category; (b) social programmes included in each function; (c) data sources for each social program; and (d) time period for which data are provided. The thesis includes the same functions and social programmes, which are developed by Ronchi in the new SIWE dataset (Figure 4). In addition to following Ronchi's (2016) reaggregation approach, the chapter also adapts Ronchi's (2016) protocol for generating scores for the case of Turkey.

Category	Function	Social programmes included	Source	Time period
SOCIAL PROTECTION	WORKING AGE (cash benefits)	out-of-work income maintenance and support (all unemployment benefits)	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fun)	2000-2018
		early retirement	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fun)	2000-2018
		housing benefits	ESPPROS (spr-exp-fho)	2000-2018
		disability pensions & early retirement	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fdi)	2000-2018
		minimum income support	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fex)	2000-2018
	FAMILY/CHILDREN (cash benefits	family/children cash benefits	ESSPROS (spr-exp-ffa)	2000-2018
	OLD AGE (cash benefits)	old age pensions and other benefits	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fol)	2000-2018
		survivors' benefits	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fsu)	2000-2018
SOCIAL INVESTMENT	WORKING AGE (services)	ALMP	İŞKUR's annual activity reports	2006-2019
		Rehabilitation of disabled people	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fdi)	2000-2018
	FAMILY/CHILDREN (services)	family/children benefits in kind	ESSPROS (spr-exp-ffa)	2000-2018
	OLD AGE (services)	old age benefits in kind	ESSPROS (spr-exp-fol)	2000-2018
	EDUCATION	education	National Education Statistics	2000-2019
	R&D	R&D (includes higher education)	TURKSTAT	2001-2019
	CCTE	Conditional Cash Transfer for Education	Annual activity reports of MoFLSS	2003-2019

Table 1-Tabularized Summary of Social Protection and Social Investment Categories in Turkey

Source: Author's own calculations adapted from a figure provided by Rocnhi (2016)

3.2. Data on Social Protection in Turkey

The thesis adapts Ronchi's (2016) protocol for generating scores with respect to SP in Turkey. Concerning out-of-work income maintenance and support, including all unemployment benefits, Ronchi (2016) takes data from Eurostat Labour Market Policy

Statistics (LMPS). However, this dataset does not cover Turkey. This is why the relevant data for public expenditure on all unemployment benefits is taken from the ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fun). Unemployment function in the ESSPROS data set includes both all unemployment benefits and early retirement benefits (European Union, 2016: 70). This is why the unemployment function of the ESSPROS data set is used both for the first social programme (i.e., out-of-work income maintenance and support) and the second social programme (i.e., early retirement) of "*WORKING AGE*" function. Since the most recent data provided by the ESSPROS data set is 2018, the thesis' focus is on the time period between 2000 and 2018. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

In regard to housing benefits, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESPPROS data (spr-exp-fho). Since this data set does cover Turkey, the relevant data for Turkey is taken from the ESSPROS data. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, social protection benefits are calculated because the housing function is considered as a cash expenditure (European Union, 2016: 72).

In terms of disability pensions & early retirement related to disability, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fdi). This dataset includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

Regarding minimum income support, Ronchi takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fex). This data also includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

Concerning family/children cash benefits, Ronchi takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-ffa). This data includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

With reference to old age pensions and other benefits, Ronchi takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fol). This data also includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

Related to survivors' benefits, Ronchi takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fsu). This dataset includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's expenditure, expenditure in cash benefits is calculated.

3.3. Data on Social Investment in Turkey

The thesis adapts Ronchi's (2016) protocol for generating scores with respect to SI in Turkey. For Active Labour Market Policies (ALMPs), Ronchi (2016) takes data from Eurostat Labour Market Policy Statistics (LMPS). However, this dataset does not cover Turkey. This is why the relevant data for public expenditure on ALMPs is taken from İŞKUR's annual activity reports. The reports provide public expenditures on ALMPs between 2006 and 2019 because Turkey has started to implement ALPMs after putting into practice in March 2006 of the *Project on Active Labour Market Programmes*, which has been formulated in 2003 (İŞKUR, 2006: 38).

With respect to rehabilitation of disabled people, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fdi). This dataset includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's in-kind item, the tag's "social protection benefits" are subtracted from the tag's "cash benefits". Thus, benefits in kind are calculated.

In regard to family/children in kind benefits, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-ffa). This dataset includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's in-kind item, the tag's "social protection benefits" are subtracted from the tag's cash benefits. Thus, benefits in kind are calculated.

Concerning old age benefits in kind, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESSPROS data (spr-exp-fol). This dataset includes Turkey. In order to calculate the tag's in-kind item, the

tag's "social protection benefits" are subtracted from the tag's cash benefits. Thus, benefits in kind are calculated.

When it comes to education, Ronchi (2016) takes data from Eurostat Education and Training Statistics, which do not cover Turkey. The relevant data between 2000 and 2005 are taken from Çalçalı's (2009) master's thesis. With respect to data between 2006 and 2019, the thesis benefits from National Education Statistics Reports, prepared by the Ministry of National Education.

With respect to R&D, Ronchi (2016) takes data from ESSPROS data (rd-e-gerdfund), which do not cover Turkey. Thus, the relevant data on Turkey is taken from Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT), which covers the years between 2001 and 2019. In order to ensure consistency among data, the period between 2006 and 2018 is chosen because data on ALMPs have started to be reported by 2006.

While Ronchi's reaggregation approach gives promises for the measurement of SI state, it falls short of capturing "*unconventional instruments"* such as Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) (Bolukbasi et al., 2021). CCT program refers to a safety net program that has become popular and started to be implemented especially in developing countries over the last two decades. The major aim of the CCT program is to reduce poverty and encourage parents to invest in the health and education of their children by transferring cash while asking beneficiaries to make prespecified investment in child education and health (Fiszbein et al., 2009). While CCTs around the globe cover larger population, CCTs in Chile and Turkey narrowly target extremely poor and socially excluded people (Garritzman et al., 2017). The fact that the cash benefit is conditional in terms of investing in the health and education children makes the CCT program as an instrument of SI (Jenson & Nagels, 2016).

Given the fact that the CCT programme constitutes one of the recent measures in Turkey - started to be implemented from the 2003 onwards- to combat inter-generational

poverty by investing in human capital of poor families (Öktem, 2018; Küçükçavuş, 2012), adding CCT to the Ronchi's reaggregation approach for the case of Turkey would ensure *convergent validity* in terms of complementing Ronchi's measurement tool by including the CCTs as unconventional instrument not covered in the measurement tool of Ronchi (Bolukbasi & Öktem, 2018).

CCT program in Turkey has three components: The first component is conditional cash transfer for education (CCTE); the second is conditional health transfers, including health grants and pregnancy grants. The third component is conditional cash transfer for education for refugees. In 2017, the National CCTE Programme was introduced to cover school-age refugee children residing in Turkey under temporary/international protection (UNICEF, 2021).

Following Ronchi's (2016) rationale for excluding healthcare spending in his reaggregation approach, the thesis would include the first (conditional cash transfer for education) and the third (conditional cash transfer for education for refugees) components in the data set. The relevant data between 2003 and 2009 is taken from Esenyel's (2009) dissertation submitted to the T.C. Prime Ministry General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity. The data between 2010 and 2017 is taken from annual activity reports of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy. The data between 2017 and 2019 is taken from annual activity reports of the subsequent Ministry of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy, i.e., the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services.

3.4. Social Investment Effort in Turkey: Results

When expenditure figures are calculated and presented in a graph, it demonstrates SI effort with respect to the case of Turkey. Figure 4 illustrates changes in SP and SI categories between 2006 and 2018. As the figure illustrates, expenditures in SP category still exceed expenditures in SI category. However, this should not lead to the inference that SP

expenditure comes at the expense of SI expenditure. Rather, Turkey has increased SI expenditure along with an increase in SP expenditure. Thus, Turkish SI effort has increased in addition to an increase in SP category. This particular trend of SI effort shows that Turkey is heading towards a hybrid model, meaning that both SP and SI expenditures have simultaneously increased within the concerned time span.

