

RECLASSIFYING THE TURKISH WELFARE REGIME
IN THE LIGHT OF CHILD WELL-BEING INDICATORS

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Didem Grbz, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Reclassifying the Turkish Welfare Regime in the Light of Child Well-Being Indicators

This study reexamines the welfare regime clustering of Turkey based on the data of child well-being across OECD countries between 2014 and 2017. In the previous literature, Turkish welfare regime is characterized as part of the Southern European (Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy) cluster. This thesis argues that the clustering of the Turkish welfare regime would be different from the previous literature's finding, if child well-being indicators were taken into consideration. The thesis relies on the OECD's following child well-being dimensions: material well-being, educational well-being, health and safety, risk behaviors. This thesis suggests that in terms of child well-being indicators, Turkey diverges from Southern Europe, and it resembles Latin American countries (Chile, Mexico, and Brazil). While a comparative analysis of social policy development in different countries lies beyond the scope of this thesis, the discussion presented in the study draws attention to the important role of family policies in determining the child well-being outcomes and suggests that gendered family policies appear as an essential factor affecting child well-being outcomes.

ÖZET

Çocuğun İyi Olma Hali Göstergeleri Işığında Türkiye'nin Refah Rejiminin Yeniden Sınıflandırılması

Bu çalışma 2014 – 2017 yılları arasında Ekonomik İşbirliği ve Kalkınma Teşkilatı (OECD) üye ülkelerinde çocuğun iyi olma hali verilerine dayanarak Türkiye'nin refah rejimini sınıflandırılmasını yeniden değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Literatürde Türkiye'nin refah rejimi Güney Avrupa refah rejimlerinin (İspanya, Portekiz, Yunanistan ve İtalya) bir parçası olarak görülmektedir. Bu tezde eğer çocuğun iyi olma hali göstergeleri dikkate alınır, Türkiye'nin refah rejiminin sınıflandırılmasının, önceki literatür bulgularından farklı olacağı iddia edilmektedir.

Bu tez, OECD'nin belirlediği maddi iyi olma hali, eğitsel iyi olma hali, sağlık ve güvenlik durumu ile risk davranışları başlıklarındaki çocuğun iyi olma hali verilerine dayanmaktadır. Çocuğun iyi olma hali göstergeleri esas alındığında; Türkiye'nin Güney Avrupa refah rejiminden ayrıştığı, Latin Amerika (Şili, Meksika, Brezilya) ülkelerine yakınsadığı öne sürülmektedir. Farklı ülkelerdeki sosyal politika gelişiminin karşılaştırmalı analizi bu tezin kapsamının dışında kalmasına rağmen, bu çalışma çocuğun iyi olma hali sonuçlarının oluşumunda aile politikalarının önemine dikkat çekmekte ve cinsiyetlendirilmiş aile politikalarının çocuğun iyi olma hali sonuçlarını şekillendirme açısından önemli görüldüğünü belirtmektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to discuss welfare regimes examining data on the state of child well-being data across OECD countries. The objective of the study is to bring into question of welfare state clustering highlighting child well-being indicators. It is argued that if the welfare state clustering is developed considering child well-being indicators, the clustering will be different from its current structure. As known, welfare states are categorized by considering the relative roles played by the market, family, and state in welfare provision. Although welfare state clustering does not involve child well-being by itself, it is directly linked with family policies. Data on child well-being provide significant hints on countries' family policies. The data periodically collected by OECD from member states provide a comparative framework regarding health, education, poverty, school life quality, the neighborhood and environment of 0-17 aged children. The study also seeks to identify the place of Turkey in terms of child well-being among other countries by using OECD data.

Child well-being measures the quality of children's lives, utilizing both objective and subjective measures. Because this study mainly focuses on policies and statistical results, it presents objective well-being indicators related to welfare regimes and policies of the countries. The OECD broadly groups measures of child well-being into six dimensions: material well-being, housing and environment, educational well-being, health and safety, risk behaviors, quality of school life. OECD well-being indicators are regularly produced based on the official data

collected by different countries. These well-being indicators could be interpreted better where related official statistics are available for the country cases. To illustrate, the absence of data on the “housing and environment “dimension in Turkey or the data on “the quality of school life” for Latin American countries in the OECD “Health at a Glance” (2017) which include only the EU countries constitute a limitation for the analysis presented in this thesis. Using OECD data, this thesis tries to explain that in terms of child well-being indicators, Turkey falls behind Southern Europe countries in the welfare state clustering while its position in the country ranking is similar to Latin America. The progress of family policies affecting child well-being data was investigated in the context of Latin America and Turkey. The thesis discusses that similarities among these countries are linked with child well-being outcomes.

This study includes data between 2014- 2017, which are the latest available. Countries of the indicators in all dimensions are selected whether they have Chile, Mexico, and Brazil, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Italy, and Turkey at the same time or not. To make a discussion on welfare regime typologies in terms of child well-being, indicators pointing child welfare should have all countries identified as welfare states, including Turkey.

After an introductory chapter, the second chapter of the thesis dwells on welfare state literature and presents a discussion around welfare states clustering. The studies that show Turkey in the South European welfare regime type are discussed along with the analyses that draw attention to the similarities Turkey has with Latin American states in terms of social policy in the context of late industrialization, social assistance policies, and the level of clientelism, and

familialism. After the 2001 financial crisis in Turkey where the developments in social policy were situated in a neoliberal economic policy orientation, social policy along with neoliberal policies adopted as part of the social policy, there were discussions around the transformation of the welfare regime in Turkey, as in Latin American countries such as Chile and Mexico.

The third chapter of the study attempts to elucidate the relationship between family policies and child well-being. About the family policies, the study touches upon how welfare states differ and how Turkey follows a different path from Southern Europe welfare regimes (Spain and Greece). The main reason for this difference is the very low female labor force participation in Turkey which both informs and is affected by the family and children policies such as care at home projects adopting a conservative familialistic approach. In the same vein, due to familialistic approach adapted in recent family and children programs and the lack of gender equality in Latin America, policy outcomes in child well-being were not successful. The study also discusses the Conditional Cash Transfers, introduced after the 2001 economic crisis in Turkey, in their impact on the well-being of children in selected countries. End of the section, family policies were introduced with two dimensions; the total public expenditure on families, and early childhood interventions. Because public expenditure on children data is not available for Turkey, so public expenditures on families is presented. Total public expenditure data includes; public social expenditure on cash benefits for families, on services, and in-kind benefits for families and tax breaks for families. Although total social spending has increased in the last decades, Turkey falls behind among OECD countries.

The fourth chapter of the thesis reviews the child well-being literature and the recent studies on the subject. Indicators were analyzed under four dimensions basing on OECD data; the data for Turkey and selected Latin American countries across OECD countries were discussed. The dimension of “Education”, which is not measured in welfare state clustering, is a vital indicator for child well-being. For this reason, the discussions around the necessity of including education within welfare state clustering were also presented. Moreover, even data on educational deprivation and educational achievement, health and safety (infant mortality rates), risk behaviors (adolescent’s fertility rates), Turkey significantly differentiates from Southern Europe welfare regimes (Spain, Italy and Greece) and the fact that it has a similar ranking position with Latin American countries in many aspects were depicted in graphics utilizing OECD database.

CHAPTER 2

WELFARE STATES: LITERATURE REVIEW

Throughout the development of capitalism, social policies in early-industrialized countries have emerged to protect their citizens from market effects. After World War II the name “welfare states” arose which can be defined as the connected, interdependent way in which welfare is produced and distributed between state, market, and the family. This chapter aims to locate the position of Turkey among welfare regime typologies theorized by Esping-Andersen. To achieve this aim, Esping-Andersen’s welfare regime typologies will be introduced first. Next, Southern European welfare regimes as a distinct model will be examined, and the Turkish welfare regime type in accordance with the welfare regime clusters will be discussed. The Turkish case will be elaborated to conceptualize its similarities with the Southern European countries. Finally, the similarities, which are based on late industrialization, between the Latin American countries and Turkey, will also be discussed.

2.1 Esping-Andersen’s welfare state clusters

Esping-Andersen (1990) in his book “Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism” collected welfare states into three distinct regime types; namely social democratic, liberal, and conservative-corporatist states. This classification is made according to different arrangements and relationships between state, market, and the family. To understand the market effects on individuals, the level of “de-commodification” —the extent to which the state sets a limit to the treatment of citizens as mere commodities within

capitalist labour markets – is determined as the prominent principle in clustering the regime-types. The other principles that are used for this specific aim are social stratification¹ and welfare mix.² If a simple explication is needed, the conservative corporatist regime can be found in Germany, social democratic regimes in the Scandinavian countries (such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland), and liberal regime types in the United States, Canada, and Australia.

According to Esping-Andersen (1990), welfare regimes are defined through income maintenance programs, the duality of state and market, and through the lens of the standard male production worker. However, in his later work (1999), as an answer to the critics on the “gender-blindness” of his conceptualization, he adds de-familialism as a dimension to the welfare state cluster. De-familializing regime tries to unburden the household and diminish an individual’s welfare dependence on kinship (Esping-Andersen, 1999). In the liberal regime type, the de-commodification level is low, and it is market-based. Moreover, means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social insurance plans predominate (Esping-Andersen, 1990:26). A second regime type involves nations such as Austria, France, Germany, and Italy. The characteristic features of these countries can be described as family-based relationship dominance and having corporatist characteristics and worker-based social security precautions. While corporatist regime types are based on the workers’ status and need for assessment in the matter of social security, universalist regimes aim at providing social security without any status differential. Finally, the Social Democratic regime type can be found in Sweden and Norway. This regime-type is composed of those countries in which the principles of universalism and de-

¹ The role of welfare states in maintaining or breaking down social stratification.

² The relative roles of the state, the family, and the market in welfare provision.

commodification of social rights were also extended to the new middle classes (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Esping-Andersen's cluster indicates the main models of welfare types, although so many changes in the last thirty years in the welfare provisioning of the countries; such as alterations in the market, labor or women labor force participation. On the other hand, the three clusters of welfare explain only the main characteristics for early-industrialized countries, and late industrialized ones tended to be described in the conservative-corporatist cluster.

2.2 Southern European welfare regimes as a distinct model

In the 1990s, arguments followed the Esping-Andersen's welfare typologies, the Southern European or Mediterranean countries, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece, has been suggested as a distinct model to be added among the three welfare types discussed earlier. The Turkish welfare regime is placed into the Southern European model with regard to many common characteristics shared (Buğra, A., 2012). The experience of late industrialization, familialism, and social protection systems are seen as similar underlying characteristics. In this section, Southern welfare model will be reviewed, and then the reasons why Turkey is considered in this model will be discussed.

Ferrera (1996) claims that Latin countries -except Italy and France- such as Spain, Portugal, and Greece have not been able to take place to themselves in any welfare cluster. However, Esping-Andersen (1999) rejects this idea by adding these three countries (Spain, Portugal, and Greece) among the conservatist-corporatist welfare regimes. Ferrera conceptualizes the Southern welfare states (Spain, Portugal,

Greece, and Italy) as a distinct group in terms of their income maintenance, health care systems, and particularistic-clientelistic features. One of their difference is that these countries provide generous protection to the core sectors of the labour force located within the regular of “institutional” labour market, but on the other hand irregular or non-institutional market workers only return weak subsidization (Ferrera, M., 1996). While income maintenance displays mostly fragmented characteristics per employment in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece, their health care programs display (nearly) universalistic characteristics. Therefore, Southern European countries distinguish with their universalistic (almost) national health services. Clientelist relationships, which are most recognizable in Italy, are one of the features of Southern European clusters defined by Ferrera. The clientelistic use of the welfare state can occur, such as electoral purposes or in the agricultural sector. With all these characteristics, Southern countries distinguish not only from universalistic right-based Scandinavian countries but also from more fragmented continental European countries (Ferrera, 1996). Lastly, in these countries, patron-client relationships have been a historical constant (Ferrera, 1996). Particularistic culture and patron-client relationships can also be observed in Turkey, and this is one of the components that causes Turkey to be juxtaposed among Southern Europe.

Gough (1996) investigated Southern welfare regimes through social assistance programs. He juxtaposed all Southern European countries and Turkey. According to this article, all social assistance features are shared between Southern Europe and Turkey. These common features can be classified under eight categories: the absence of national income security, presence of particularistic national assistance programs, decentralized and irregular basic programs, public residence

provisions, firm and informal need assessment, non-integration of social assistance in the social security system, low assistance amount, extensive poverty. He classifies the Southern regimes and Turkey into underdeveloped assistance regime.

Besides, Gal (2010) presents a more extended list of Mediterranean countries included in the Southern European model. This extended group of welfare regimes consists of Cyprus, Israel, Malta, and Turkey, in addition to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Greece. Although Turkey is an outlier with regard to living standards and social expenditure, it is included in the Gal's clustering. Beyond common characteristics such as late industrialization, labor market segregation and the size shadow economy, also they have three broad cultural attributes that affect the market impact upon welfare state formulation: religion, family and clientelism- particularism (in the political arena). Despite the initiatives that support families, and facilitates for work/family balances, traditional responsibilities of the family remain same in Mediterranean countries.

Familialism is the core feature of the South European welfare regime. The interface between the family, state, and labor market shapes the character of all three institutions, and it is therefore suggested that welfare regimes should be discussed with the triangle of state, market, and the family. However, the character and the limitations of social assistance becomes a critical dimension to be considered in the analysis of the centrality of the family in the South European welfare regime. In the absence of meaningful social assistance schemes, many have no choice but to rely on family ties in risk situations (Buğra and Keyder, 2006). Esping-Andersen (1999) defined de-familialism as one of the dimensions in the categorization of welfare state clusters. Familialistic welfare regime is conceptualized as one that assigns a

maximum of welfare obligation to the household. In Esping-Andersen's earlier comparisons, most Continental European welfare states score quite high on values of de-commodification, and yet they are also very familialistic. On the other hand, in Southern Europe welfare regimes, while the de-commodification level is low, the de-familialism level also seems low.