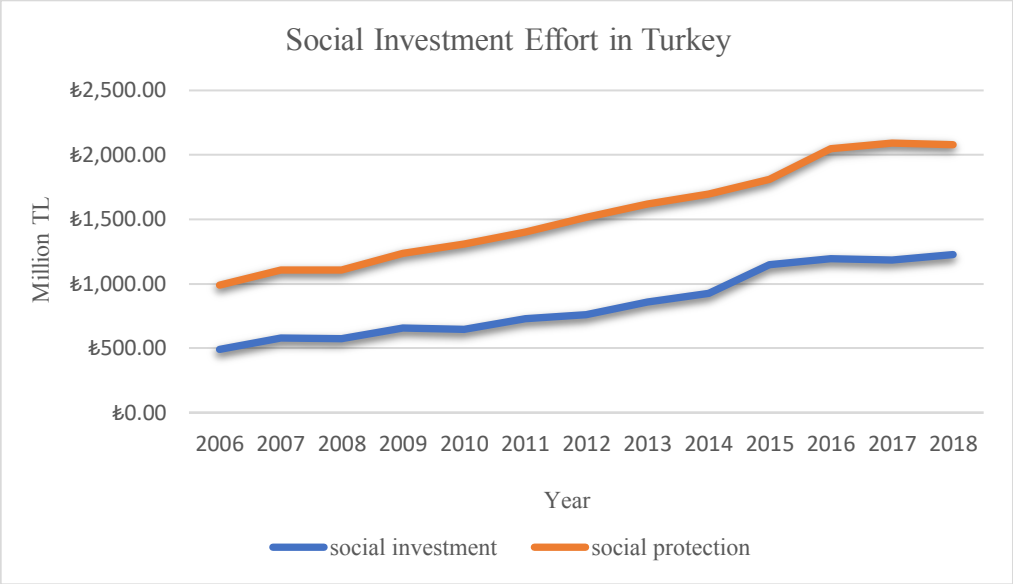

Figure 4-Social Investment Effort in Turkey

Source: Author's own calculations based on information provided by ESSPROS, İŞKUR, TURKSTAT, National Education Statistics and MoFLSS

In order to be able to examine the extent to which expenditure patterns in Turkey reflect SI perspective, it is crucial to present comparative investigation in terms of examining expenditure patterns between 2006 and 2018 and pre-2006 period. Such kind of an investigation is needed, according to one senior expert, in order to see the big picture on whether expenditure patterns, from the perspective of SI, have an increasing or decreasing trend (Interview 1). For this purpose, expenditure patterns between 2000 and 2005, with respect to pre-2006 period, are calculated. Since the ESSPROS dataset includes data between 2000 and 2018, the starting year is set as 2000. Although five-year time span could be considered short, it provides an insight for a comparative investigation in terms of showing what kinds of changes expenditure patterns in Turkey have experienced. Given the fact that

ALMPs have started to be implemented in 2006 and that CCTEs in 2003, the five-year investigation period would provide a good opportunity to draw a fair conclusion on whether SI expenditures in Turkey have an increasing or decreasing trend.

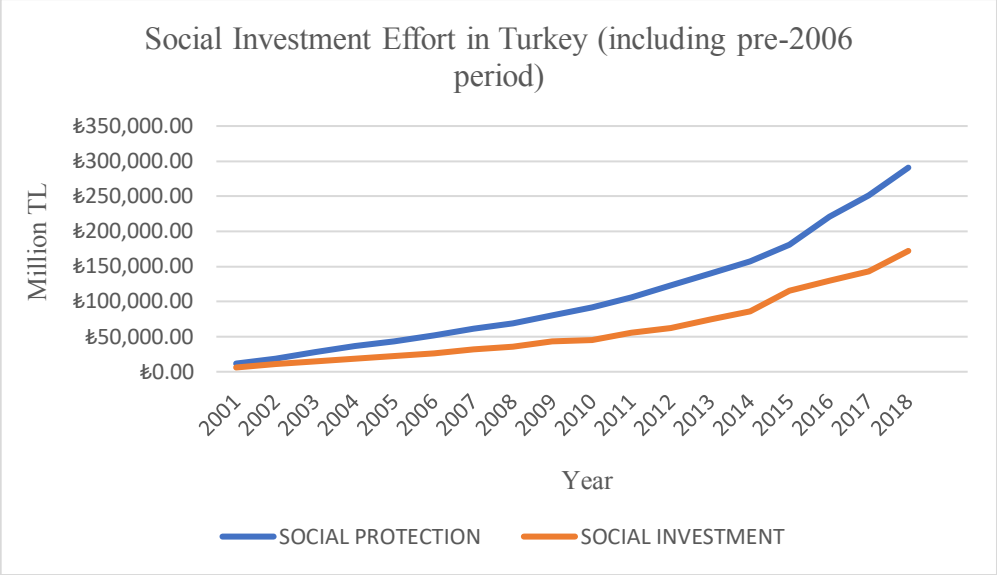

Figure 5-Social Investment Effort in Turkey (including pre-2006 period)

Source: Author's own calculations based on information provided by ESSPROS, İŞKUR, TURKSTAT, National Education Statistics and MoFLSS

Figure 5 illustrates SI effort in Turkey including pre-2006 period. The results are surprising that the expenditure patterns in post-2006 period has demonstrated a dramatic increase compared to pre-2006 period. This confirms one of the statements provided by a senior expert that such kind of a dramatic increase is not expected (Interview 1). It is not expected given the low degree of public social expenditure in pre-2006 period. The figure illustrates that expenditure patterns in Turkey (compared to pre-2006 period) have an increasing trend in terms of both SI and SP categories. Furthermore, such kind of an increase in expenditure patterns during the last ten years requires a particular attention in terms of accounting for the position of SI expenditure compared to total public social expenditure.

In addition to the comparison of expenditures in SI and SP categories, the share of SI in total public social expenditure would provide an insight about the extent to which expenditure patterns in Turkey reflect SI perspective. In order to see the share of SI in total

expenditure, the SI expenditure is divided by the sum of SI and SP expenditures. Figure 6 illustrates the share of SI in total expenditure between 2006 and 2018. The figure illustrates that starting from the 2013s onwards, the share of SI in total expenditure has started to increase, scoring around 0,38. This shows that in post-2013 period, an increase in the share of SI in total expenditure has been observed. However, it is important to note that this increase is considerable when it is compared on its own. However, it is minimal when it is compared to expenditure that comes to Turkey apart from national budget.

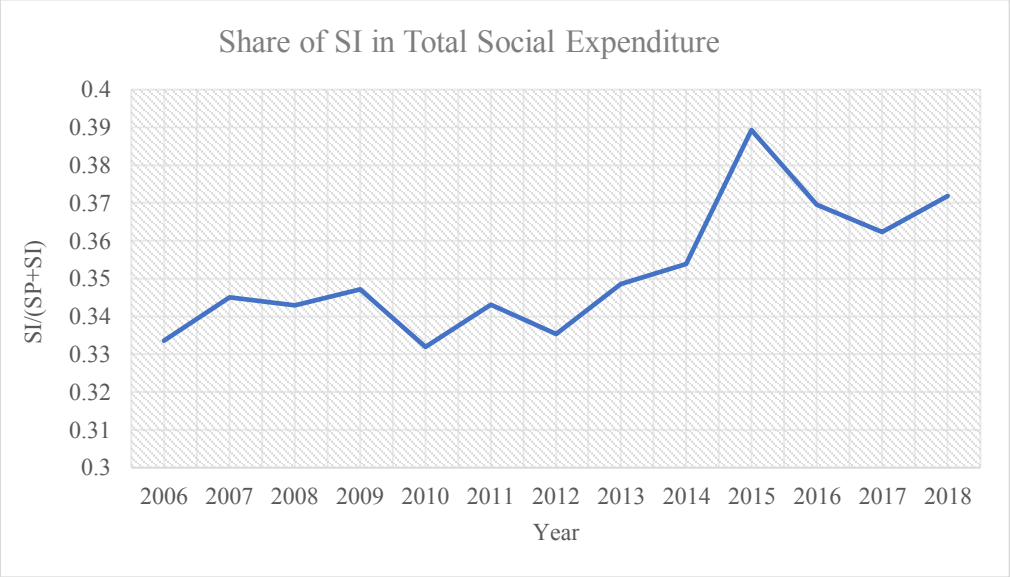

Figure 6- Share of SI in Total Social Expenditure

Source: Author's own calculations information provided by ESSPROS, İŞKUR, TURKSTAT, National Education Statistics and MoFLSS

The research on whether any funds are provided to Turkey has showed that IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) is a financial instrument through which the EU (European Union) supports reforms in the enlargement countries with financial and technical help[2]. The EU pre-accession funds are provided in the form of investment in terms of helping beneficiaries make political and economic reforms, preparing them for the rights and obligations that come with EU membership (European Commission, 2020b).

[2] The IPA beneficiary countries include EU candidate countries and potential candidate countries It is important to note that Turkey is the largest beneficiary of IPA funds among EU candidate and potential candidate countries (Çenet, 2012).

Among the five components of IPA I, the thesis is concerned with the fourth component, which is human resources[3]. The human resources development item has three main priorities of employment, education and social inclusion. With respect to employment, the aim is to increase the involvement of women and young people in employment. With respect to education, the overarching goal is to increase the quality of education and to raise the level of education especially for girls. In accordance with the priority of social inclusion, the enhancement of the accessibility of disadvantaged people to labour market is aimed (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2020).