In conclusion, in the light of this literature, it can be said that Turkey, with references to the essential characteristics of the state regimes, late industrialization, low social assistance, and cultural attributions, is close to the Southern European countries. Nevertheless, in the next section, distinct characteristics, which is distracted from South Europe, of the Turkish welfare regime, will be discussed.

2.3 The welfare states in Latin America

East Asia, East-Central Europe or Latin America welfare models have been discussed in their similarities with and differences from the Western regime types. Latin American countries are examined into two clusters by Esping-Andersen: the first one involving Argentina, Chile, and East-Central Europe; "follows a broadly liberal strategy based on privatization of social insurance, a reduced public social safety net, a shift towards targeted means-tested assistance, and a free-market bias in labor market regulation" (1996:18). The second group of countries consists of Brazil and Costa Rica, "has so far shunned neo-liberalism and has taken some steps towards strengthening public social safety nets, in both cases adopting a fairly universalistic approach in terms of population coverage" (Esping-Andersen, 1996:18).

Scholars assume that there is a strong association between the period of industrialization and levels of welfare effort (Pierson, 2004; Pribble, 2011). Early

industrialized countries -Western Europe- are the World's "big" welfare spenders. Pierson suggests that countries social expenditure increase with their level of industrialization. If states have an industrial background; they would have high social expenditure (like healthcare and social security expenditures). Because, when the level of industrialization level increase, working-class will trigger the political incorporation, and in the end, risk coping coverage increase (Pribble, 2011). Pierson (2004) concentrates on Latin American countries as one of the first areas outside Europe to develop welfare state institutions. Segura-Ubierno (2007) divides into two categories referring to the social spending of the countries between the years of 1973 – 2000. The first group of countries, which have a high welfare effort, are Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, and Brazil. The second group of countries with low welfare effort is Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, El Salvador, Peru, Dominican Republic, and Guatemala. Although public social expenditure rate is not the only determiner in welfare state clustering, it is one of the crucial indicators. Segura-Ubierno (2007) claims that if social expenditures are considered, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Chile had significantly high public spending –which was higher than Japan, Canada, and the U.S.A. during the 1973- 2000 period. For Pribble (2011), Chile has the highest welfare performance among other Latin American countries, then Brazil and Mexico comes after that. Brazil and Mexico share similar industrialization experiences; they “combines advanced risk coping mechanisms with middle-range levels of risk prevention” (Pribble, 2011, 207).

Argentina, Uruguay, Costa Rica, Chile, and Cuba have accepted the only five Latin American countries that developed welfare regimes, despite the lack of universality of coverage (Molyneux, 2012). In addition to these countries, Brazil

constructed a developmental welfare state between 1930 and roughly 1980, which is defined corporatist or conservative (Draibe, 2007). Moreover, it is possible to define Mexico as a welfare state concerning social policies, although they have fragmented, unequal, or incomplete characteristics (Brachet-Marquez, 2007). It is known that industrialization in Latin America did not come with the democratization process, simultaneously. On the contrary, it came with militarist, authoritarian context. Therefore, following the trajectories of industrial development as it was in Europe, not enough to understand welfare growth in Latin America (Brachet-Marquez, 2007). For that reason, conceptualizing Latin American countries only depending on their industrialization level is not sufficient. Unlike Pierson analysis, studies which focus on the timing of the social policies implemented is also a way to conceptualize welfare regimes in Latin America. Following timing periods, for Brachet-Marquez Mexico defined as the welfare state, too. Welfare state starts in Mexico since the 1910 Revolution, and Brachet-Marquez divides into four periods the welfare state in Mexico. The first period begins with the revolution in 1910, and the last period consists of 1982 to 2003 retrenched in the welfare state.

Franzoni (2008) tries to explain Latin American states in terms of their commodification, de-commodification, and de-familializing levels, focusing on the effect of family relations in determining public policy. Her findings confirm previous policy-based typologies. She restates that when individuals unable to reach labour market, or they cannot deal with all the risk on their own, they rely on family relations. In Latin American countries, welfare states are mostly relying on family relations, as seen in Turkey. Moreover, based on the development of welfare state institutions, Turkey, Latin American, and Southern European countries demonstrate

similar features (Buğra, 2008; Pierson 2004). It can be argued that all late industrializing countries follow identical paths in terms of the historical development of the welfare state institutions. Mesa-Lago (1989) offers a welfare state clustering based on the timing when they implemented the systems of social protection. Based on this clustering, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Cuba are in the first group, as they developed their systems in the 1920s; Mexico, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, and Panama are the second group which implemented these policies in the late 1930s and 1940s, lastly other ones developed between 1950s and 1960s. Especially Argentina and Uruguay –early developers- were leading countries in implementing social policies.

Social policy in early-developed Latin America countries has been developed since 1920, following years' other ones applied specific social protection systems. The developmental welfare state has reached the highest level during the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America (Riesco & Draibe, 2007). However, during the 1980s, with the economic crises, all Latin American countries have been forced to change their welfare system. After financial crises in the 1980s, reduction in social expenditures, deterioration of public services and, acute fiscal imbalances were monitored in Latin American countries (Huber, 1995). Barrientos claimed that welfare regimes in Latin America changed from “conservative-informal” to “liberal-informal” in the last two decades (Barrientos as cited in Franzoni, 2008). For instance, Chile, which was the leading country in Latin America in implementing the social policies, the first welfare state of the region turned to neoliberal route, after the 1973 Coup. The main problem with the neoliberal social policies; they were beneficial for the upper-income class, but not enough for the lower-income segments of the population.

2.4 Turkish welfare regime

In this section, the main characteristics of the Turkish welfare regime will be introduced historically. Turkish welfare regime will be reviewed to understand the transformations in it. The first period is between 1923-1946; in other words, the Single Party Regime. The main feature of this period in social policy can be described with the private benevolence throughout institutions. After World War II can be characterized as a new period for the welfare provisioning in Turkish history. Firstly, in these years, welfare states started to emerge in Europe, and Turkey also influenced by international discussions and practices. Secondly, the transition to the multiparty system was another critical step for welfare provisioning. Social security system (*İşçi Sigortaları Kurumu*, which later became *Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu*) was institutionalized in this era (Buğra, 2008). It means that Turkish welfare system followed conservative-corporatist characteristics.

Looking at the main features of the Turkish society until the 1980s, it is observed that almost half of the economic activity was based on agriculture, interestingly there was not taxation in agriculture until 1980s, and this may be understood as supporting strategy of the state. Although there was an industrialization move, this was not strong and related to the industry, urbanization started. Moreover, the social security system was based on occupation status, and there is not a poverty alleviation policy. On the other hand, there is not housing policy throughout Turkish history. However, *gecekondu*, the Turkish version of irregular housing, become a permanent character of urban integration. In the 1980s, industrial model was transmitted to import substitution industrialization model.

After the 1980s also there was a development in the service sector, the liberalization of agriculture and the conflict in Southern East of Turkey was the other factors that determined the trajectory of the Turkish social policy.

After the 1980s, the Turkish welfare regime has been affected by two main developments. The first one is Turkey's becoming a candidate country and potential member of the European Union, and the second one is the transformation under the constraints of globalization and neoliberalism. In the context of contemporary developments in social policy processes, the welfare regime of Turkey should be reconsidered (Buğra and Keyder, 2006). Under the constraints of globalization and neoliberalism, especially in the last two decades, Turkish social policy has been transformed. Since the 2000s with the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government, there has been an active neoliberal transformation process. In this process, Turkish welfare regime has been affected by the IMF- guided structural adjustment programs, preparations for integration with the European Union (EU), the emergence of new actors in the welfare field (such as the World Bank), and the neoliberal politics of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government (Yazıcı, 2012).

The industrialization has been considered as the fundamental dimension in the emergence and development of state welfare regimes. Late industrialization was one of the features which Turkey and Southern Europe countries are accounted for similar. However, there are also certain features that differentiate Turkey from Southern cluster. Firstly, according to agricultural employment Turkish case does not follow up Southern Europe. From 1988 to 2007, agriculture remains a significant factor in Turkey when compared to Spain, Greece, Italy, and Portugal (Buğra, 2012).

While in these countries, the service sector and industrial employment had more importance than agriculture, in Turkey agriculture remained high in comparison to other sectors. Moreover, when women employment starts to increase in most of the latecomer-industrialized areas, Turkey again specialized in this subject, because women employment remains very low compared to Southern European welfare states. If historically analyzed, the time, when Turkey started to demonstrate distinct/different characteristics from Southern Europe, follows the 2000s which “transformation in welfare regime” begins in Turkey under neoliberal constraints. In Latin America and Turkey, “the change was triggered by the developments towards economic liberalization and deregulation as well as the changes taking place in the political environment” (Buğra, 2012:17). Dorlach (2015) finds similarities between “social neoliberalism” experience of Turkey after the 2000s and Latin American countries such as Brazil, South Africa, Mexico, and Chile. The literature on Latin America countries has been mostly focused on social development. Dorlach compare Latin America countries and Turkey in terms of their social neoliberalism experiences. He claims that especially the experience of Mexico and Colombia have been similar to Turkey’s experience in social neoliberalism:

Like Turkey, these countries combined orthodox neoliberal economic policies with increasing level of social policy activism that did not conform to the “minimal state” of orthodox neoliberalism. However, the expansion of public health and public education in these countries has been less pronounced than in Turkey. Still, the economic and social policy mixes of countries like Mexico and Colombia can now be usefully theorized as being in between social neoliberalism and orthodox neoliberalism. (2015:530)

Moreover, the Turkish social neoliberalism experience has probably been most similar to the experiences of South Africa and Brazil. Dorlach (2015) explains

why it is considered similar to Brazil: “Since 2002 Brazil introduced capital controls and increased social spending, but its social reforms focused on health, education and conditional cash transfers, neglecting an equal expansion of the protective welfare states” (:531). Therefore, it can be argued that, in light of the current developments, and with the changing characteristics of welfare states, Latin America and Turkey may have more shared points in their welfare regime characteristics now. In the last chapter, within the OECD indicators on social protection and child well-being will be examined in Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Turkey. Therefore, it is possible to compare the social protection outcomes of these countries. It gives us a chance to analyze policy and the outcomes together.

2.5 Conclusion: Discussion on welfare state clusters and the situation of Turkey

Turkish welfare regime has been considered as close to the Southern European welfare states, as mentioned above (Gough, 1996; Saraceno, 2002; Buğra, 2006; Grütjen, 2008; Gal, 2010). Developed welfare regimes have known with these characteristics; early industrialization, universalistic health and social protection systems, de-familialistic policies, and de-commodified social rights largely. Late industrialized ones have been tended to follow early-industrialized countries. However, it cannot be said that all late industrialized countries can be juxtaposed in one cluster. For example, when Germany, which was considered a late industrialized country in the nineteenth-century context, has been the pioneer on conservative-corporatist welfare regime, welfare regimes in later industrializing countries have been shaped in a different context under clientelism, familialism or political environment.

Turkish welfare regime indicates similar features of the Southern European countries, such as low social assistance, clientelism, and policies based on familialism. However, in two primary topics, it differentiates from Southern Europe. Turkey does not follow its cluster in the feminization of employment and dominance of the agricultural sector. Especially after the 2000s, Latin America and Turkey have been transformed in their welfare systems under the constraints of neoliberalism. It is arguable that the experience of Turkey and Latin America countries such as Brazil, Mexico, or Chile in what ways are similar to each other. In this thesis, the aim is to show that in terms of child well-being, which is one of the social protection dimension, Mexico, Chile, and Turkey have been shared similar values.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILY POLICIES AND CHILD WELL-BEING

“Modern childhood was a creation by the nation-state, against the threatening encroachments of the market (for child labor) and against the sovereignty of patria potestas,³ of paternal power and the seclusion of the family” (Therborn, 1996: 278). There are two main approaches in children studies, one focuses on children’s rights, and the other one focuses on investing in children as a national economic value. The sustainability of the welfare state and its demography; the structuring of the labor market and economic productivity; gender equality and the division of labor within and outside of the home; the well-being of children - these are just some of the issues that are directly linked to social policies related to children, gender and families (Ajzenstadt and Gal, 2010: ix). Measuring and demonstrating child well-being in the different welfare states is meaningful only if the relationship between social policies and the underlying values are analyzed. The policies affecting child well-being are mainly situated in family policies. Therefore, in this part of the study, family policies will be explained, and then the relationship between child well-being and family policies will be introduced.

3.1 Family policies as a distinct character of welfare clusters

Scholars have differentiated industrialized welfare states into a number of family policy regimes based upon their different types of their practices for supporting

³ the power of the head of a Roman family over his wife, children, agnatic descendants, slaves, and freedmen including originally the right to punish by death and always embracing complete control over the limited personal and private rights and duties of all members of the family.

families (Anttonen & Sipila 1996; Bettio & Plantenga, 2004; Daly & Lewis 2000; Korpi, 2000; Pfau-Effinger, 2005; Leitner, 2003). Nordic countries have been known for giving the highest level of family support. Their childcare facilities for working women and parental leave opportunities have been a model for the other welfare states for years. Continental European countries – which are defined as conservative corporatist- despite offering generous family support mechanisms, mostly promote women as caregivers and is based on the male breadwinner model. Lastly, for the Southern European countries, low family support mechanisms are common so families should cope with all the responsibilities of care, and they may find a solution such as relying on their extended families.

Esping- Andersen (1999) defined de-familialism⁴ as one of the dimensions in the categorization of welfare state clusters. Familialistic welfare regime assigns a maximum of welfare obligation to the household. As emerged in Esping-Andersen's earlier comparisons, most Continental European welfare states score quite high on values of de-commodification, and yet they are also very familialistic. On the other hand, in Southern Europe welfare regimes, while the de-commodification level is low, the de-familialism level seems low too.