The second period of IPA covers the years between 2014 and 2020. With the aim of a more effective utilisation of funds, sectoral approach is adopted. The component-based structure that existed in IPA I period is removed and sector responsible institutions are defined which will carry out the studies within specific sectors that are to be financed in this new period (Directorate for EU Affairs, 2020). IPA II identifies nine sectors. Table 2 demonstrates the nine sectors and responsible institutions for the case of Turkey.

Number of sectors	Sector	Responsible Institution
1	Democracy and Governance	Directorate for EU Affairs
2	Justice, Home Affairs and Fundamental Rights	Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Directorate for EU Affairs
3	Transport	Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications
4	Environment and Climate	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
5	Energy	Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources
6	Competitiveness and Innovation	Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology
7	Employment, Human Resources Development and Social Policies	Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services
8	Agriculture and Rural Development	Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock
9	Regional and Cross-border Cooperation	Directorate for EU Affairs

Table 2-IPA II Sectors and Responsible Institutions
Source: Author's own conclusions based on information provided by https://www.ab.gov.tr/ipa-i-amp-ipa-ii-programming_45627_en.html

With respect to employment, human resources development and social policies, the overarching goals are twofold. First, it is aimed to invest in human resources of people by

[3] The first period of IPA covers the years between 2007 and 2013. The IPA I period is made up of five different components: (a) assistance for transition and institution building; (b) cross-border cooperation (with EU Member States and other countries eligible for IPA); (c) regional development (transport, environment, regional and economic development); (d) human resources (strengthening human capital and combating exclusion); and (e) rural development (Atalay, 2019: 19). While EU candidate countries are eligible for all five components of IPA I, potential candidate countries are eligible only for the first two components.

addressing employment problems in the labour market. Second, it is aimed to promote decent jobs for people by improving the access for all to education and training systems. These goals are fulfilled and implemented through "*Employment, Education and Social Policies Sectoral Operational Programme"* (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2021).

Programmes and projects with respect to employment, human resources development and social policies are available in the website of Ministry of Labour and Social Security/Directorate of the European Union and Financial Assistance/ Human Resources Development Operating Structure[4]. Expenditure amount per project is given in Euro-denominated terms. In order to find the value of Euro in terms of Turkish lira, we consult Turkish Central Bank's exchange rates. Then, we calculate the EU-related expenditure in million TL. After that, we classify all the projects that are funded by the European Union between 2006 and 2018 on the basis of Ronchi's reaggregation approach. This classification shows that EU-related expenditure concentrates on SI category. Table 3 illustrates Turkish as well as EU expenditure on both SP and SI categories. The table shows that the share of Turkish SI in total Turkish expenditure between 2006 and 2018 is 0,35. However, when EU expenditures are included in the equation and the share of SI is re-calculated, it is seen that it becomes. 0,46. This shows that EU funds, in terms of expenditure, play a crucial role in the development of SI policies in Turkey.

	Million TL
TR Social Protection	₺ 1.823.601,55
TR Social Investment	₺ 1.020.377,50
EU Social Protection	₺ 124,24
EU Social Investment	₺ 552.660,27

Table 3- Comparison of Turkish and EU-related Expenditure

Source: Author's own calculations based on scores provided by ESSPROS, İŞKUR, TURKSTAT, National Education Statistics and MoFLSS

[4] http://www.ikg.gov.tr/projeler/proje-haritasi/

3.5. Summary and Conclusions

Presentation of SI effort in Turkey has one major limitation. This limitation stems from the fact that certain years do not have data on particular welfare items. For example, the most recent data provided by the ESSPROS data set is 2018. This is why the temporal limitation is set by taking 2018 (rather than 2019 or 2020) as the end year. The most serious concern, however, occurs regarding the year of start. Since data on ALMPs has started to be recorded in Turkey from 2006, the year of start is set as 2006 not as 2000. Thus, in order to increase data consistency among welfare functions, the period between 2006 and 2018 is framed as the temporal limitation of the thesis.

When welfare state development is examined on the basis of the concerned time span, it is seen that Turkey has moved towards *optional familialism* - to use Leitner's theory on varieties of familialism – a hybrid model where SI expenditure increases alongside an expansion of SP expenditures. While the presentation of SI effort provides a critical insight in terms of demonstrating how the IPA funds play a critical role in the development of SI policies in Turkey at expenditure level, it lacks a particular and detailed analysis of the extent to which Turkey has moved towards SI. This is why the next chapter (Chapter 4) aims to provide a systematic analysis of an ensemble of SI policies in Turkey through a particular focus on family policy on the basis of the policy structure approach.

CHAPTER 4: ENSEMBLE OF SI POLICIES: FAMILY POLICY IN TURKEY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines an ensemble of SI policies with a particular focus on family policy in Turkey. The examination is based on three sub-areas of family policy, which are long-term care (LTC), parental leave schemes, and early childhood education & care (ECEC). The thesis examines these policy sub-areas on the basis of "policy structure approach", at the heart of which is the analysis of a given policy based on four dimensions: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments (Graziano, 2011; Bolukbasi and Ertugal, 2013). The rationale behind using the policy structure approach lies in the fact that it captures changes in key features of a given policy. In other words, it provides a significant measurement tool in terms of unpacking key features of relevant policies.

In the literature concerning the measurement of policy change, Hall (1993) provides an original research on measuring policy change through the classification of policy change in three groups: first-order change, second-order change and third-order change. Although Hall's classification is treated as the first original research on the types of policy change, the major focus of his work is not the identification of types of policy change per se but to account for the nature of policy change. Thus, the major research question for Hall is to understand which factors come together to create paradigmatic change in a given policy. In this vein, he argues that ideas and paradigms are the most important factors in explaining the nature of paradigmatic change.

While Hall's seminal work provides an insight in terms of accounting for factors that influence paradigmatic change, Graziano goes one step further in explaining the extent of policy change. Hall's identification of first-order, second-order and third-order change gives reference to the concepts of instruments and goals in a given policy. According to him, first-order change is defined as "routine adjustments to existing policies (Baumgartner, 2012:4).

While second-order change is referred to as "changes in the policy instruments themselves used to achieve shared policy goals", third-order change is identified as "shifts in the goals themselves" (Baumgartner, 2012: 2). Thus, Hall's classification of three types of policy change is based on changes in the instruments or goals of a given policy.

In addition to instruments and goals of a given policy area, Graziano (2011) brings principles and procedures into the equation. This is why his proposed "policy structure approach" is based on an examination of a given policy on the basis of four key dimensions: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments. Furthermore, Graziano (2011) classifies the extent of policy change on the basis of the number of changes observed in four dimensions of a given policy. According to him, there is "policy continuity" where none or one policy dimension change. There is "policy adjustment" where two or three policy dimensions change. Finally, there is "policy transformation" where all four policy dimensions change (Graziano, 2011).

Given the fact that Graziano's (2011) proposed measurement tool provides a particular advantage in terms of unpacking four critical dimensions of a given policy and that the thesis is particularly interested in the extent of policy change experienced in Turkey, the thesis finds its useful to rely on the policy structure approach. With respect to the rest of Chapter 4, the first part particularly examines LTC. While the second part moves to the discussion on parental leave schemes, the third part discusses ECEC on the basis of four dimensions of the policy structure approach.

4.2. Long-term Care (LTC)[5]

4.2.1. Principles

The principles that govern the LTC policy in Turkey are informed by the concept of ***active aging,*** at the heart of which is the idea of "ex-ante preventive capacitating approach" (Hemerijck, 2019: 15). The idea here refers to the view that the welfare state provides ex-ante measures in terms of preventing the dependency of the elderly on the family or the market. In other words, rather than protecting the elderly against an occurrence, the new welfare state aims to prevent this occurrence through providing ex-ante measures. Given the fact that aging is one of the most pressing issues of post-industrial knowledge economy of the 21st century, this has led long-term care come to the fore at policy level (Kraus et. al 2010). In this discussion, Turkey is placed among the countries, which have a considerable degree of elderly population (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014).

The increasing rate of elderly population, on the one hand, is seen as a success story in the sense that the increase is closely associated with improvements in the health sector. On the other hand, however, a dramatic increase in the elderly population raises a question about how to ensure the welfare of the elderly (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 10). Thus, the particular preoccupation with the welfare of the elderly calls for a new policy principle of "*active aging*" (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018: 29). This particular term points to a new approach in long-term care, which is based on the idea of protecting the autonomy and independence of the elderly; and of ensuring high standards-based and healthy aging life (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018: 32).

[5] The common definition of long-term care is provided by the European Commission. In the European Commission's report, long-term care is defined "as a range of services required by persons with reduced degree of functional capacity (physical or cognitive) and who are consequently dependent for an extended period of time on help with basic and/or instrumental activities of daily living" (European Union, 2015b: 142). This definition points to the fact that at the heart of the LTC is the elderly population. Thus, LTC specifically targets elderly population who is unable to take care of themselves. Given the increased portion of the elderly population around the globe, this has increased the demand for policies targeting the elderly population.

A policy orientation towards the idea of supporting the elderly to sustain an active aging life; to ensure their welfare; and to prevent their dependency on the family and the market is closely associated with ex-ante measures in terms of preparing a ground for a liveable life for the elderly. This is why the concept of active aging reflects a SI perspective.

4.2.2. Objectives

In terms of the objectives, rather than aiming to protect the elderly against traditional risks of disability and sickness, the LTC policy in Turkey has the objective ***to prepare the elderly for later stages in life*** and ***to ensure their welfare in the face of new social risks*** (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 24). With an increase in female labour force participation and a decrease in the occurrence of extended family, there emerges a new social need for care services for the elderly (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 40) Thus, the objectives do not only include protecting the elderly against the traditional risk of old age through retirement pensions but fulfilling their needs for elderly care without any reliance on the family or the market.

The adoption of the idea of new social risks is closely associated with a shift of focus. The focus has been traditionally on an individual. This implies the view that family, children or elderly did not occupy a place in terms of policy agenda in the past. However, during the last twenty years, the focus has enlarged in terms of the realization that there is a wife (or husband) near to that individual; that there are his/her family and children; and that there is the elderly that this individual is responsible for looking after them (Interview 1). This shift of focus has made it possible as well as easier to observe new social needs such as the need for institutional elderly care in the face of increased female labour force participation. This is why the shift is pointed as the most critical transformation that family policy in Turkey has experienced.

Objectives that govern the LTC in Turkey constitute the ultimate reference point of measures taken with respect to elderly care. LTC in Turkey is provided through two measures: cash expenditures and institutional care services (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 66). Cash expenditures are further divided into two groups. The first expenditure measure includes social assistance, which is based on the Law No. 2022[6]. The law provides regular income support to the elderly above 65 years old (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015a: 135). This measure reflects the objective of preparing the elderly for later stages in life in terms of fulfilling their needs for the elderly care without any reliance on the family or the market.

The second expenditure measure includes home care, which aims to provide quality care services to disabled elderly who are in need of care. However, this care is provided not in the form of the delivery of care services by the ministry or municipality but in the form of direct cash benefits to those who take care of the disabled elderly. Here, the aim is to fulfil the care of the elderly without removing them from their social and physical environment. However, this type of care services is criticized on the basis of the fact that the care is not professional; cash benefits do not encompass the social security of those who take care of the disabled elderly; and the care is not a social service but a social assistance, thereby falling short of the need for social services in the elderly care (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 67).

Institutional care services are divided into three measures. The first measure is rest homes, whose aim is to fulfil the social and psychological needs of the elderly by protecting them in a secure and peaceful environment (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 68). The second measure is homes of living for elderly, through which the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services aims to provide

[6] Law No.2022: https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2022.pdf

elderly care in a home-based environment. The basic difference of homes of living for elderly from rest homes is to ensure the warmness of home environment. It is recent measure of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 70).

The third measure is centres for elderly care; whose main target includes elderly who live in homes. In order to spend the leisure time in a socially active way, the measure aims to help the elderly in order for the elderly to spend their leisure time in a socially active way; to develop social relations and improve social activities. There are five center, which works under the roof the Ministry, whose work is based on subscription (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 71). Furthermore, these centres help those who are unable to fulfil their daily activities such as cooking, daily hygiene etc. (T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2014: 31).

The three measures under the umbrella of institutional care services reflect the objective of ensuring the elderly's welfare in the face of new social risks in terms of providing liveable living conditions through which the elderly is not forced to live without their social environment. This is why the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services has adopted recent measures such as centres for elderly care through which the elderly is provided care services without leaving their homes. At this point, it is important to note that since the Ministry has recently considered loneliness of the elderly as one of the new social risks, it has started to adopt new measures in addition to mainstream measures, including rest homes. This shows how objectives, which are informed by governing principles, influence the way certain recent measures have been adopted.

4.2.3. Procedures

With respect to the procedures in the policymaking process, the LTC policy in Turkey emphasizes the importance of ***adopting an integrated social policy*** and of ***incorporating local***

partners in the governance of the elderly care. While the former concerns re-designing of institutions in terms of drafting and initiating integrated policies, the latter is related to strengthening local partners in the governance of the elderly care. The significance of re-designing lies in the fact that the existence of separate institutions makes it difficult to ensure efficiency in using resources. The most pressing issue here is whether resources of separate institutions are clashing with each other. One senior expert, at this point, states that while the same individual receives social assistance from multiple institutions, the institutions are unable to reach those, who are in need of help. In order to prevent this clashing, there emerges a further need to transform separate institutions into one single institution, thereby more integrated policies would be followed (Interview1).

The need to initiate integrated social policy has been achieved by Turkey concerning the elderly care. There were two major institutions that govern elderly care policy. While the Ministry of Labour and Social Security dealt with social assistance, the Ministry of Family and Social Services managed issues related to social services. This means that social assistance and social services policies have been regulated by two separated institutions until 2018. On the 9th of July, 2018, the two institutions have been merged under the roof of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services. Particularly, General Directorate of Services for Persons with Disabilities and the Elderly works as one of the central institutions within the Ministry, fulfilling its responsibilities on the elderly and the disabled (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Engelli ve Yaşlı Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017). At this point, one senior expert states that the Ministry is currently a huge institution. Although managing such kind of a big institution is much harder, this is how social policy should be done. In most of the EU member states, social policies are not separated through giving parts and parcels of social policies to different institutions. The EU member states approach the issue in terms of acknowledging the integrated nature of social policy. Turkey has achieved this (Interview1).

Concerning the incorporation of local partners in policymaking processes, various reports of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services point to diverse institutional capacity problems related to the centralized nature of policy-making process. One of the most critical institutional capacity problems is the fact that it is less likely or nearly impossible for the Ministry to become aware of diverse needs of the elderly and to develop different policies based on this diversity. This is represented as the most critical problem (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016: 97). Thus, the issue of transferring the centralized institutional capacity of the Ministry to the local-level appears to be a popular issue in the agenda of the Ministry. At this point, the most significant step was taken in 2015, where the Ministry of the Family and Social Policies Directorate General for Family and Community Services prepared a report, titled as "*Türkiye'de Sosyal Hizmet ve Yardımların Yeniden Organizasyonu*". This report provides policy recommendations with respect to the cooperation between the national-level and local-level and the delegation of the central authority to the local-level in terms of policy-making.

Two recommendations require a closer examination. The first is to increase the institutional capacity of the local-level. The second is to increase the quantity and quality of personnel at the local-level. The report, at this point, indicates that it is needed to establish a system in which it is possible to use statistical data, which would directly come from the region itself; to use future projections based on the data; and to formulate policy options accordingly. This constitutes the first recommendation, which requires this statistical data to be directly taken from the local-level. Furthermore, in order to establish such a system, there is a further need for the existence of quality local experts, who are trained experts in social policy and who are able to systematically analyse the region (T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015b: 8). This constitutes the second recommendation. Thus, these recommendations point to the importance of two-layered steps in the formation of an

enhanced cooperation between local-level and national-level. Through this system, the Ministry would be able to know each region on the basis of particular needs it has and this provides it to better formulate policies accordingly.

4.2.4. Instruments

The major financial instrument in the governance of the LTC policy in Turkey comes from the EU in the form of the ***Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)***. In order to illustrate the role that the IPA funds, as a financial instrument, play in the governing of the LTC, Technical Assistance for Improving Day Care and Home Care Services for the Elderly (YAGEP) is a good example to elaborate. Being part of Employment, Education and Social Policies Sectoral Operational Programme of IPA II period, YAGEP aims to contribute to the development of home care and day care services as a response to emerging need for improving and extending home care and day care services (İnsan Kaynaklarının Geliştirilmesi Program Otoritesi, 2018). Given the limited capacity of institutional care services, there emerges a necessity to pay more attention to home care and day care services. Moreover, a growing body of research has indicated that elderly people are happier, if they live in their social environment and they prefer to live in their homes if they have the opportunity. This is also in conformity with the national policies seeking to increase the active participation of elderly in social life. This is why the YAGEP project focuses its attention to promote active aging by ensuring both their independence as well as mental health in terms of not taking them away from their social environment.