Leitner (2003) categorizes types of familialism into four clusters and classifies European Union welfare states based on their family policies. She discusses Esping-Andersen's de-familialism definition and contributes two remarkable points. Firstly, "market-driven care provision makes de-familialization a class-based issue since either only the better-off can afford to be de-familialized or

⁴ A de-familializing regime is one which seeks to unburden the household and diminish individual's welfare dependence on kinship (1999:51)

the quality of de-familialization varies considerably by income.” Secondly, “even in Scandinavian welfare regimes, the family is the most important agent of care provision” (Leitner, 2003:357). The four ideal types of familialism, according to Leitner, are:

1. Optional Familialism: in this type, services, as well as supportive care policies, are provided. Thus, the caring family is enhanced, but it is also given the option to be acquitted of caring responsibilities.
2. Explicit Familialism: not only strengthens the family in caring for children, the handicapped, and the elderly through familialistic policies, it also lacks the provision of any choice to family care.
3. De-familialism: in this type, despite (partly) having the option of caring responsibilities for the family members, the family’s right to care is not honored. State or market provisions of care services enhance strong de-familialistic characteristics.
4. Implicit Familialism: This type relies implicitly upon the family when it comes to caring issues. It does not offer de-familialization, and it does not actively support the caring function of the family through any kind of familialistic policy. Therefore, the family will be the primary caretaker in these welfare regimes since there are no alternatives at hand.

According to Leitner’ classification, familialism in Turkey can be considered as implicit familialism. Familialist welfare regime of Turkey had been built on a family care provider model (Akkan, 2018); the family is still seen as the primary care provider, and the state institutions promote the responsibilities of the family in care. The development of this familialistic model in Turkey was different from the

trajectory followed by the European member states where policies directed at work-family reconciliation have created opportunities for women. It can be said that in Turkey, gender and class-based inequalities have continued and increased with the implementation of care at home policies. As Candas and Silier argued:

Neoliberal care-at-home oriented care policies are arising in an entirely different demographic, institutional, social, and cultural setting, because issues that are driving the concern with care, such as population aging, the empowerment of women, stagnant fertility rates, and the eclipse of the male-breadwinner model, are largely absent in Turkey. (2014: 104)

With the reduced number of public childcare centres and the promotion of the care at home projects by the Ministry of the Family and Social Policies; care responsibilities on families - especially for women who provide a significant source of unpaid labor from generation to generation- have been increased. For Leitner, Spain, Greece, and Portugal are also categorized into the “implicit familialism” cluster. However, there are significant differences between these countries and Turkey. While the familialistic character of Turkey’s welfare regime continued with new types of familialistic policies in Turkey, familialism declined in the area of childcare and elderly care in Spain (Valiente, C. 2010), or in Greece, where female employment and the reconciliation of work and family were supported with certain policies (Kallinikaki, T., 2010).

Korpi (2000) argues that the Esping-Andersen welfare state clusters are associated with the link between policies and outcomes. Esping-Andersen’s analysis is based on the relationship between market, state, and family. However, Korpi categorized welfare state types - in terms of the link between the policy and outcomes - into three regimes that are dual-earner support regimes, general family support regimes, and market-oriented regimes (or low family support regimes).

Southern European welfare typology is categorized into low family support regime. Liberal regime types can also be clustered in this type because in liberal systems (such as United States, United Kingdom, Australia) family support mechanism is not on the agenda of the state policy, families have to buy services from the market. Dual-earner regimes, which are mostly seen in the Nordic countries, represent the best policy arrangement for promoting children's health and development (Engster and Stensöta, 2011).

3.2 Family policies and child well-being

Welfare state provision was mainly for protecting (male) workers against the risks associated with industrial work, old age, sickness, occupational accidents, and unemployment. Women and children were protected upon the man's (male breadwinner) position in a society that was indirect provision. Social spending on children and women was marginal until recently when the provision for women and children became prominent during the last 10-15 years. In many countries, there are current initiatives to improve the conditions for families with children – the majority of which aim at improving the reconciliation of family and work, introducing family-friendly working hours, and the expansion of spots in childcare centers (Olk, Thomas, 2010: 3). There are two featured approaches about children in welfare state literature; one is concentrating on children's rights, while the second one focuses on investing in children – which promotes the economic value of the children. Welfare state scholars have focused on investing in children (Esping-Andersen, 2012). Developed, and some developing countries focused on education and early childhood education with the rising studies that prove the correlation between countries

economic development and education. For example, OECD (2001, 2006) propagated the development of early childhood education and care as an essential contribution to a successful transition into a knowledge society (as cited in Olk, Thomas, 2010). Engster and Stensöta (2011) investigate how the different family policy regimes in twenty OECD countries relate to children's well-being in the areas of child poverty, child mortality, and educational attainment and achievement. They specifically focus on three family policies: family cash and tax benefits paid parenting leaves, and public childcare support. Their analysis shows the correlation between specific family policies and child well-being. The main consequences of their study are summarized below:

There is a significant relationship between dual-earner family policies and lower child poverty and child mortality rates, overall family policy support further contributes to lower child policy rates, generous paid parenting leaves significantly correlate with lower mortality rates among children under five years old, generous public support for childcare and early education also significantly correlates with lower child mortality rates, overall spending on family policies and the percentage of students who remain in education from ages fifteen to nineteen. (Engster and Stensöta, 2011: 113-114)

Moreover, “changes in income inequality female employment rates and family structure have brought about more inequality among children” (Flaquer, 2014). Family policies influence child well-being, both directly and indirectly. Flaquer (2014) also points at the relationship between high child poverty and the low early childhood education facilities as well as the absence of parental leave.

3.3 Main characteristics of family policies in Turkey and Latin America (Mexico, Chile, and Brazil)

In this part of the study, the family policies in Turkey and Latin America will be investigated to reveal their similarities. While making the comparison, family policy classification, which is conceptualized by Gonzalez (2015) for Latin America, will be followed. For Turkey, the main characteristics will be presented based on the studies by certain scholars (Yılmaz, 2015; Yazıcı, 2012).

The family has become the target of public policies immediately after the Justice and Development Party came to power (Yılmaz, 2015). The family has carried a traditional role as a social welfare provider, and it has been used as a way to decrease public responsibility in social welfare (Kılıç, 2010). However, the rise of “strengthening the family” discourse under the Justice and Development Party could not be said to be informed by the objective of public spending costs. Public spending has increased considerably through the neoliberal policies implemented since the early 2000s without, nevertheless, leading to family support problems that have brought along more gender equality as an outcome.

In Latin America, “The family component of social policies has only been present in the form of dispersed and uncoordinated measures, including health and education programs, prevention and eradication of domestic violence, or compensatory social programs” (Gonzalez, 2015: 135). Gonzalez (2015) discusses the relationship between social policy and family in Latin America from the late 1980s to the present. She differentiates these three trends into years, the first one is between the 1980s and 1990s, the second one from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, and the third one emerged during the last decade and continues to the present.

In the first period – the time when Latin America was characterized by the strengthening of the neoliberal model of state administration- two main features became prominent; first, the provision of means-tested benefits, and the second, the requirement of work as a condition to remain in the program (Gonzalez, 2015). Therefore, it can be said that these policies cause stigmatizing and discrimination. The second period (mid- 1990s to the mid-2000s) comes in the context of the labor market crisis and lack of public services. The second-period family policies include some programs targeted families, but these reconstituted the females as care providers and far from providing gender equality. In the third period, there is a rising trend in the coverage of social protection. Conditional cash transfers have become the prominent figure of this period. In terms of children’s coverage, there are few policies in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. The positive outcomes of these policies and the improvements in the children’s situation can be observed from the comparative studies. For example, education coverage of preschool children rises at a certain degree. Moreover, maternity leave and new programs for early childhood have been launched. However, despite the increase in preschool enrolment rates in the last years, according to Gonzales, familialism remains a significant feature of Latin American welfare systems.

One of the junction points of the family and child well-being appears in the “Conditional Cash Transfer Programs.” Many governments in developing countries have turned to conditional cash transfer programs (CCT) to cope with the broader issue of poverty alleviation. This program has been a prominent policy to diminish poverty for both Latin America and Turkey after the economic crisis in both regions. World Bank promoted the “risk management” view when they suggest CCT to the

developing countries. There are two main objectives in CCT programs: 1) immediate poverty reduction through transfers and 2) long-term poverty reduction through investment in human capital (Janvry & Sadoulet, 2006). Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) is a system of social assistance with regular cash for the families who cannot afford to take their children between ages 0-6 years to regular health care, or for the families who have not sent their children – or have to take them from school due to poverty. In conditional cash programs, families receive a cash payment only if they comply with a set of specific requirements. The program is maintained by the Social General Directorate of Assistance of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy in Turkey. It started after the 2001 economic crisis to diminish social risks in society. The program covers the aids for the citizens who are negatively affected from the economic crisis in the country (Ministry of Health, General Directorate of Mother and Child Health and Family Planning, 2004) (Ministry of Health, 2004). Here are two components; conditional health transfers - provided to the mother on condition that she regularly takes the children of 0-6 age group to the health checks - and conditional education transfers – every two months provided that children continue in a school regularly. In Latin America CCT has been placed, for example *Oportunidades* (previously *Progres*a) in Mexico, *Bolsa Alimentação* in Brazil, *Red de Protección Social* in Nicaragua, *Programa de Asignación Familiar* in Honduras, *Familias en Acción* in Columbia, *Subsidio Unico Familiar* in Chile, and *Program of Advancement through Health and Education* in Jamaica (Janvry & Sadoulet, 2006). In many Latin American countries as well as in Turkey, similar poverty targeting mechanisms have been used as indicators to determine the poor (Ortakaya, 2010).

Both in Latin America and Turkey, there is a rising trend in social protection programs for families and children. Thus far, it can be said that in family and children policies, Latin America and Turkey share similar programs. However, in Latin America systems of social protection has different policies and has the expansion of kindergartens and nurseries. At that point, Turkey and Latin American countries have different outcomes (which will be introduced in the next chapter). Moreover, in terms of child well-being outcomes, there is a significant difference between Turkey and the Southern (Mediterranean) European countries. Turkey has similar characteristics with Southern European countries only in terms of indicators of unemployment rates, and total health expenditure as a percentage of GDP (Guy, 2010). It is possible to say that Turkey shares more common features in social provision programs with Latin America countries, with the welfare restructuring experiences over the last ten years under the globalization and neoliberal policies. The welfare transformation over the previous ten years in social protection programs reveal similar characteristics.

Most welfare states underwent transformations under the constraints of globalization and neoliberalism. These changes in the social policy in Latin America countries are defined by Cecchini, Filgueira, and Robles as follows:

...Over the last ten years, the region has seen a major transformation of its social protection matrix and in its social policies generally... While that era saw a major retreat from, and downscaling of, State social action (reduction or freezing of social spending, privatization, close targeting, financing of demand, etc.), the new century has seen an expansion of State action in social areas (broader coverages; partial or full re-nationalization; increased social spending; combination of vectors of need, supply and demand to determine investment and fiscal effort). (Cecchini, Filgueira, & Robles, 2014: 31)

Social assistance policies have also increased in Turkey, especially after the 2001 economic crisis, as discussed above. Tim Dorlach (2015) examined the social neoliberalism experience of Turkey and Latin American countries – especially for Brazil, Mexico, and Chile. He defines social neoliberalism as “emerging mix of market-oriented economic policies and some substantial state-interventionist and inclusive social policies” (Dorlach, T., 2015: 520). Turkey’s experience with social neoliberalism offers a reference point for theorizing the ‘*social turn*’ that since the 2000s has occurred in many late-developing countries with now maturing welfare states, including Brazil, South Africa, Mexico, and Chile. (Dorlach, T., 2015).

3.4 Public policy for children and families

Expenditures on families and children is a crucial indicator to analyze family policies of welfare regimes. Public expenditures focusing only children is not available for Turkey after 2011, expenditures for children did not release by public institutions. However, family/child expenditures are combined dimension found in social protection expenditures published by the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Services. The share of social protection assistance in the gross domestic product (GDP) was at 12.1% in 2017, and the percentage of expenditures for “family/child” in GDP was at 0.5% in 2017. The most substantial part of family/ child assistance consists of conditional transfers, but the scope of assistance is not clear. Social protection benefits include social support for eight risk/need groups (illness/health care, disabled/disabled, retired/elderly, widows/orphans, family/children, unemployment, housing, and social exclusion). The most significant expenditure on social protection assistance was at 48.2% made to the retired / elderly people. This

was followed by illness/health care expenditures at 27.1% in total public social spending. (TURKSTAT, 2017).

Public expenditure on families, formal childcare, and pre-school rates are two essential policy indicators to understand policy implementations. According to that, child well-being outcomes of Turkey show us the significant discrepancy with the Southern European countries. Total public social expenditure on families combined with three indicators; these are public social expenditure on cash benefits for families, public social expenditure on service and in-kind benefits for families, and public social expenditure on tax breaks for families. Data are expressed as a percent of GDP.

Total public expenditure on families is one of the significant indicators of child welfare. As it is seen from figure 1, Turkey has the lowest spending among OECD countries. While Mexico and Chile follow at 1.0% of GDP, and at 1.4% of GDP respectively; Spain and Italy allocate at 1.5% of GDP to the families. This graph shows Turkey has the lowest level at 0.4% among OECD. Turkey significantly segregates other countries with the level of spending on families. Therefore, referring to this figure, it is not possible to say that Turkey is close to Latin America countries. While Mexico and Turkey have close values, Eastern European countries have low rates, too.

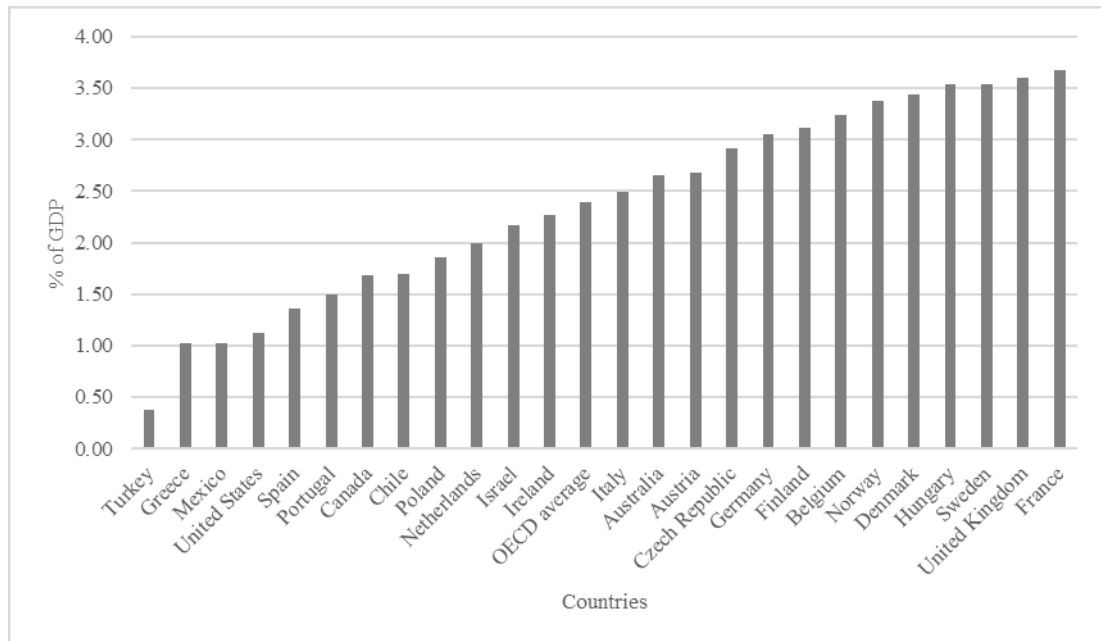


Fig. 1 Total public expenditure on families as a % of GDP, 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

It is known that early childhood interventions and childcare interventions can make a difference in improving outcomes for children (Waldfoegel, 2012). OECD countries recently have attention to early childhood education and care. When researchers disclose that the equitable access for early childhood education and care have a substantial effect on the lifelong learning for all children, and support the educational and social needs of families, countries change the policy direction, and they increase the public spending to the early childhood education and care (OECD, 2017). Next figures indicate the percentage of pre-school and primary school enrolment rates of ages between 0 to 5 children.

Turkey has an exceptional value of informal childcare and pre-school rates. As discussed above, formal childcare is not promoted with specific policies, principally because of the gendered family policies. Figure 2 shows the discrepancy of Turkey (at 0.3%) among OECD countries. It also shows that despite Greece,

Spain, Italy, and Portugal defined as familialistic welfare regimes; these countries prioritize formal childcare more than Turkey.

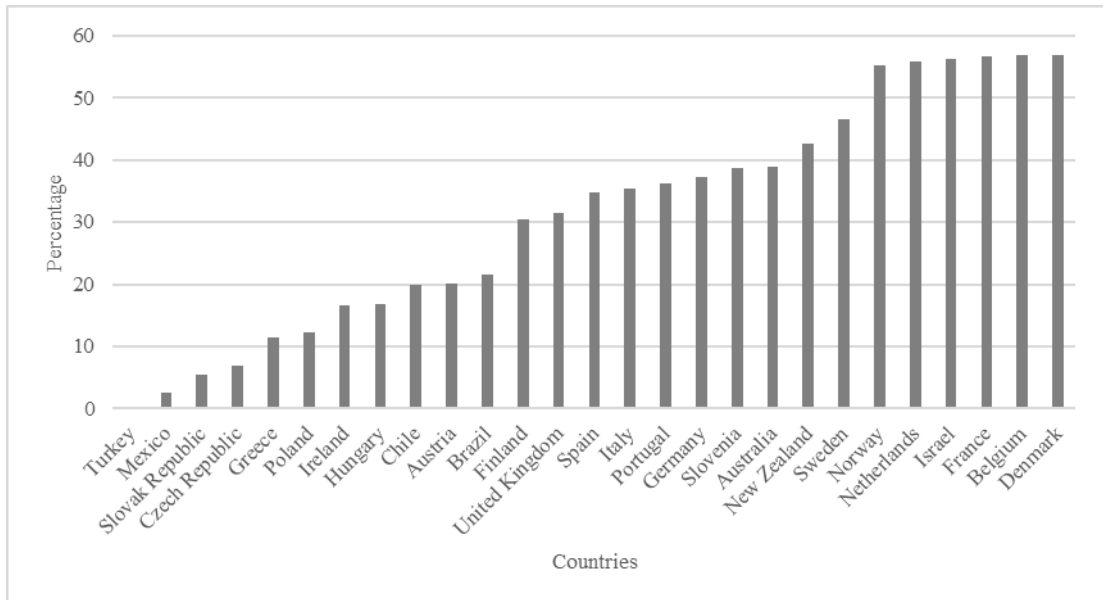


Fig. 2 Proportion (%) of children aged 0-2 enrolled in formal childcare and pre-school, 2016
Source: (OECD, 2019)

Figure 3 shows that Turkey again has the lowest percentage for children 3-5 years old enrolled in pre-primary education or primary school, and Greece comes after Turkey. According to ECEC graphs, Turkey has a marginal value, so it is not possible to categorize Turkey, it has a distinct score in terms of children schooling rate between 0 and 5-year-old.

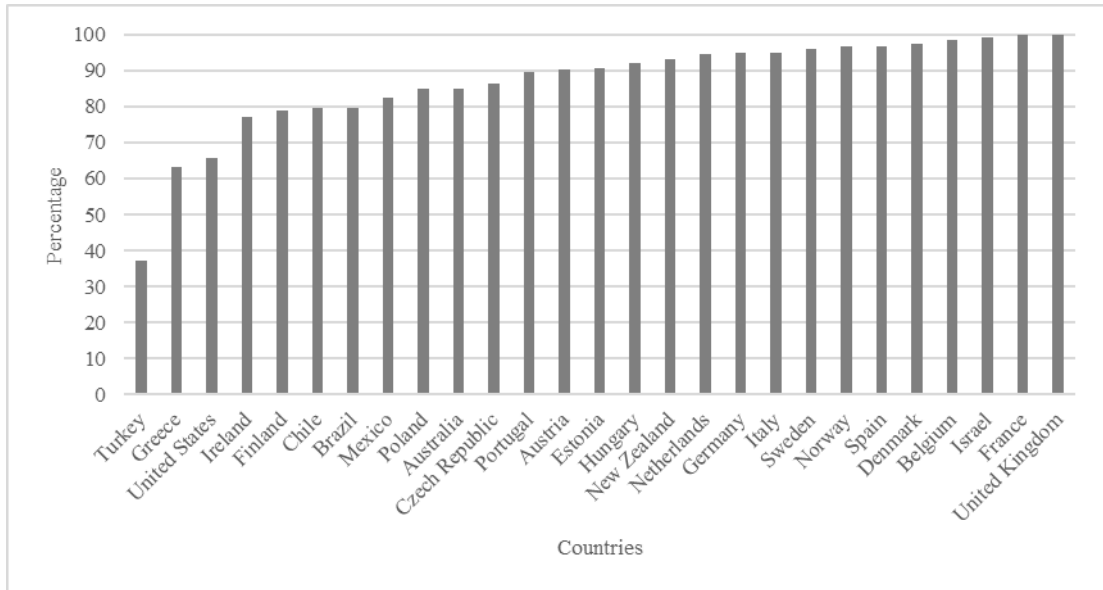


Fig. 3 Proportion (%) of children aged 3-5 enrolled in pre-primary education or primary school, 2016
 Source: (OECD, 2019)

CHAPTER 4

CHILD WELL-BEING INDICATORS COMPARED

4.1 Child well-being: Theory

Well-being means that the state of being comfortable, healthy, or happy in the dictionary. The definition of well-being comes up with the analyses of the quality of life and happiness (Ben-Arieh & Frones, 2011). Quality of life indicators refers to objective and subjective indicators on domains such as health, economic security, education, behavior, and social environment (Frones, 2007). However, child well-being covers more components than standard well-being definition. Because this is related to the family structure, welfare state opportunities, and capacity to utilize from opportunities. The evolution of child well-being approach is complex for two reasons; first, they are dependent on caretakers on the micro-level as well as on politics and economy at the macro-level (Ben-Arieh, Casas, Frones, & Korbin, 2014). In this chapter, child indicators literature will be introduced, and then child well-being indicators conceptualization will be discussed.

Child well-being approach emphasizes the child's quality of life, life satisfaction, and aims to enhance child abilities in the light of fundamental indicators (OECD, 2009). Child well-being approach has risen throughout the social indicators movement in the 1960s. Social indicators were bridging conceptualization and measurement, as well as research and policymaking. Social indicators are an indispensable factor in making of social policies. They “describe social processes, evaluate policy influence, define policy targets, and monitor policy implementations”

(Ben-Arieh et al., 2001, p. 4). Indicators help the “accumulation of knowledge and development of policies” (Frones, 2007, p. 20).

Statistical indicators have been used for many years to monitor and analyze social trends. Social indicators used for policy purposes help to understand the changes and condition of society in years, and they become crucial for the policymakers. According to Ben Arieh (2008), three major normative or theoretical changes have contributed to the child well-being studies:

- 1- the normative concept of children rights
- 2- the new sociology of childhood as a stage in and of itself and
- 3- ecological theories of child development. (Ben-Arieh: 5)

Moreover, he adds three methodological issues which cause to rise of child indicators movement; “the emerging importance of the subjective perspective, the child as the unit of observation; and the expanded use of administrative data and the growing variety of data sources” (Ben-Arieh, 2008, p. 5). United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) introduced the normative framework of the child well-being studies. For Ben-Arieh (2008), these children rights declaration important for the child indicators movement in some ways: first, they put children in the center, second child indicators become important to measure child well-being. Third, the indicators and subdomains are demanded that are not monitored or measured before. Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) brings the normative concept of children’s rights. It has four general principles; non-discrimination, the best interest of the child, the complexity of children lives, respecting the view of a child (Ben-Arieh, 2008). Simultaneously with the children’ right approach; well-being became essential for children as well as well-becoming. Well-becoming assumes that children are the citizen of the future. However, the rights of the children

approach introduce that child' current circumstances are more important for policy development than future concerns. Thanks to well-being approach, they were accepted as the active participant of society rather than passive subjects who are waiting to become adults (Axford, 2008). The improvements in childhood sociology also help the development of child well-being conceptualization.

Later studies on child well-being, which is mostly based on material components, changed with the subjective approach. With the study of the Irish National Children's Office, the participation of children and young people to the process of well-being measuring has been developed. Their aim is to understand how children see themselves, another way to understand their subjective well-being. According to this study, children stress the importance of their family as a determinant factor of their well-being, and this followed by friends, school and pets on the one hand and basic goods on the other hand (Bradshaw, Hoelscher and Richardson, 2007). Subjective well-being become important, as well as objective well-being. Subjective indicators reveal the qualities of life (Ben-Arieh & Frones, 2011). The subjective well-being approach also supports the well-being perspective instead of well-becoming. When children are asked about their well-being, "data by providing adults on children lives as part of attempts at shaping the future" (Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2009) reversed.

Bronfenbrenner's (1998) bioecological model of human development characterizes the environmental effect on people under four circles. These are macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem, microsystem. From microsystem to macrosystem, they define the inner circumstances that affect human beings. The direct interactions, for instance, family, friends, neighbors, school, and childcare,

consist of the microsystem. The last circle of the system, which is macrosystem consist of policies, economic conditions, global developments, and cultural values that affect human beings indirectly. The interacting between different systems and subsystems influence children and family's lives. They may encounter with facilities or barriers in terms of the conditions they live in (Ben-Arieh, 2008). The bioecological model is important for child indicators movement with two reasons; first, it reveals the interactions between direct or indirect – micro to macro systems - influencers into children lives. Second, barriers and facilitators are considered indicators of child well-being (Ben-Arieh, 2008).

Measuring and monitoring child well-being approach has been increased recent years with two primary purposes; accountability-based public policy, and demand of child development professionals, social scientists and the public for a better picture of children's well-being (Ben-Arieh, 2007). For a better public policy, policymakers have been used social indicators in recent years. Child well-being indicators have been useful to understand factors that create the well-being of children and recognize the interrelationships between different components to conceptualize new family and child policies for the states. Children's lives are especially sensitive to social change (Frones, 2007); therefore, the child indicators collected in certain periods can demonstrate the trends in the conditions of children, changes in family life.

The idea of investment to the child for the future development of the welfare state focus on "well-becoming." This approach sees the child as a citizen of the future. It aims at higher outcomes on children related to the amount of money that was invested. For example, according to research conducted in the United States

investing children as early as possible reduce deficits and strengthen the economy (Heckman & Masterov, 2007). Measuring child indicators are important in the welfare literature because, throughout the data, the state and the needs of a child can be identified. Esping-Andersen underlines the changes (alterations) in welfare states, and he emphasizes the importance of investing children for a better future for states. He explained the needs of child studies in the welfare state literature with three junction points. First, women's paid employment changed the structure of a family and child. Alteration in the traditional family leads to a change in care functions of families. Both women and child issues came into the welfare state literature. Second; social spending on children is highly linked with the child income poverty and child development in the welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 2002; Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). If it is read backwards, material child well-being primarily relies (1) on market inequality, (2) family structure, (3) and welfare redistribution and family policies (McLanahan, 2000 as cited in Flaquer, 2014). Moreover, material well-being is also related to the opportunity structures; it depends on what one can achieve with resources.

Thirdly, alteration in welfare states cause insecurity and vulnerability in traditional or modern families (a single mother), and children become the most vulnerable part of society. Social spending on children and families can be observed in part named public policy for children and families. Social spending on children and families is not the only determinant in children' welfare, but it is one of the important factors in well-being studies. On the other hand, comprehensive public policies for children and families can be more effective than ad hoc and unplanned public spending.

4.2 Child well-being indicators compared

There is no consensus about the definition of child well-being concepts and definitions in the literature. Here prominent studies on that issue will be introduced, later the definitions and frameworks in which this study follows are going to be explained. Child well-being measures the state of a child with objective and subjective approaches. The objective approach measures include certain comprehensive dimensions of child well-being, and subjective approach considers the children's perceptions on their life circumstances. As these two approaches can be applied in the same study, they may be studied alone, too. As mentioned before, measuring and monitoring child well-being have been studied in different dimensions. After mentioning the main concepts conceptualizes by scholars, OECD concept of child well-being will be followed.