The importance of projects like YAGEP is that it paves the way for a discussion of new concepts such as active aging and for a change in focus from individuals to family. When project description of projects such as YAGEP is examined, it is seen that major documents such as Europe 2020 Strategy has become the reference point of the YAGEP project (Interview 2). While new principles start to appear in the agenda of Turkey through the

implementation of EU-funded projects, a set of new principles embodies in itself a change in focus from individuals to family. In the past, since the focus was on individuals (in this case, the elderly), policies generally were in the form of institutional care services through which the elderly, as an individual, are provided an elderly care. However, as Turkey has started to acknowledge the fact that the elderly people are happier if they live in their social environment with their family members (through projects like YAGEP), principles and objectives governing the LTC have started to be re-evaluated (Interview 1).

4.2.5. Summary and Conclusions

This section summarizes the findings related to the extent of change observed in the LTC policy in Turkey through the policy structure approach. Four policy dimensions are analysed for the LTC policy in Turkey. The findings are illustrated in Table 4. There is a considerable change in four policy dimensions: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments. Considering Graziano's categorization of policy change, the extent of change in the LTC policy in Turkey is at policy transformation level, where policy change occurs in all four policy dimensions.

TABLE 4: POLICY STRUCTURE APPROACH – LONG-TERM CARE POLICY				
PSA Dimension	Principles	Objectives	Procedures	Instruments
LTC Policy	- the principle of active aging	-to ensure the welfare of the elderly in the face of new social risks -to prepare the elderly for later stages in life	-adopting an integrated social policy -incorporating local partners in the governance of the elderly care	-Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)

Table 4-Analysis of LTC policy in Turkey Through Policy Structure Approach

Source: Author's own conclusions

4.3. Parental Leave Schemes[7]

4.3.1. Principles

The principles that govern parental leave schemes in Turkey are informed by the concept of ***women-friendly policy***. There are two dimensions of the principle of women friendly policy. While the first dimension is related to the "*work-family life course*" (Hemerijck, 2019: 16), the second concerns what is called "*human capital*" (Hemerijck, 2019: 17). At the heart of the work-family life course is the idea that people are most vulnerable in four critical transitions in the life course: "(1) when they move from education into their first job; (2) when they aspire to have children; (3) when they – almost inevitably – experience spells of labour market inactivity; and, finally, (4) when they move to retirement" (Hemerijck, 2019: 16). In the third critical transition, when individuals aspire to have children, especially women face difficulties in terms of balancing the work and family life. These difficulties further cause low level of female labour participation (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017).

[7] Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) identifies four general types of parental leave: maternity leave, paternity leave, parental leave and home care leave (OECD, 2019a). First, maternity leave is known as pregnancy leave and refers to "employment-protected leave of absence for employed women directly around the time of childbirth (or, in some countries, adoption)" (OECD, 2019a). International Labour Organisation (ILO) Maternity Protection Convention Article 4 foresees the period of maternity leave to be at least 14 weeks (ILO, 2000). Second, paternity leave refers to "employment-protected leave of absence for employed fathers at or in the first few months after childbirth" (OECD, 2019a). Compared to maternity leave, paternity leave is not stipulated by any international convention (OECD, 2019a). In addition, time duration for paternity leave is much shorter than that of maternity leave.

The importance of paternity leave lies in the fact that it provides an opportunity for fathers to create a closer relationship with their new-born child; to accompany and help their wife and child after childbirth period (ILO 2014). Furthermore, recent studies report that paternity leave has a positive impact on the child's development and health. In addition, participation of fathers in household activities has a positive impact on women in terms of allowing women to balance professional priorities better and to balance family-work life. On the basis of these advantages, paternity leave has emerged as a recent policy option for ensuring work-family balance with respect to women and for ensuring equal distribution of household responsibilities among mother and father.

Third, parental leave refers to "employment-protected leave of absence for employed parents, which is often supplementary to specific maternity and paternity leave periods, and frequently, but not in all countries, follows the period of maternity leave" (OECD, 2019a). Here, the difference of parental leave from paternity and maternity leave lies in the fact that while maternity and paternity leave are considered as a leave granted immediately after childbirth, parental leave is regarded as a leave of absence, granted for mothers and/or fathers, in order to take care of their children (Sumbas, 2019). This is why parental leave schemes are often seen as supplementary to specific maternity and paternity leave periods (OECD, 2019a). Lastly, home care leave is known as childcare or child raising leave and it refers to "employment-protected leaves of absence that sometimes follow parental leave and that typically allow at least one parent to remain at home to provide care until the child is two or three years of age" (OECD, 2019a). It is important to note that compared to other three types of parental leave schemes, home care leaves are less common and they are mostly unpaid (OECD, 2019a).

Moreover, low level of female labour force participation explains the fact that Turkey is not able to use its human capital in an efficient way (T.C. Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı, Aile ve Toplum Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2018: 197). In this scenario, parental leave schemes are regarded as a way to protect (especially) women in critical transitions in the work-family life course.

Given the fact that women are more likely to quit the labour market when they have a child because of responsibilities and expectations related to motherhood and childbirth, in this transitory period, there emerges a need for "women-friendly family policy", which would protect women and her financial as well as health security (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017:8). In other words, women-friendly family policy aims to ensure work-family balance and equal distribution of responsibilities between mothers and fathers in the household (Sebalho Souza, 2017; Işığıçok, 2011: 785; Sumbas, 2019: 169). At this point, leave schemes come to the fore as the most significant element of women-friendly family policy in terms of increasing human capital of women; enhancing work-family balance and ensuring equality between men and women.

4.3.2. Objectives

In terms of the objectives, parental leave schemes in Turkey aim ***to ensure the welfare of individuals in critical transitory periods such as pregnancy***. At this point, parental leave schemes offer three major goals with respect to the welfare of individuals. The first goal is related to health. Taking maternity leave ensures that women would recover from pregnancy and childbirth. In addition to maternity leave, paternity leave ensures that "fathers who care for children early tend to stay more involved as children grow up. Where fathers participate more in childcare and family life, children enjoy higher cognitive and emotional outcomes and physical health. And fathers who engage more with their children tend to report greater

life satisfaction and better physical and mental health than those who care for and interact less with their children" (OECD, 2016).

In line with the OECD's conclusion, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security calls the health objective of parental leave as ensuring more consolidated familial as well as societal relations (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017). The societal dimension is explained by the fact that children who spend more time with fathers and mothers on the basis of paternal and maternal leaves enjoy higher cognitive and emotional outcomes. These in turn make them healthy and responsible adults in their future and have more consolidated relations. This is related to social cohesion objective of SI (European Commission, 2013a), which make both women and men become equal players in the labour force and to lift obstacles women particularly face in terms of increasing their social cohesion into the labour market.

The second goal is related to making countries competitive and dynamic knowledge-economies of the world (European Commission, 2013a: 13). Here, the underlying view is the argument that when both women and men equally participate in the labour market, the country uses its human capital in an efficient way. This further increases economic development, thereby making the country a critical player in world economy by its efficient use of human capital. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security refers this aim in the following way: with an effort to increase female labour force participation and to lift barriers on the way of their participation, economic development would be enhanced (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017: 4).

While the second goal is to ensure country-wide economic development, the third goal is more micro-level by reducing the family's poverty risk. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security finds a strong connection between increased female labour force participation and reducing family's poverty risk (T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017: 4). Given

the fact that Turkey is one of the countries with highest level of child poverty, this issue occupies a significant place in the agenda of the Ministry (OECD, 2019b). This is why female labour force participation is regarded as one of the ways to reduce family poverty risk in general and child poverty risk in particular.

4.3.3. Procedures

As far as the procedures in the policymaking process are concerned, the parental leave schemes in Turkey emphasizes the importance of ***establishing a legal framework for the operation of parental leave schemes in line with international standards***. Turkey was a state with no laws on parental leave schemes until it made regulations to Turkish Labour Code[8] and Civil Servants Law[9]. While Labour Code No. 4857 concerns female and male workers, Civil Servants Law concerns female and male civil servants.

Labour Code Article 74's title is "*Labour and breast-feeding leave in case of maternity"*. The article stipulates eight weeks leave before childbirth and eight weeks after childbirth. In total, the article provides sixteen weeks maternal leave in regard to childbirth. This means that in line with the ILO convention on maternity leave, Turkey provides mothers at least fourteen weeks leave. In addition to maternity leave, other regulations with respect to after-childbirth period, which particularly concerns female workers, includes the following regulations:

(1) Upon the request of female workers, who are at the end of maternity leave, and of female or male workers, who adopt a child below three years old, they are provided, for the purposes of childcare, 60-days unpaid leave in case of first childbirth; 120-days unpaid leave in case of second childbirth; 180-days unpaid leave in case of next childbirths. Here, they are considered on leave with an amount of half of weekly working hours (Labour Code, additional clause to Article 74 in 2016).