There are certain studies that define child well-being components in various ways. For example, Ben-Arieh's (2001) conceptualization of child well-being was one of the first contributions to this literature (was one of the first scholars who conceptualizes child well-being). He defines 50 indicators in five components. These are; safety and physical status, Personal Life, Civic Life, Children's economic resources and contributions, and children's activities. The six concepts have been specified with respect to OECD (2009), and indicators have been classified concerning Ben-Arieh's concept. These are; material well-being, housing and environment, educational well-being, health and safety, risk behaviors, and quality of school life.

Although education is one of the dimensions in measuring child well-being, it is not one of the aspects of welfare states classification. Additionally; educational

achievement is essential for the child's future well-being, and child poverty and educational achievement are interrelated. Nordic countries are known with the success of their education system; they also are known with the high welfare of the citizens. Nordic countries' education model is based on the principles of the comprehensive and local school principal (Antikainen, 2010). The success of the Nordic countries in education can explain with the principle of education for all, and it affects the well-being of students as such.

Child well-being, as a multidimensional and a contextual "understanding of children's physical conditions, access to education and health, participation, social relations and subjectivity, is being used as an analytical tool to give meaning to children's present and future life" (Müderrisoğlu, Semerci, Yakut-Çarkar, Karatay, & Akkan, 2013, p. 20). Measurement and conceptualization of child well-being can be done in various ways, depending on whether the main objective is the monitoring of child outcomes for policy-related purposes or the understanding of the underlying factors that create well-being and the interrelationships between different components of child well-being (Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2006). In this study, child outcomes will be monitored for policy-related purposes, and they will be analyzed and compared in certain OECD countries.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has 36 member countries; they are monitoring regular projections of short and medium-term economic developments. Beyond advanced countries, Mexico, Chile and Turkey are the members of OECD. Therefore, there is a chance for the analysis of the positions of where Latin America countries and Turkey in comparison with more advanced welfare regimes. It is possible to see current data on employment, public

policies, and child well-being. Indicators to compare child well-being is taken from OECD child well-being statistics. In the end, the situation of Turkey will be analyzed among OECD countries. Table 1 introduces the indicators suggested by OECD (2009), and indicated by this study, comparatively. Indicators in this study are chosen according to criteria whether Latin American countries and Turkey having the data at the same time or not, and the latest available data used for all indicators. To see whether Turkey is close to the selected Latin American countries (Chile, Mexico, and Brazil), the average score of these three countries created. “Average (L.A.)” refers to the Latin American countries, and “average (S.E.)” refers to the average score of Portugal, Greece, Spain, and Italy.

4.2.1 Material well-being (child poverty, educational deprivation)

Three indicators are identified in “Doing for Better” (OECD, 2009) report to measure the material well-being of a child. These are “average family income, children in poor homes, educational deprivation.” Some scholars identified material well-being with relative child income poverty, educational deprivation, and children living in the workless family (Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007). In this study; child poverty rate, and educational deprivation will be two primary dimensions. After child poverty rate introduced, “women labor force participation” and “households where all adults are in employment,” indicators will be presented help to discuss the child poverty.

Table 1. Comparative Indicators

OECD Child Well-Being Indicators (2009)	Indicators In This Study
1- Material Well-being	1- Material Well-being
<p>Average disposable income Indicator 1. Average equivalised household disposable income (0-17 year-olds), 2005 Children in poor homes (child poverty) Indicator 1. Percentage of children living in poor households, 2005</p> <p>Educational Deprivation Indicator 1. 15-year-old children reporting less than four educational possessions per 1 000 15-year-olds in the school population, 2006</p>	<p>Child Poverty Indicator 1. Child Poverty Rate, 2016 Indicator 2. Women Labor Force Participation Rate, 2017 Indicator 3. Children (0-14) in households where all adults are in employment (working) (%), 2014</p> <p>Educational deprivation Indicator 1. Adolescents (15 years old) with a desk and a quiet place to study at home, 2015 Indicator 2. Adolescents (15 years old) with a computer for school work and an internet connection at home, 2015 Indicator 3. Adolescents (15 years old) with books for schoolwork at home (%)</p>
2- Housing and Environment	2- Housing and Environment
Overcrowding Poor Environmental Conditions	(not available in Turkey)
3- Educational Well-being	3- Educational Well-being
<p>Educational Achievement Indicator 1. Mean PISA literacy achievement for 15-year-olds by sex, 2006 Indicator 2. Ratio of 90th to 10th percentile score in mean PISA literacy achievement for 15-year-old children by sex, 2006</p> <p>Youth NEET rates Indicator 1. Percentage of the 15-19 population not in education and unemployed by sex, 2006</p>	<p>Educational Achievement Indicator 1. Mean PISA reading achievement, 2015 Indicator 2. Mean PISA score in mathematics, 2015 Indicator 3. Mean PISA score in science, 2015</p> <p>Youth NEET rates Indicator 1. Adolescents (15-19 year-olds) not in education or employment (%), 2017</p>
4- Health and Safety	4- Health and Safety
<p>Indicator 1. Infant mortality rates per 1 000 live births, 2005 Indicator 2. Percentage of low birth weight children (< 2.5 kg), 2003-05 Indicator 3. Breastfeeding rates: having ever breastfed, various years Indicator 4. Vaccination rates for pertussis, children aged 2 (circa 2005) Indicator 5. Vaccination rates for measles, children aged 2 (circa 2005) Indicator 6. Children doing moderate-to-vigorous physical activity daily in the past week by age and sex, 2005/06 Indicator 7. Child mortality rates by age and sex per 100 000 children aged 0-19, most recent data Indicator 8. Youth suicides by sex per 100 000 youth aged 15-19, most recent data</p>	<p>Indicator 1. Infant Mortality Rates (no minimum threshold of gestation period of birth weight), 2016 Indicator 2. Low Birth Weight Rates, 2016 Indicator 3. Vaccination rates (diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis), 2017 Indicator 4. Vaccination rates (measles), 2017</p>
5- Risk Behaviors	5- Risk Behaviors
<p>Indicator 1. Percentage of 15-year-old children who smoke at least once a week, 2005/06 Indicator 2. Percentage of 13- and 15-years-old children who have been drunk at least twice, 2005/06 Indicator 3. Adolescent fertility rate: Births per 1 000 women aged 15-19, 2005</p>	Indicator 1. Adolescent Fertility Rates, 2016.
6- Quality of School Life	6- Quality of School Life
Bullying Liking a School	(Data is available only for European countries)

4.2.1.1 Child poverty

According to the OECD income distribution database, figure 4 describes “relative income poverty rates for 0-17 year-olds calculated on equivalised disposable (net) household income.” (OECD, 2019). As the figure 4 sees it, the child poverty rate is the highest in Turkey at 25.3%, after Brazil. Chile follows Turkey at 21.1%, and then Mexico comes with at 19.7%, Brazil, Turkey, Israel, Spain, and Chile has the highest proportion of child poverty. Social spending on children and families is highly linked with child poverty as we have seen in the child welfare literature. Although, Conditional Cash Transfer programme which was implemented after the 2001 economic crises in Chile, Mexico and Turkey, these three countries among OECD have the highest number in child poverty.

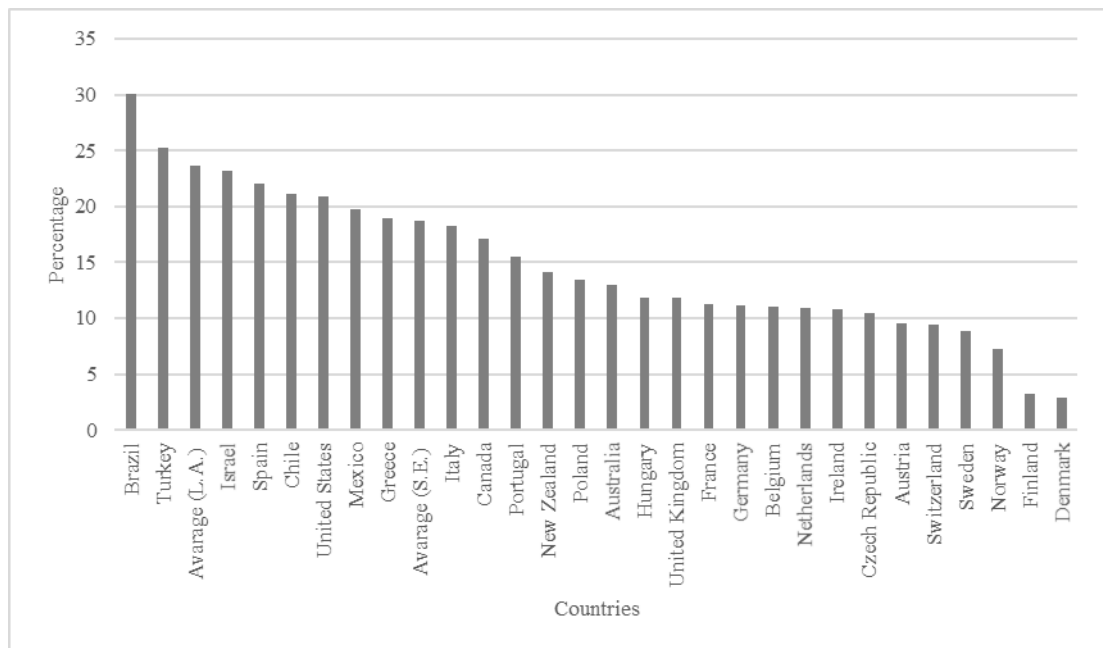


Fig. 4 Child (0-17) income poverty rate, 2016

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: Income includes both market earnings and income from capital, and is presented net of all transfers paid and received by the household. Equivalised using the square root scale. The poverty threshold is set at 50% of the national median

equivalised disposable (net) income. (OECD statistics, 2019). Data retrieved for Turkey, United States, Germany, Czech Republic, Sweden, Finland, from 2016, Brazil from 2013, New Zealand, Australia and Mexico from 2014, and others from 2015.

Child welfare is also related to family support mechanisms in the welfare states. The countries are having a high child poverty rate, also known as market-oriented regimes or having low family support. For example, the United States has liberal regime types that have low family support, in that type of welfare, families must buy most of their needs, and their welfare based on their income level. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the United States has one of the highest child poverty rates in OECD countries. On the other hand, Spain, which is a Southern European country, comes after Turkey. However, except Spain; Turkey, Chile, United States, and Mexico share the common trends in family support policies. In the realm of prevention child poverty, effective work-family policies and reconciliation between employment and family care are indispensable (Flaquer, 2014). If women employment rates are examined in Mexico, Chile, and Turkey, similar indicators with child poverty appear. As it is seen in figure 5 below, respectively; Turkey, Greece, Mexico, Italy, and Chile have the lowest female labor force participation rates. Although female labor force participation is not the direct indicator in child well-being, it is related to child poverty. Because, initiatives for family and children are interrelated, for example, work and family reconciliation, family-friendly working hours, expansion in childcare centers and development in early childhood education can decrease child poverty rates.

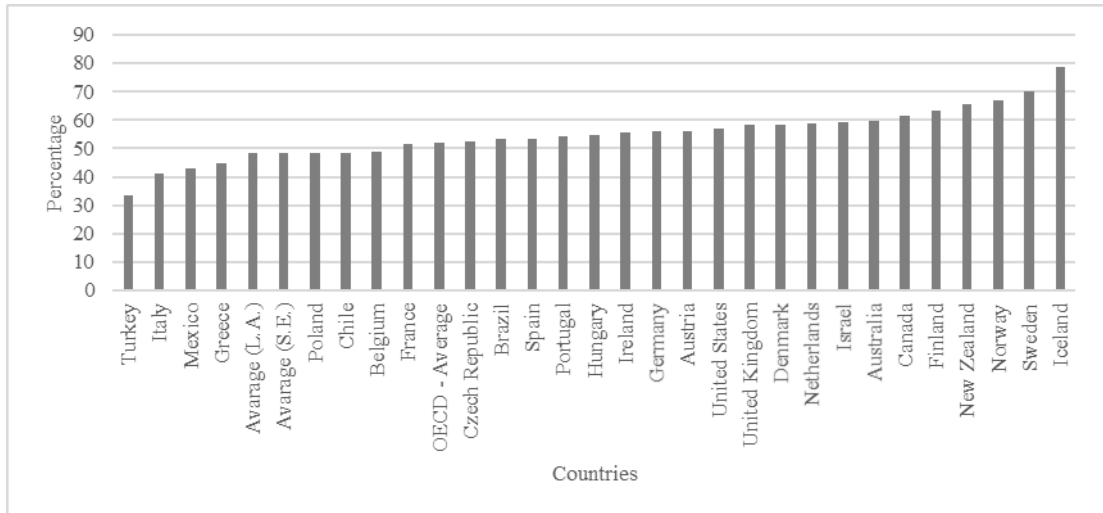


Fig. 5 Women labor force participation rate

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: OECD Average data is from 2016.

Another indicator is concentrating on if all adults with the children (0-14) in households are in employment or not. Figure 6 indicates that Turkey has exceptional value at 20.9%, while Greece has the lowest value at 41.7% within Southern European countries. It can be said that Turkey has an exceptional rate within Southern Europe in that indicator.⁵

⁵ Comparable OECD data is not available for the Latin American countries.

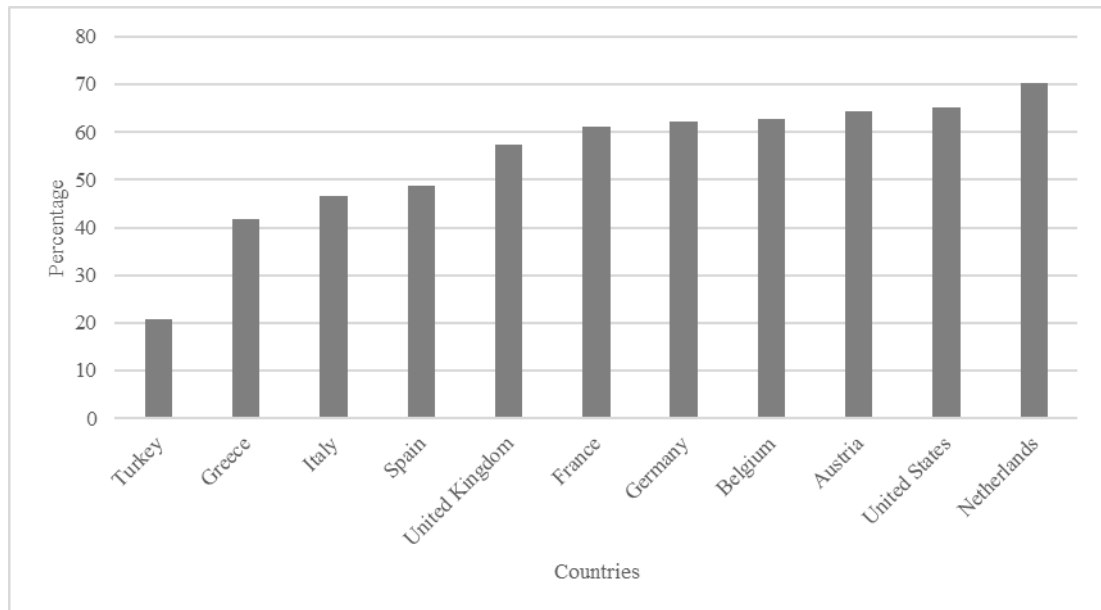


Fig. 6 Children (0-14) in households where all adults are in employment (working) (%), 2014

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: Data for Turkey and Germany is from 2013.

4.2.1.2 Educational Deprivation

Doing for Children (2009) report defined educational deprivation dimension with “15-year-old children reporting less than four educational possessions”. These basic school necessities include a desk to study, a quiet place to work, a computer for schoolwork, educational software, an internet connection, a calculator, a dictionary, and a school textbook. However, in 2015, PISA records, not all these eight items seem valid. Instead of these, “with a desk and a quiet place to study at home,” “with a computer for school work and an internet connection at home,” and “with books for schoolwork at home” dimensions seems relevant with educational deprivation.

Therefore, these three indicators are used to discuss educational deprivation scores among OECD countries.

Firstly; as figure 7 shows in Brazil only at 54.4 % of adolescents having a desk and a quiet place to study at home. Mexico follows at 60.6 %, then Chile follows at 68.8 %.

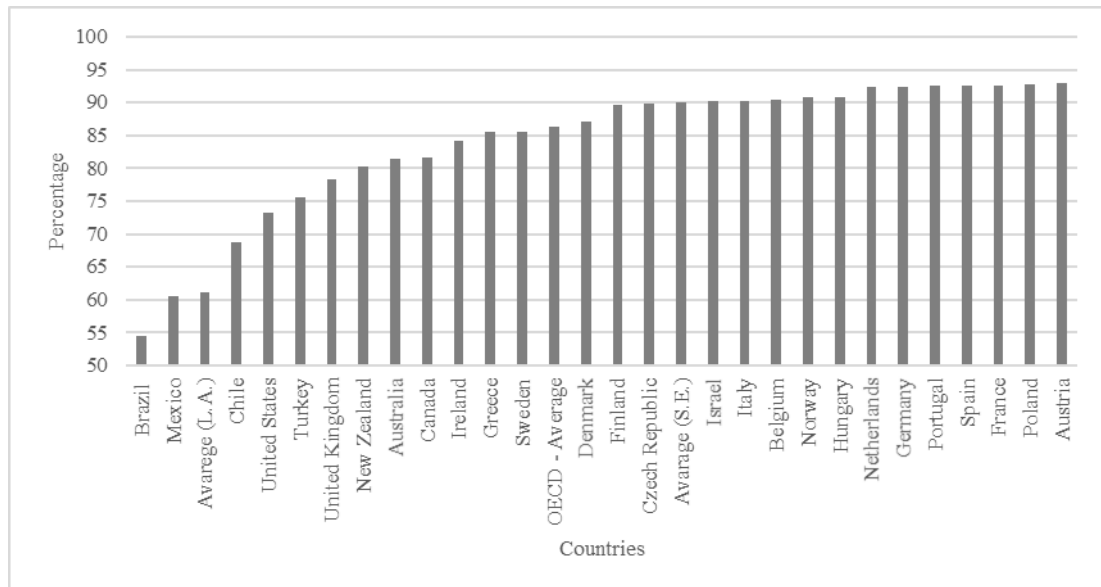


Fig. 7 Adolescents (15 years old) with a desk and a quiet place to study at home (%), 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

Secondly, in figure 8 the percentage of adolescents who are 15 years old with a computer for schoolwork and an internet connection at home in certain OECD countries is shown. According to that Mexico, Turkey, Brazil, and Chile have the lowest percentage.

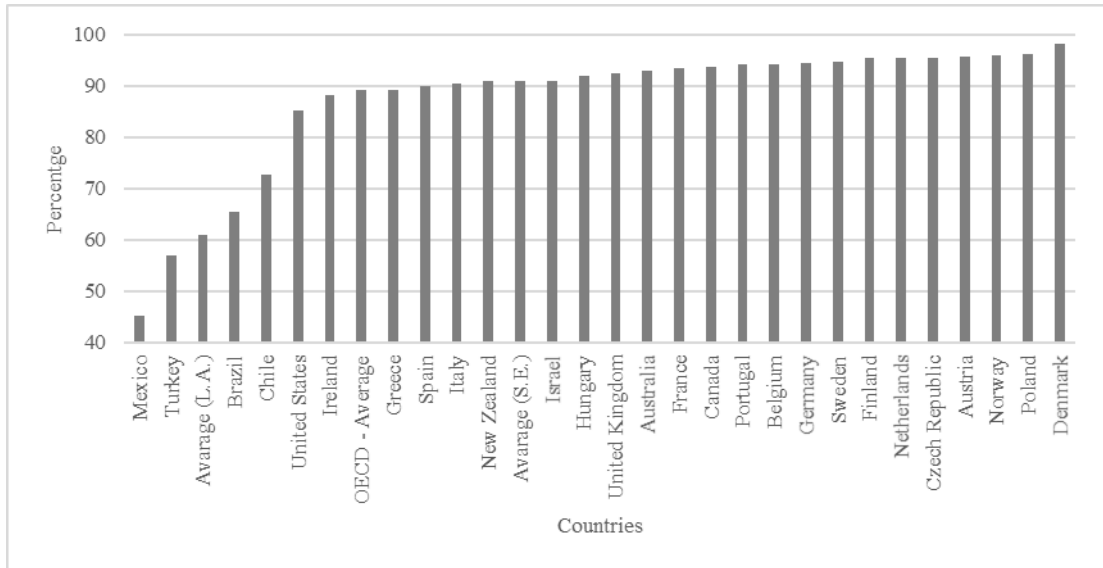


Fig. 8 Adolescents (15 years old) with a computer for schoolwork and an internet connection at home, 2015.

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Thirdly, figure 9 shows the percent of 15-year-old students who report having books to help with their schoolwork in their home. While only at 65.6 % of adolescents in Mexico having books for school work at their home, adolescents in Turkey have a high rate in that at 82.9 %. However, Turkey's figure is not close to the average rate of the Southern European countries, again.

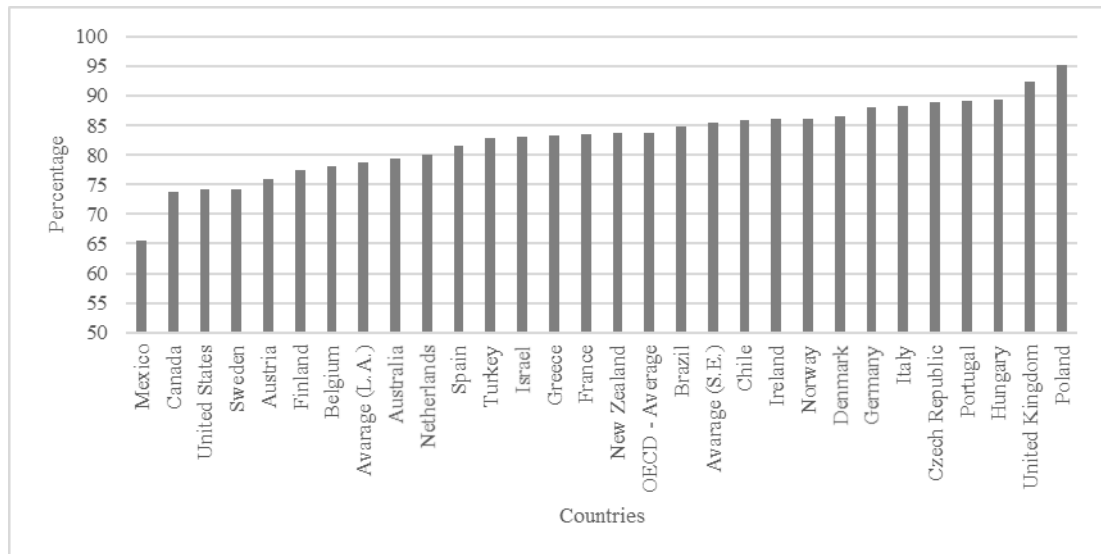


Fig. 9 Adolescents (15 years old) with books for schoolwork at home (%), 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

These indicators show that in educational deprivation, Turkey diverges from the Southern European countries.

4.2.2 Education (PISA results, NEETs)

In this study, two dimensions were chosen to make up educational well-being. First one is an educational achievement as seen in PISA results, and the second one is the youth not in education nor employment or training (NEET). The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 2015 score in reading achievement, science, and mathematics, are discussed in educational achievement, it covers the educational efficiency via the average country performance. The PISA results of the 2015 assessment were published on 6th December 2016. The country selection of PISA includes all OECD countries. Secondly, NEET identifies the proportions of 15-19 years old, not in education nor in employment or training. The education dimension includes indicators complementary to each other.

4.2.2.1 Educational achievement

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an international survey that is implemented once every three years and, aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students (OECD, 2017). PISA scores in reading, mathematics, and science will be examined with regard to Latin American countries and Turkey. PISA is administered to students who are aged between 15 years 3 months and 16 years 2 months at the time of assessment and who are enrolled in school and have completed at least 6 years of formal schooling, regardless of the type of institution in which they are enrolled, and whether they are in full-time or part-time education, whether they attend academic or vocational programmes, and whether they attend public or private schools or foreign schools within the country (OECD statistics, 2019).

Reading part on PISA focuses on students' ability to use written information in real-life situations (OECD, 2017). More than academic success or labor force purpose, it aims to measure students' participation level in their community and economic and personal life. (OECD, 2017) According to Reading scores which is shown in figure 10; Turkey (428,3) has the lowest degree after Mexico (423,3), and Brazil (407,3).

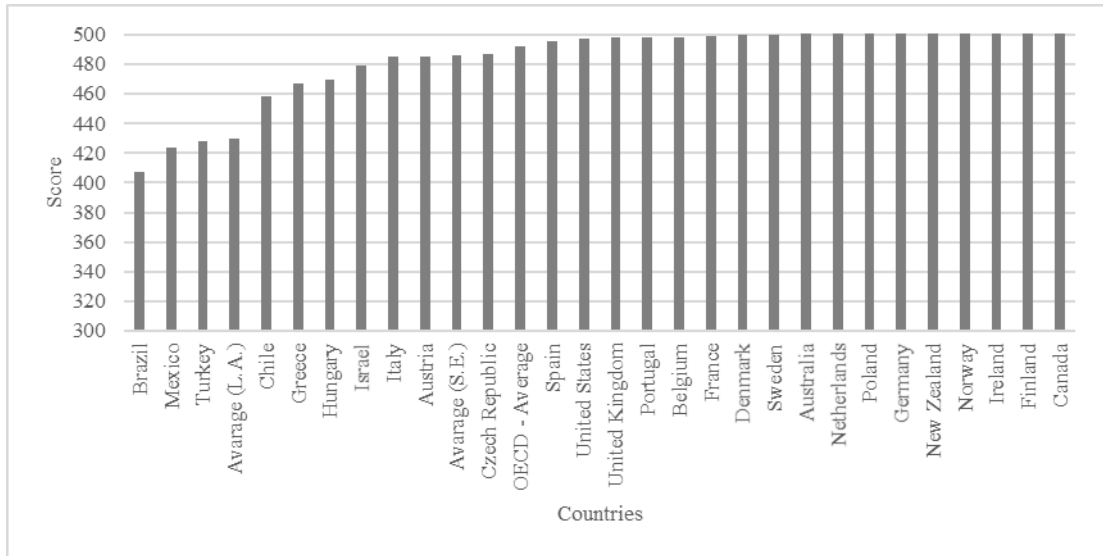


Fig. 10 Reading performance at age 15 (PISA), 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

Mathematical literacy aims at comprising reasoning mathematically and using mathematical concepts, procedures, facts, and tools in describing, explaining, and predicting phenomena. (OECD, 2017). Interestingly, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Turkey are the last three countries in mathematics score among OECD countries.

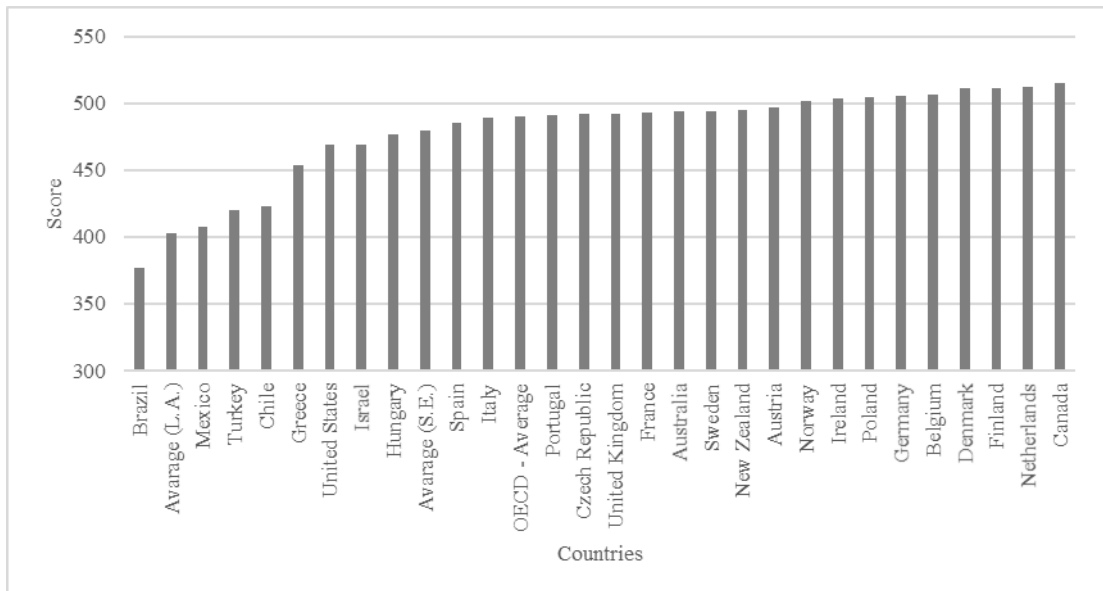


Fig. 11 Mathematics performance at age 15 (PISA), 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

All of the parts in PISA test aims to measure the levels of individuals at science, mathematics, reading, and financial literacy to participate in daily life at an individual, social, and professional level. Scientific literacy at PISA defined with three components; explain phenomena scientifically, evaluate and design scientific inquiry and interpret data and evidence scientifically (OECD, 2017). In figure 12, Brazil, Turkey, Mexico, and Chile again share a similar score on science score. Mexico (415,7) have the least score among OECD countries, Turkey follows Mexico with 425,5, and Chile follows Turkey with 447. The European countries come after Chile.