[8] https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4857.pdf
[9] https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=657&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5

(2) Upon the request of female workers, after the expiration of 16-week maternity leave or the expiration of 18-week maternity leave in case of multiple pregnancy, they are provided unpaid leave in 6 months. This unpaid leave is also provided to those who adopt a child below three years old (Labour Code, additional sentence to Article 74 in 2016).

(3) Female workers are provided 1.5 hours in a day in order to bread feast their children below one year old.

When it comes to regulations which would specifically target female civil servants, Civil Servants Law provides regulations related to them. In a similar way with female workers, Article 104 of Civil Servants Laws stipulates eighteen-week maternity leave, eight-week of which is to be used before childbirth and remaining eight-week after childbirth. Where regulations targeting female civil servants differ from regulations targeting female workers is related to bread-feasting policies. While female workers are provided 1.5 hours of bread-feasting leave, Civil Servants Law stipulated three hours in the first six months; 1.5 hours in the second six months, following the end of maternity leave (Civil Servants Law Article 104).

The Labour Law regulates conditions of paternity leave for male workers in Additional Article 2, which came into the picture in 2015 and is titled as "*Casual Leave (Mazeret İzni)*". The additional article stipulates five-day paternal leave. Since leave duration for fathers is short compared to maternity leave, the average payment rate is 100% (OECD, 2019a). With respect to male civil servants, additional sentence to Article 104 in 2016 stipulates ten-day leave upon the request of male civil servants. There are two points to indicate here. First, the number of days for paternity leave differ from male workers to male civil servants. Second, paternity leave is not compulsory in Turkish family policy. Rather, it is based on the request of male workers or civil servants (OECD, 2019a). This shows that Turkey has no official parental leave schemes (Kavas, 2018: 4). Although it has paternity leave of 5 days for male workers and 10 days for male civil servants, this is not compulsory.

The fact that Turkey has no official parental leave schemes and no compulsory paternal leave puts a question mark on equality between men and women. Given the fact that men are more likely to support the view that a mother is the primary person responsible for childcare (AÇEV, 2018), the paternity leave is less likely to be used by fathers. Thus, parental leave schemes still exist as an issue with respect to female labour force participation and equality between men and women. Given the fact that regulations of parental leave schemes in Turkey leave certain issues such as men-women equality and female labour force participation still debated, the procedures dimension still fall short of reflecting the core of SI perspective (Interview 2). This implies the view that although a change has been observed in the procedures dimension of parental leave schemes in Turkey, it is important to note that this change is limited.

4.3.4. Instruments

The major financial instruments in the governance of parental leave schemes in Turkey are ***the International Labour Organization (ILO) Maternity Protection Convention*** and ***the European Social Charter*** (Interview 1; T.C. Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2021). As already indicated in the procedures section, the ILO foresees at least 14 weeks of maternity leave. In line with the ILO Convention, Turkey has regulated the maternity leave on the basis of sixteen weeks.

The European Social Charter is a Council of Europe treaty that particularly focus on social and economic rights. In addition to the European Convention on Human Rights, which focus on civil and political rights, the European Social Charter constitutes the social dimension of the Council of Europe's human rights structure.Turkey ratified the Charter in 2007. As a result of its ratification by Turkey, it is seen that Turkey has regulated parental leave policy after the ratification process (Interview 2). For example, regulations concerning civil servants were introduced in 2011. Thus, the ratification of the ILO Maternity Protection

Convention and the European Social Charter plays a crucial role in the development of SI perspective in parental leave schemes in terms of paving the way for regulations to Turkish Labour Code and Civil Servants Law.

4.3.5. Summary and Conclusions

This section summarizes the findings related to the extent of change observed in parental leave schemes in Turkey through the policy structure approach. Four policy dimensions are analysed for parental leave schemes. The findings are illustrated in Table 5. There is a considerable change in four policy dimensions: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments. However, although a change has been observed in the procedures dimension of parental leave schemes in Turkey, it is important to note that this change is limited. Considering Graziano's categorization of policy change, the extent of change in parental leave schemes in Turkey is at policy transformation level, where policy change occurs in all four policy dimensions.

TABLE 5: POLICY STRUCTURE APPROACH – PARENTAL LEAVE SCHEMES				
PSA Dimension	Principles	Objectives	Procedures	Instruments
Parental leave schemes	-the principle of women-friendly policy	-to ensure the welfare of individuals in critical transitory periods such as pregnancy	-establishing a legal framework at domestic level for the operation of parental leave schemes in line with international standards	-the International Labour Organization (ILO) Maternity Protection Convention -the European Social Charter

Table 5- Analysis of Parental Leave Schemes in Turkey Through Policy Structure Approach

Source: Author's own conclusions

4.4. Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)[10]

4.4.1. Principles

The principles embodied in the ECEC policy in Turkey are informed by the concept of ***life-cycle framework*** (Esping-Andersen et al. 2002; Hemerijck, 2019). The life-course framework provides two novel ideas with respect to the ECEC. While the first novelty points to the interdependency among all stages in the life-course, the second novelty gives a reference to the term *politicization of childhood* (Jenson, 2008; Jenson & Saint-Martin, 2006) in the life-cycle framework.

The first novel idea of the life-course framework is the view that welfare (dis)advantages at one particular stage in life are directly linked to (dis)advantages at earlier stages in life (Esping-Andersen et al. 2002:7). For instance, poor employment or precarious employment in later stages of life are often directly linked to disadvantages in earlier stages of life cycle, including coming from a disadvantageous background, poor childhood, poor family etc. This is why an utmost importance is given, in life-course framework, to ECEC as the first crucial step in all stages of the life-course. Furthermore, this particular attention to ECEC paves the way for what is called *politicization of childhood*. This politicization constitutes the second novelty of the life-course framework. Here, politicization of childhood is referred to as

[10] The common definition is provided by the European Commission. In the language of the European Commission, the ECEC is defined as any regulated arrangement that provides education and care for children from birth to compulsory primary school age (European Commission, EACEA, Eurydice and Eurostat, 2014). In a similar way, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), considers it to mean "all arrangements providing care and education for children under compulsory school age, regardless of setting, funding, opening hours, or programme content" (OECD, 2001).

There are two most common forms of the ECEC structure according to the age of the children. On the one hand, in the split-based ECEC system, the age break is 3 years old, which means that the responsibility for the education and care for children below 3 years old and above 3 years old is regulated by different authorities. In unitary systems, on the other hand, there is no age break or transfer between institutions in the delivery of education and services. The Ministry of Education, in general, is responsible for the ECEC governance (European Commission, EACEA, Eurydice and Eurostat, 2014: 12). With respect to which form of the ECEC structure that Turkey belongs to, the split-based ECEC system is seen in the Turkish case. While the responsibility for education and care services below three years old is within the hands of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, the Ministry of National Education is responsible for education and care services between three years old and six years old (Özkanlı Ertuğrul, 2019: 19).

"the move from childhood being understood as primarily a family or parental responsibility to it being also a matter of public importance and concern" (Jenson, 2008: 2). This idea calls for active state involvement in ECEC in terms of minimizing disadvantages such as child poverty or family poverty.

Turkey regards the ECEC policy as a policy field, which would affect all later stages in one's life. (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2009: 67). This points to the importance of ECEC as the first crucial stage in the life-course framework. Furthermore, in the face of disadvantages that would affect one's chance of having a high-quality employment, ensuring that all individuals have a fair access to education is pronounced as the major principle on which state involvement in ECEC is based (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2015: 31). With this official pronouncement, a particular attention to disadvantageous groups is given. Since child poverty or family poverty is a vulnerability that one does not choose, state assumes an active role for these occurrences.

In addition to considering the ECEC as a way of coping with the issue of child or family poverty, Turkey also considers it as the most effective way of increasing the stock of human capital (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2019: 41). Here, the ECEC is referred to as services which would develop cognitive skills of children, which would later be critical in later stages of life. The importance of the idea of human capital for the life-course framework is evident in the motto of the Tenth Development Plan (2014-2018) and Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023) of Turkey. The motto is framed as *"qualified people, strong society"* (Presidency of Strategy and Budget, 2019: 137; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Development, 2014: 29). The motto makes a connection between human capital and sustainable economic development in terms of pointing to the fact that qualified people are better at converting knowledge into economic and social development of the country (Presidency of Strategy and Budget, 2019: 137).