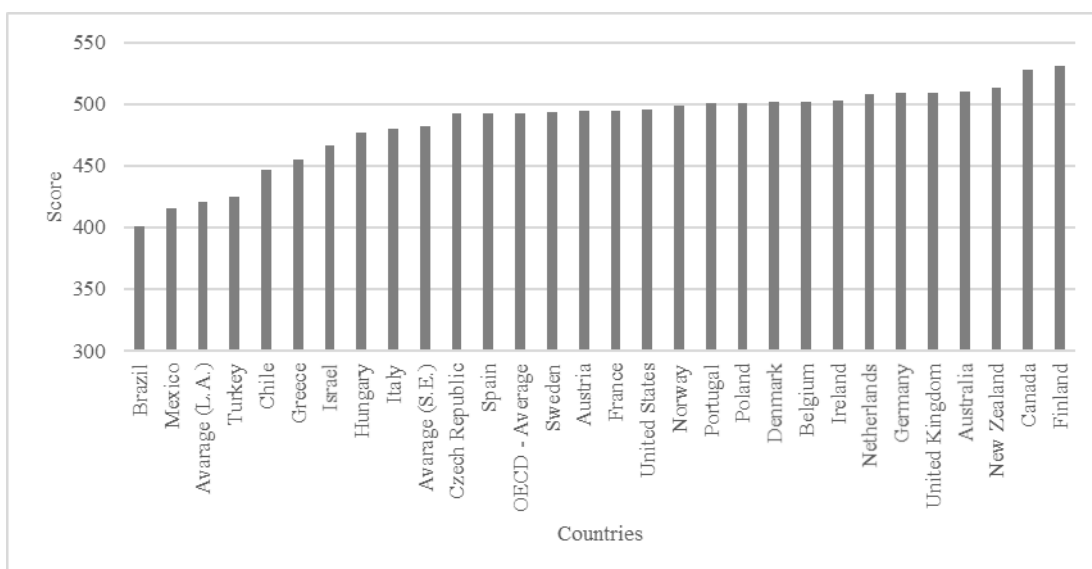


Fig. 12 Science performance at age 15 (PISA), 2015
Source: (OECD, 2019)

In terms of educational achievement among youth, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, and Turkey are having close scores. Mexico, Chile, and Turkey have close outcomes on educational deprivation, too. It is not a coincidence that the same countries have low scores on reading, mathematics, and science achievement among high school

students. As the PISA scores show that the relationship between child well-being and educational achievement have close by countries' relevant scores, such as child poverty and educational deprivation.

4.2.2.2 Youth not in education nor in employment (NEET)

OECD published Education at a Glance report in 2016. In this report, the NEET (young people who are not in education nor in employment) outcomes was very striking for Turkey among all OECD countries. Turkey has the highest NEET rate, which is 32 percent, among the youth of all OECD countries. It means that nearly one-third of Turkish youth aged 15–29 are not in employment, education, or training. The share of young people neither in employment nor in education and training is an indicator that measures the proportion of a given subpopulation who are not employed and not involved in any further education or training. Youth inactivity also another definition that covers the NEET. It constitutes the share of young people not in employment, education or training (NEET), as a percentage of the total number of young people in the corresponding age group. It also covers the young people who are in education part-time or full-time, but it excludes non-formal education and in education for a very short time.

To realize labor market vulnerability among young people the term 'Status Zer0' was used before NEET to refer to a group of people aged 16–18 who were not covered by any of the main categories of labor market statuses (employment, education or training). Then NEET was used on behalf of "status zero" to clarify the heterogeneous nature of the population and to avoid unfavorable connotations of the old term. Employment rate "covers all those who have been in paid work for at least

one hour in the reference week of the survey or were temporarily absent from such work” (OECD, 2018) Youth unemployment rate measures the share of young people who are unemployed among the population of young people who are economically active. “For this reason, while in relative terms the youth unemployment rate is higher than the NEET rate, in absolute terms the overall number of NEETs is generally higher than the overall number of young unemployed people” (Eurofound, 2016, p. 10).

Within the context of the child well-being, the percentage of the 15-19 population will be examined. As figure 13 shows that NEET rates between 15 and 19 in Brazil. Turkey follows Brazil at 21%, and Mexico at 15.3% following Turkey. Southern European countries such as; Spain (12.1%), Greece (10.5%) and Italy (11.2%) have almost half of the Turkish NEET rates. Turkey stands as a divided part in that category. It indicates that children leave school at early ages, and they do not register to work. In the rural part of Turkey, children may leave their school to help their family as working on the farm. For instance, research which was conducted by Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan (2017) reveal the child labor under 18 years old in the Çukurova region among seasonal workers. As a result, it shows a significant difference between Southern Europe NEET and Turkey. (Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan, 2017).

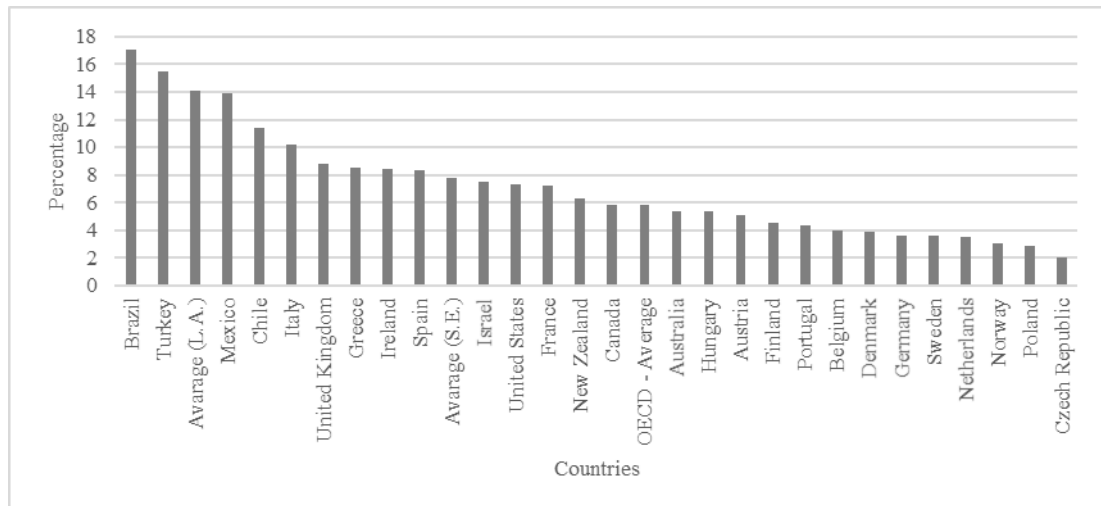


Fig. 13 Adolescents (15-19-year-olds) not in education or employment (%), 2017

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: Data from Brazil and Chile is from 2015.

4.2.3 Health (infant mortality, low birth weight rates, vaccination)

While Turkey shows explicitly high performance at vaccination and low birth rates, it does not make the same in infant mortality rates.

4.2.3.1 Infant mortality

Infant mortality means “the number of deaths of children aged under one year of age that occurred in a given year, expressed per 1000 live births” (OECD, Health Statistics, 2019). Figure 14 shows that Brazil, Mexico, and Turkey have the highest infant mortality rates according to 2016 data.

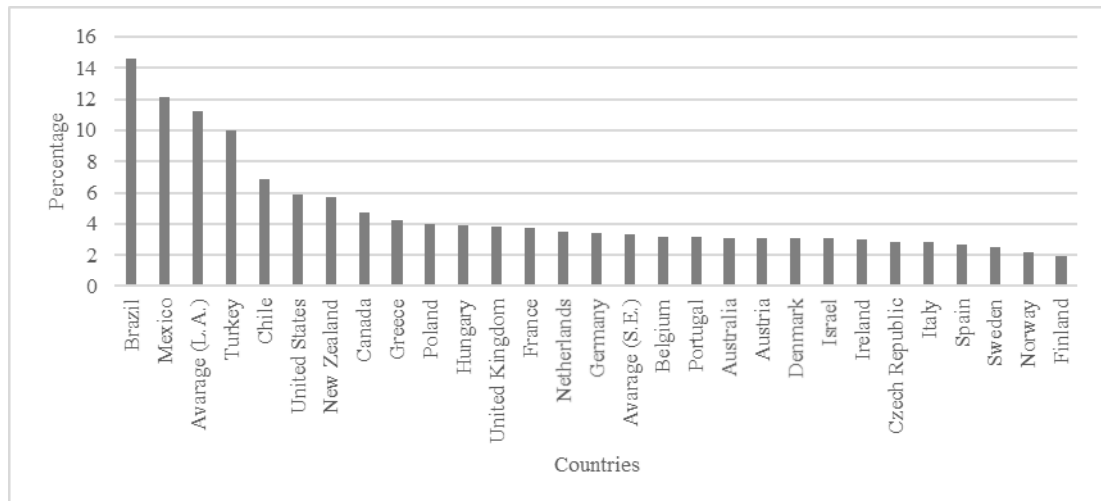


Fig. 14 Infant mortality rates (no minimum threshold of gestation period of birth weight), 2016

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: Data from the United States, Chile, and Brazil, are from 2015, and Canada and New Zealand are from 2014.

Infant mortality rates in Brazil is nearly seven times higher than Finland.

Brazil (14,6 per 1000), Mexico (12 per 1000) and Turkey (10 per 1000) are outliers, and Turkey has more than 2,5 times higher than Greece and more than four times higher than Spain and Italy.

4.2.3.2 Low birth weight rates

This indicator means that “number of live births weighing less than 2500 grams as a percentage of the total number of live births” (OECD, Health Statistics, 2019).

Figure 15 shows that while most Southern European countries show high performance in this indicator, Mexico and Chile have lower value than Turkey and Southern European countries. Turkey is close to Southern European (Greece and Portugal) which had good performance in infant mortality.

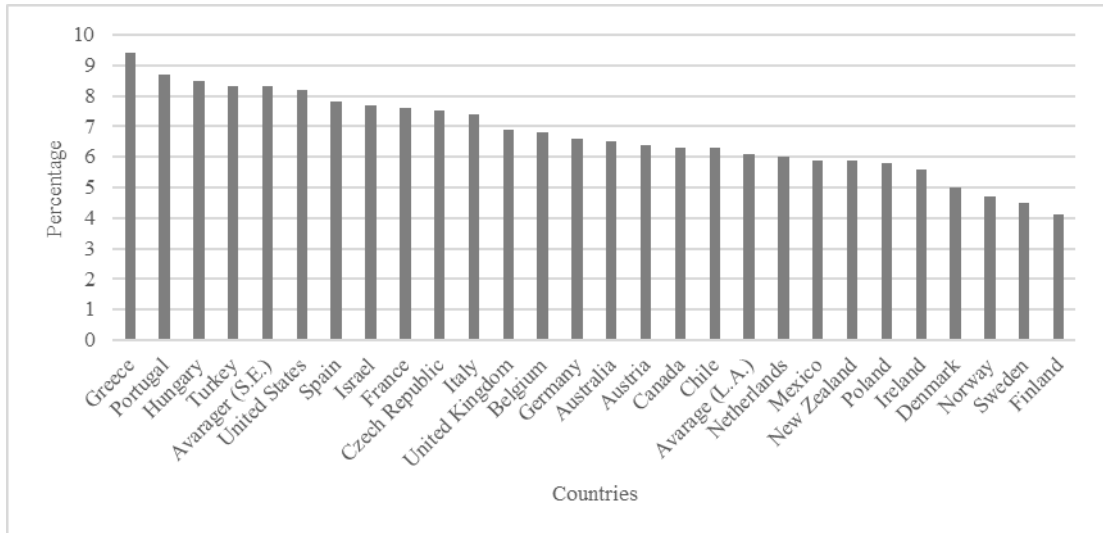


Fig. 15 Low birth weight rates, 2016
 Source: (OECD, 2019)

4.2.3.3 Vaccination rates (diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis)

Turkey is relatively having immunization coverage around the country. The figure 16 shows the “percentage of children under one-year-old who have received three doses of the combined diphtheria-tetanus-pertussis vaccine (DTP) in a given year” (OECD, Health Statistics, 2019).