4.4.2. Objectives

The objectives of the ECEC policy in Turkey are framed as objectives ***to increase human capital stock from the early childhood period***. At this point, it is important to note that *Turkey's Education Vision 2023* is prepared under the title of *"Happy Children, Strong Turkey"* (Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education 2018: 137). Furthermore, the objectives of Turkey's Education Vision regarding the ECEC policy are stated as follows: (a) to extent early childhood education by increasing enrolment rates of children; (b) to supply the early-childhood education materials and equipment needs of children from disadvantaged households; (c) to provide basic materials supportive of child development to poor households as part of early childhood education (Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education 2018: 80).

With respect to the first objective of extending early childhood education by increasing enrolment rates of children, this aim is closely related to education dimension of ECEC. However, the significance of ECEC lies not in providing high-quality early childhood education but also providing care services in terms of reconciling work-family balance. This is why the objective of increasing enrolment rates of children would serve both increasing the early childhood education as well as reconciling work-family balance. Thus, with respect to objectives, a particular focus on education dimension of ECEC and work-family balance-dimension of ECEC are observed in the ECEC policy in Turkey.

4.4.3. Procedures

As far as the procedures in the policymaking process are concerned, the ECEC policy in Turkey emphasizes the importance of ***establishing a policymaking tradition for the operation of the ECEC through government programs and strategic plans***. The framework of the government and strategic plans is established through benefiting from top policy documents, including Acquis Communautaire of the European Union (EU), progress reports

prepared by the EU. Most recently, in the latest strategic plan (2019-2023) of the Ministry of National Education, Europe 2020 Strategy document has been added to the top documents (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2019: 13).

Europe 2020 is a 10-year strategic plan presented by the European Commission in 2010. The strategy aims to make the social and economic market of the EU more inclusive. For this purpose, several ambitious targets are set by the European Commission. Among these targets, one has a particular place to discuss. The European Commission has the target to decrease the share of early school leavers under 10 percent and to increase the share of younger generation having a tertiary degree above 40 percent (European Commission, 2010: 3). This target illustrates a particular attention given to to early childhood as a critical period in the life-cycle framework.

The fact that education constitutes one of the primary policy areas in government and strategic plans of Turkey and that the introduction and development of strategic plans as government policy are two major strengths of Turkish policymaking process with respect to the ECEC (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2015: 22). On the basis of the government programs and strategic plans of Turkey, measures for the delivery of ECEC services is through in-kind benefits. The measures are fourfold: (a) day care centres, which target children aged 0 to 5; (b) kindergartens, which target children aged 3 to 5; (c) nursery classes, which are institutionalized under the roof of primary education, targeting children aged 5; and (d) children clubs, which are established in order for children, aged between 6 to 12, to spend their leisure time with various social activities as well as to ensure their care especially during summer holidays (Avcı, 2019: 53).

The most critical fact about these four measures is that the number of education and care services particularly targeting children aged 0 to 3 is insufficient compared to the number of education and care services targeting children aged 3 to 5 (Avcı, 2019: 56). In other words,

the measure is not inclusive in the sense that it lacks a coherent policy framework especially for children aged 0 to 3. As OECD has reported, while enrolment rates of children aged 2 in Turkey is closer to zero, enrolment rates of children aged 1 or under the age of 1 is non-existent (OECD, 2020: 167). This points to the fact that there is a failure in terms of meeting the objective of expanding early childhood education and care, especially for children below age 3. This is why this failure of reaching the aimed rate of enrolment is stated as one of the weaknesses of procedures in the governance of ECEC policy in Turkey (T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2009: 67; T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2015: 24; T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2019: 14).

This failure is also closely related to the issue of work-family balance. In one of the official reports, the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services indicates that the labour force participation of women with children is low. Furthermore, female labour force participation of women who have a child between ages of 0 and 3 is lower compared to female labour force participation of women who have a child between ages of 4 to 6 (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, 2018: 196). This statement points to the fact that especially care policies particularly targeting children aged 0 to 3 are insufficient in terms of increasing the female labour force participation. Although policies targeting children aged 4 to 6 relatively less decrease the female labour force participation thanks to higher enrolment rates of children aged 4 to 6, these policies are still insufficient in terms of reconciling work-family balance especially for women.

Given the fact that procedures in the governance of the ECEC in Turkey leave certain issues female labour force participation and work-family life balance still debated, the procedures dimension still fall short of reflecting the core of SI perspective (Interview 2). This implies the view that although a change has been observed in the procedures dimension of the ECEC policy in Turkey, it is important to note that this change is limited.

4.4.4. Instruments

The financial instrument for implementing the principles and objectives of the ECEC in Turkey comes from the EU in the form of ***the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)***. The status of the EU funds as a financial instrument lies in the fact that SI perspective in the ECEC structure has entered into Turkey through frameworks brought by the EU, through IPA-funded projects. At this point, one senior expert gives reference to a project called NANNY, which was carried out by Social Security Institution (SGK) of Turkey. Funded by the EU, the project provided social assistance to those who provide home care. SGK has recently divided this project into two phases. While the first phase is particularly supporting institutional childcare through kindergartens, the second phase is dealing with home care. Since SGK wanted those who provide home care to be educated caretakers, it had an interest in institutionalizing a professional caretaker who receive an advanced level of education on caretaking in general and homecare in particular (Interview 1). In other words, rather than mothers or grandmothers taking care of their children (grandchildren), SGK wants those who provide homecare for children as qualified caretakers who receive an education on caretaking. As the example of the NANNY project shows, further institutionalization of a professional caretaker at domestic level has its roots in the NANNY project.

Furthermore, IPA funds as a financial instrument plays a crucial role in building institutional capacity at domestic level. Here, one senior expert, again, gives reference to the NANNY project and explain how the project has provided an insight for the SGK to initiate a new project called MOTHER AT WORK, whose financing comes directly from the national budget. Just as the NANNY project has done, the MOTHER AT WORK project aims to support mothers and children. Given the fact that informal employment especially among women is a major concern in Turkey, the MOTHER AT WORK project aims to prevent informal employment such as homecare of children (Interview 1). This is why in line with the

objective of the NANNY project to institutionalize a professional caretaker through advanced level of education on caretaking, the MOTHER AT WORK project works on institutionalizing of homecare of children by a qualified cadre of caretakers. As this example shows, IPA funds as a financial instrument provides an insight for building institutional capacity at domestic level.

4.4.5. Summary and Conclusions

This section will briefly summarize the findings related to the extent of change observed in parental leave schemes through the policy structure approach. Four policy dimensions are analysed for the ECEC policy in Turkey. The findings are as shown in Table 6. There is a considerable change in four policy dimensions: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments. However, although a change has been observed in the procedures dimension of the ECEC policy in Turkey, it is important to note that this change is limited. Considering Graziano's categorization of policy change, the extent of change in the ECEC is at policy transformation level, where policy change occurs in all four policy dimensions.

TABLE 6: POLICY STRUCTURE APPROACH - ECEC				
PSA Dimension	Principles	Objectives	Procedures	Instruments
The ECEC policy	-the principle of life-cycle framework	-to increase human capital stock from the early childhood period	-establishing a policymaking tradition for the operation of the ECEC through government programs and strategic plans	-the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)

Table 6 -Analysis of ECEC in Turkey Through Policy Structure Approach

Source: Author's own conclusions

CHAPTER 5: COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

The thesis aims to explore similarities of family policy in Turkey with the "Social Investment" policies implemented at the EU level. The exploration of similarities is based on the examination of how much change has happened in the development of SI in Turkey. This examination is conducted through tracing the extent of policy change experienced in Turkey. The thesis argues that the relevance of Turkey as a crucial case for the development of SI lies in the fact that Turkey, among Southern European welfare states, is a least-likely case with stronger familialism with an especially lower probability of developing SI state.

With respect to the engagement with the relevant literature, the thesis addresses a gap in the literature on SI state studies by focusing on the insights the two conventional approaches provide on SI state development. While the first approach emphasizes the likelihood of SI state development in Southern European welfare regime, the second position believes in its impossibility. In light of these bodies of literature, the thesis addressed the following questions: (a) To what extent does SI effort in Turkey reflect SI? (b) How much change has happened in an ensemble of SI policies in Turkey?

The empirical data that the thesis relies on has a twofold structure. First, with respect to SI effort, the thesis shows the extent to which expenditure patterns in Turkey reflect SI perspective. Second, with respect to an ensemble of SI policies, the thesis demonstrates the direction and magnitude of change in Turkish family policy between 2006 and 2018 on the basis of the policy structure approach. The following two sections will provide a brief overview of the empirical findings presented in the thesis.

5.2. Social Investment Effort in Turkey

In Chapter 3, the thesis traces change in expenditure patterns in Turkey between 2006 and 2018 through using and adapting Ronchi's (2016) methodology for measuring SI effort.