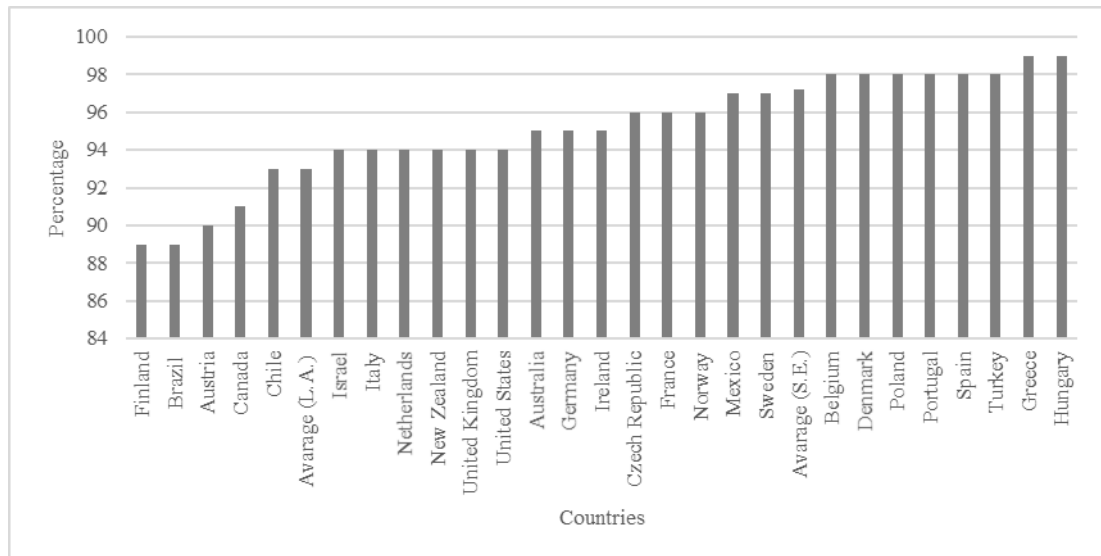


Fig. 16 Children immunized for diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis (%), 2017
 Note: Data for Canada, Israel, United Kingdom, Germany, Czech Republic, Mexico, Poland, and Turkey is from 2016.

4.2.3.4 Vaccination rates (measles)

The figure 17 shows the “percentage of children under one-year-old who have received at least one dose of measles containing vaccine in a given year” (OECD, Health Statistics, 2019). Turkey, despite low performance at infant mortality and low birth weight rates, having a high performance in vaccination for measles.

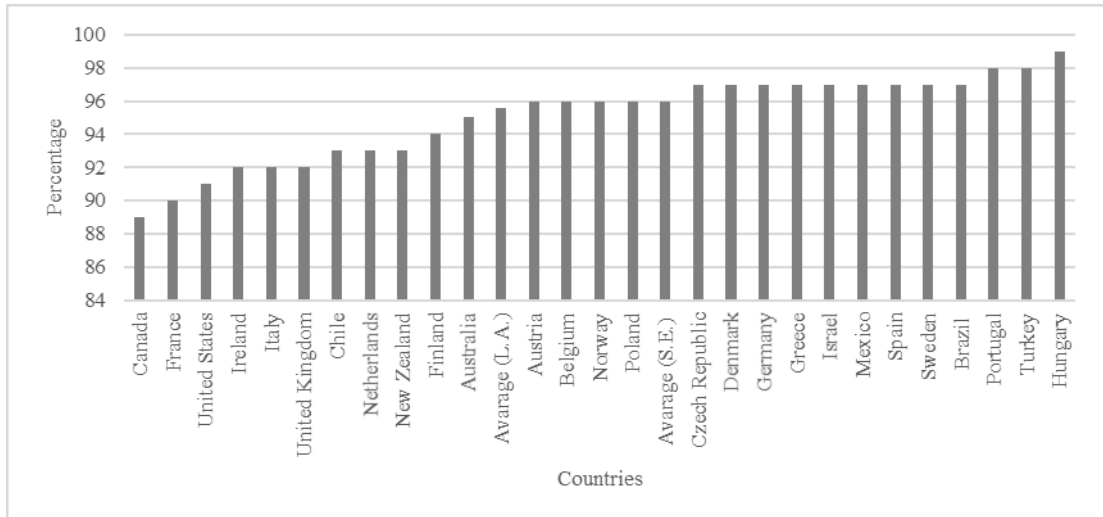


Fig. 17 Children immunized for measles (%), 2017

Note: Data from the United Kingdom, Australia, Poland, Israel, Mexico, and Turkey is from 2016.

4.2.4 Risk behaviors (adolescent fertility rates)

Risk behaviors consist of smoking, drunkenness, and teenage Births (Fertility Rates for 15-19) in the OECD child well-being conceptualization. However, because of the inadequate data on smoking and drunkenness, only teenage births will be discussed.

According to figure 18, Mexico has the highest fertility birth rates, while Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands have the lowest rates. Turkey, Chile, and Mexico again are the three countries with high rates on that. Mexico has rates of teen birth more than 20 times greater than the Netherlands.

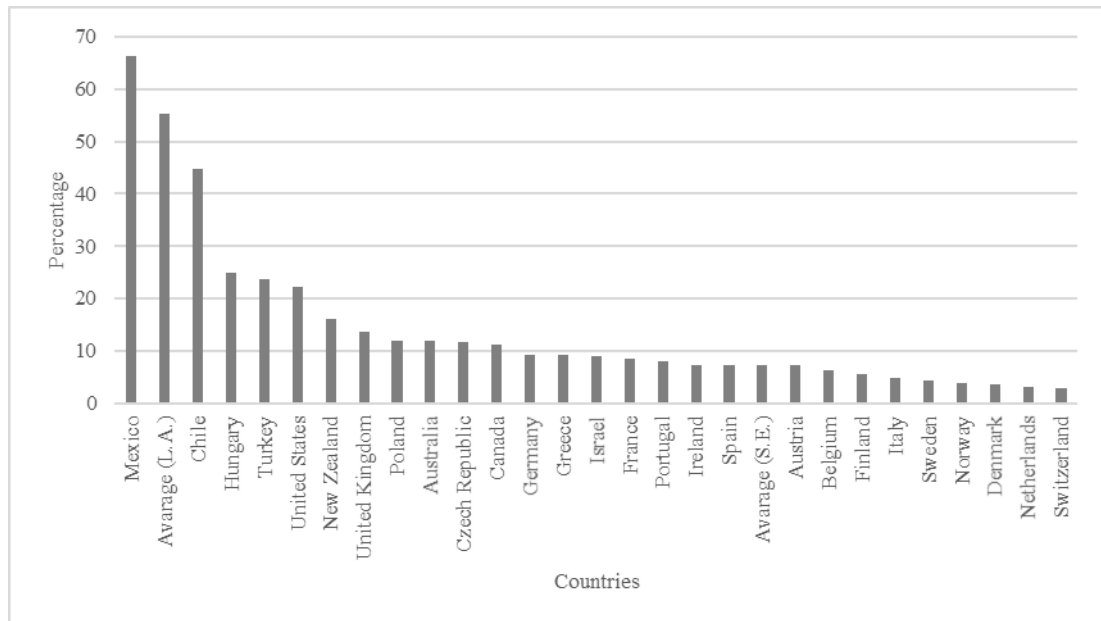


Fig. 18 Adolescent Fertility Rates, 2016

Source: (OECD, 2019)

Note: Data from Chile and Mexico is from 2014, Canada is from 2013, and the United States and Australia are from 2015. Data for Brazil is not available.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis revisits the welfare regime clustering of Turkey based in light of the child well-being data across OECD countries between 2014 and 2017. The previous literature identified the Turkish welfare regime as part of the Southern European (Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy) cluster. Limited policies of social assistance, clientelism, and familialism have been highlighted as common features of Turkish welfare regime shared with South European countries. This thesis argues that the clustering of the Turkish welfare regime would change if child well-being indicators are taken into consideration. The thesis argues that a comparative approach using child well-being data indicates that Turkey's position is quite different from South European countries and resembles to Latin American countries.

After an introductory chapter, a discussion of the literature on the welfare regime typologies was presented. The studies that present Turkey in the South European welfare regime type was discussed along with the analyses that draw attention to the similarities between Turkey and Latin American states in terms of social policy in the context of late industrialization. After the 2001 financial crisis in Turkey, the developments in social policy were situated in neoliberal economic policy orientation. The ensuing transformation of Turkey's welfare regime was discussed with reference to the literature dealing with the social policy developments in the context of neoliberalism in Turkey as in Latin American countries such as Chile and Mexico.

The third chapter of the study attempted to elucidate the relationship between family policies and child well-being. With regard to family policies, the study examined how the path Turkey has followed was different from Southern Europe welfare regimes (especially Spain and Greece). In this investigation, the very low female labor force participation in Turkey, which was affected by the family and children policies such as cash-for-care programs adopting a conservative familialistic approach, was presented as an important factor explaining the trajectory of Turkey's welfare regime change in its difference from the South European trajectory. In the last section of the third chapter, a discussion on public social spending on family benefits and the early childhood education patterns was presented to accompany the investigation on child well-being indicators. When total expenditure on families as a percentage of GDP is examined, it is observed that Turkey has the lowest figure, closely followed by Mexico and Chile. While such an analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, a close correlation is observed between the public expenditures on families and child well-being outcomes. It is particularly significant that Turkey has the lowest rate across OECD countries in terms of early childhood education. Thus, as different from both Latin America and Southern Europe states, it is noteworthy that early childhood education remains highly inadequate in the Turkish case and Turkey stands as an exception. The percentage of children aged 0-2 enrolled in early childhood education is only 0.3 percent, followed by Mexico (2.5 percent). The average enrolment rate of children aged 3-5 is at 37.3 percent in Turkey, which is the lowest rate when compared to other countries.

In chapter four, comparative child well-being outcomes were presented in four dimensions: Material well-being, education, health, and risky behavior, with

selected indicators available for the country comparison. Looking at child income poverty rate (2016) based on the dimension of “material well-being,” it is observed that Brazil holds the record for the highest poverty rate of 30.1%, followed by Turkey (25.3%) and Spain (22.1%). Although we cannot imply any classification at this point, it is observed that child poverty rates are relatively high in both Southern Europe and Latin America countries. Regarding the graphic showing the percentage of children (0-14) in households where all adults are in employment, no statistical data is available for Latin America countries, but Turkey (20.9%) differs from the rate at for Southern European countries, namely, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain (the average rate at 45.6%). “Education” was examined under two indicators: educational achievement, and youth not in employment, education, or training (NEET). Early childhood education was separately reviewed within the scope of children policies.

Another poverty dimension is educational deprivation explained with basic items children (adolescents 15 years old based on PISA survey) need, and availability of basic needs for the sustainability of their education. First one is whether adolescents (15 years old) have a desk and a quiet place to study at home or not. Brazil, Mexico, Chile, the United States, and Turkey have the lowest percentage. Second, Mexico, Turkey, Brazil, and Chile are the last four countries for the indicator demonstrating the rate of adolescents (15 years old) with a computer for schoolwork and an internet connection at home. Third, 82.9% is the percentage of students having books to help with their school work in their home in Turkey, while average Southern Europe is at 85.5%. These three indicators show that adolescents’ opportunities in Turkey are low in comparison with Southern European countries.

Besides that, Latin American countries like Mexico, Brazil, and Chile share similar degrees at selected educational deprivation indicators. Regarding educational deprivation, young people aged 15 in Brazil, Chile, Mexico, America, and Turkey had the highest educational deprivation, and Turkey is once again close to Mexico, Brazil or Chile more than Southern European countries.

Subsequently, according to PISA results, Chile, Mexico, and Turkey scored at the lowest performance level in reading, science, and mathematics. According to Reading scores; Turkey (428,3) has the lowest degree after Mexico (423,3), and Chile (458,6). Chile, Mexico, and Turkey are the last three countries in mathematics scores among OECD countries. PISA scores in science; Mexico (423,3) have the lowest score among OECD countries, Turkey follows Mexico with at 425,5, and Chile follows Turkey with at 447. These figures suggest that educational deprivation and achievement are intertwined with each other. Latin America and Turkey yielded similar results in the field of education and had low performance across the OECD countries. Lastly, it is understood from NEET data, Brazil, Turkey, Chile, and Mexico have the highest rates. NEET rates between 15-19 highest in Turkey at 21%, and Mexico at 15.3% following Turkey. Southern European countries such as; Spain (12.1%), Greece (10.5%) and Italy (11.2%) have almost half of the Turkish NEET rates. Concerning health and safety indicators, infant mortality rates, low weight birth rates, and vaccination rates were investigated. Brazil, Turkey, and Mexico clustered together with the infant mortality rate at 10% and above. Clustering regarding to vaccination rates is not possible, but Turkey's vaccination outcomes is closer to the Southern Europe average score more than Latin American countries. Therefore, for vaccination outcomes only, Turkey may well be clustered with the

Southern European group. When it comes to the adolescent fertility rates under the title of risk behaviors indicator group, Mexico (66.7%) and Chile (44.7%) had relatively higher rates, whereas Turkey (23.6%) significantly differed from Greece, Italy, and Spain.

Although, child well-being is not one of the determinants in the welfare regime clustering, the level of familialism, which refers to the individual's welfare dependence on kinship ne, is included as a dimension in the clustering. In the absence of children' rights-based policies, child well-being outcomes are mainly shaped by family resources. The level of poverty or employment status of parents become the essential determinants of child well-being. The Turkish case examined in this thesis offers an evidence to this hypothesis. Especially in countries with high levels of income inequality, the de-familialism level of a welfare regime may become vital in determining child well-being.

The literature demonstrated that the Southern welfare regimes (Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Italy) constitute as a distinct group in terms of their income maintenance, health care systems, particularistic-clientelistic features, and familialistic characteristics of their regimes. While Turkey is identified with the Southern European welfare regimes due to similarities at the policy level, it diverges from this regime based on women's labor force participation rate. This thesis shows that child well-being outcomes is another dimension where Turkey diverges from the Southern European welfare regime cluster. Turkish child well-being outcomes are similar to those of Latin American welfare regimes (Chile, Brazil and Mexico).

While a comparative analysis of social policy development in different countries lies beyond the scope of this thesis, the discussion presented in the study

draws attention to the role of family policies in determining the child well-being outcomes and suggests, in particular, that gendered family policies appear as an essential factor affecting child well-being outcomes. Through the recent transformation of the South European welfare regime, gender inequalities were considerably alleviated by the family policies implemented in the EU member states while the conservative family policies are still in place in Turkey. The limited success of work and family reconciliation policies is reflected in the extremely low female labor force participation and hence the employment status of women in the Turkish case. In this family and employment structure, very low rate of early childhood education and care opportunities available for Turkish children may have exacerbated the child well-being outcomes.

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