His new measurement tool is called the Social Investment Welfare Expenditure (SIWE) data set. I adapted Ronchi's (2016) protocol for the case of Turkey. In line with Ronchi's reaggregation approach, the thesis divides the welfare expenditure into two major categories: SP category, which relies on cash expenditure and SI category, which is based on in-kind expenditure. Given the fact that Ronchi's reaggregation approach falls short capturing "*unconventional instruments"*, which are particularly incorporated by countries which are excluded in the SIWE data set, the thesis includes the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education, being the most popular safety net program implemented especially in developing countries (including Turkey) over the last two decades. By including Conditional Cash Transfer for Education, I adapted Ronchi's (2016) methodology for the particular case of Turkey.

Chapter 3 has three crucial findings. First, expenditure patterns between 2006 and 2018 illustrate an increase in both SP and SI categories. This shows that neither SP nor SI comes at the expense of the other. Rather, Turkey has increased SI expenditure along with an increase in SP. Second, the share of SI in total Turkish expenditure illustrates a considerable increase when it is compared on its own. The thesis also reports that the share of SI in total public social expenditure is minimal when it is compared to expenditure that comes to Turkey apart from national budget. The presentation of SI effort is important because it provides an insight about the extent to which expenditure patterns in Turkey reflect SI. Third, the thesis shows that expenditure patterns do not only include national spending of Turkey. Apart from national budget, a considerable amount of expenditure come to Turkey through IPA funds. More importantly, the IPA funds change the picture of SI effort in Turkey altogether in terms of increasing the share of SI in total expenditure from 0,35 to 0,46.

5.3. Ensemble of SI policies in Turkey

Chapter 4 examines an ensemble of SI policies in Turkey through a particular focus on family policy in Turkey on the basis of the policy structure approach. The thesis has two critical findings. First, it is showed that there is a considerable change in all four dimensions in LTC, parental leave schemes, and ECEC policies: principles, objectives, procedures and instruments. Table 7 illustrates the summary of the examination of three sub-areas of family policy in Turkey on the basis of the policy structure approach. Second, the extent of change observed in family policy in Turkey is at policy transformation level, to use Graziano's (2011) words, where policy change occurs in all four dimensions. However, it is important to note that although a change has been observed in the procedures dimension of parental leave schemes and the ECEC policies in Turkey, this change is limited.

TABLE 7: EXAMINATION OF FAMILY POLICY IN TURKEY ON THE BASIS OF POLICY STRUCTURE APPROACH

PSA Dimension	Principles	Objectives	Procedures	Instruments
LTC Policy	-the principle of active aging	-to ensure the welfare of the elderly in the face of new social risks -to prepare the elderly for later stages in life	-adopting an integrated social policy -incorporating local partners in the governance of the elderly	-Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)
Parental Leave Schemes	-the principle of women-friendly policy	-to ensure the welfare of individuals in critical transitory periods such as pregnancy	-establishing a legal framework at domestic level for the operation of parental leave schemes in line with international standards	-International Labour Organization (ILO) Maternity Protection Convention -European Social Charter
ECEC Policy	-the principle of "life-cycle framework"	-to increase human capital stock from the early childhood period	-establishing a policymaking tradition for the operation of the ECEC through government programs and strategic plans	-Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)

Table 7-Tabularized Summary of the Examination of Family Policy in Turkey

Source: Author's own conclusions

5.4. Comparative Conclusions on Social Investment Policy Development in Turkey

The thesis has two crucial comparative conclusions for the development of SI perspective in a least-likely case of Turkey. The first conclusion concerns the two conventional theoretical positions with respect to the prospect for the development of SI in Southern European welfare states. The findings provide support for and against the two theoretical positions. The first theoretical position, which I term *"familial pessimists"*, is partly right in the sense that the prospect for SI reform is minimal with respect to the procedures dimension, especially in parental leave schemes and ECEC policies. However, it is partly wrong in its argument that the prospect for reform is unlikely because the thesis has reported that the extent of change in family policy in Turkey is at policy transformation level, where all four dimensions of principles, objectives, procedures and instruments have been reported a considerable degree of change. The second theoretical position, which I term *"de-familial optimists"*, is also partly right in terms of observing the adaptation of familialism to newly rising needs of people. However, it is partly wrong in the sense that it overlooks certain structural limitations of familialism in further development of SI such as the familialistic idea behind the non-existence of official parental leave schemes and that of compulsory paternal leave. This constitutes the thesis' "*three-cornered fight"* or its debate with the existing literature (Hancke, 2009: 33).

This unique position of Turkish SI welfare structure is referred to as *"optional familialism",* to use Leitner's (2013) theory on varieties of familialism. Optional familialism refers to a welfare structure which both offers de-familialism in the form of in-kind expenditure and supports the caring function of the family through any kind of familialistic policy. At this point, it is important to note that the EU, through the IPA projects, play a critical role in further development of de-familialism through its in kind-centred projects.

The second comparative conclusion concerns the hypothesis that was tested in the thesis. The thesis has found that there exists a SI policy development, albeit limited, even in a least-likely case of Turkey. Furthermore, IPA funds, as a financial instrument, account for the development of SI in Turkey at expenditure level. This conclusion confirms the hypothesis in terms of illustrating the possibility of the development towards de-familialism in a least-likely case. Thus, the data from the case of Turkey provides a great deal of support in terms of increasing our confidence in the validity of the hypothesis.

In addition, the confirmatory evidence from the case of Turkey increases our confidence in the generalizability of the thesis' findings across other highly familial countries. Gerring (2007) refers the confirmatory nature of a least-likely case study by giving reference to the concept "*Sinatra inference"*: "If it can make it here, it can make it anywhere" (Gerring, 2007: 237). The concept implies the view that if SI policy development is observed in Turkey, then, it should have the same effect in other highly familial countries as well. Since the thesis has reported a SI policy development in a least-likely case of Turkey, the findings increase our confidence in the conclusion that SI development is expected to occur in other highly familial and more propitious countries as well.

On the basis of the comparative findings of the thesis, this study provides insights for further research in terms of accounting for the nature of SI state development in highly familial countries in general and in Turkey in particular. In other words, a further research agenda would be based on the question which factors come together to explain the policy transformation towards de-familialism in highly familial countries in general and in Turkey in particular. This would provide a comprehensive picture in terms of explaining the nature of SI policy change in addition to the extent of SI policy change.

In addition to the examination of the nature of SI state development in highly familial countries in general and in Turkey in particular, the thesis provides a further research agenda

with respect to the investigation of the development of SI in Turkey on the basis of the third conceptualization of welfare state as social rights of citizenship. Although the thesis has not used the third conceptualization because of data unavailability, the findings of the thesis suggest that indicators of Social Citizenship Indicator Program are likely to expand. At this point, the preliminary data have been collected through benefitting from indicators of SCIP specifically concerning family policy in Turkey. The preliminary data shows that SI development in Turkey on the basis of the third conceptualization has been expanding, despite nuances in certain indicators. The preliminary results provide triangulation in terms of pointing to the fact that all the data corroborate one another. Thus, a further research agenda would be the detailed investigation of the extent to which the data support one another.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1) Senior Expert in the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services

   Interview 1. (2021, March 5). Personal Interview [Personal Interview]

2) Senior Expert in in the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey

   Interview 2. (2021, April, 15). Personal Interview [Personal Interview]

3) Senior Expert in the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services

   Interview 3. (2021, May 28). Personal Interview [Personal Interview]

4) Developers of Social Citizenship Indicator Program (SCIP) Database for Turkey

   Interview. 4. (2021, July 18). Personal Interview [Personal Interview]

Appendix B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1.General framing question: Do you observe any changes in family policies in Turkey during the post-2013 period? What direction do these policies follow?

2.Do you see any dominant policy paradigm, which would constitute the basic principle of Turkish family policy?

-Do you see a policy paradigm change in the last ten years or so?

If yes; what factors are at play in explaining this paradigm change?

what is the source of this paradigm change?

new structural challenges?

EU accession process?

Ideational framing of policy entrepreneurs?

3.The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services regularly prepare reports on family policies. What kinds of novelties or changes do you observe in the reports' major objectives or goals?

-How would you interpret these novelties or changes?

-What is the main reason behind the proliferation of major objectives, indicated in the various reports?

4.With respect to policy reform process, have you observed any resistance or difficulties?

-Do you recall any times there was a controversy on reform process (opposing views between local-level and national-level)?

5.How does the reform process take place?

-Is there any guidance from international organizations?

-Does "learning" from international organizations play a critical role in reform process?

-Do local-level governments or NGOs have any influence on reform process?

-Do you remember any interest group in Turkey who had already acknowledged the importance of reform family policy and were actively pushing for reform?

6.How would you assess the Ministry's role in the reform process in terms of initiating more inclusive policies?