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**GENDER AND WELFARE REGIMES: IMPLICATIONS
FOR THE CARE POLICIES IN SWEDEN AND TURKEY**

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**Gender and Welfare Regimes: Implications for the Care Policies in
Sweden and Turkey**

**Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Refah Rejimleri: Bakım Politikaları
Uygulamalarının İsveç ve Türkiye Üzerindeki Etkileri**

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how care policies affect both men and women's lives while affecting gender roles within societies. To better understand the impact that care policies have on gender roles, Sweden and Turkey are chosen to represent two distinctly different welfare state models. Thus, the focus of this study is to establish the influences and implications of care policies as it relates to Sweden and Turkey correspondingly. Since the classifications of welfare states are directly related to the set of policies associated with their respective welfare regime, further focus is placed on the structural make-up of the welfare regimes. In order to resolve the welfare regimes of these two countries, Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare study was marked as the starting point. However, the fundamental reference point of this study is one of the main criticisms regarding the Esping-Andersen's study that is the absence of gender perspective. Therefore, this study is based on 'gender policy regimes' approach, which was created by Sainsbury (1999) as a critic to the absence of gender perspective in Esping-Andersen's study. In this approach, Sainsbury (1999) indicated that the absence of gender perspective in comparative welfare studies was one of the causes that lead to the misinterpretation of gender relations as well as leading to the ignorance of the inequalities that surrounds gender relations. In light of this study, Sweden was already classified within the 'individual earner-carer' category of the gender policy regimes. Although, Turkey has been placed under the 'male bread regime' category in multiple studies, with this study Turkey's classification is configured according to Sainsbury's original approach. Moreover, the implications of care policies in these two countries are compared within the foundation of the gender policy regimes.

Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, bakım politikalarının, farklı toplumlarda, kadın ve erkeklerin hayatlarına olan etkilerini ve aynı zamanda toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile ilişkisini incelemektir. Bu etkinin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için, iki farklı refah devleti olan İsveç ve Türkiye örnek modeller olarak seçilmiştir. Bu nedenle çalışmanın odak noktası, bakım politikalarının İsveç ve Türkiye uygulamaları ve bu uygulamalarının etkileridir. Uygulanan politikaların devletlerin refah rejimleri ile doğrudan ilgili olması, bu çalışmadaki ülkelerin de karşılaştırmalı refah rejimleri içerisindeki yerini inceleme gereksinimini doğurmuştur. Ancak bu çalışmanın asıl referans noktası, Esping-Andersen'nin karşılaştırmalı refah rejimleri çalışmasına getirilen eleştirilerden birisi; eksik olan toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısıdır. Bundan dolayı, temel alınan çalışma bu eleştirinin de etkisi ile oluşan Sainsbury'nin (1999) 'Toplumsal Cinsiyet Politikası Rejimleri' sınıflandırmasıdır. Bu çalışma göstermiştir ki, eksik olan toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısı, devletlerin refah rejimi açısından sınıflandırılmasında, toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin eksik temsiliyetine neden olmuştur. Bu eksik temsiliyet, kadın erkek ilişkilerindeki eşitsizliklerin göz ardı edilmesine, dolayısı ile hayatın her alanında görülen bu eşitsizliklerin refah tartışmalarında yer almamasına neden olmuştur. Bu problemin altını çizen, 'Toplumsal Cinsiyet Politikası Rejimleri' çalışmasında, İsveç , 'Bireysel Ekmek Kazanan-Bakıcı' (Individual Earner-Carer) sınıfına dahil edilmiş ve halihazırda orijinal çalışma içerisinde yer almıştır. Bunun yanında, Türkiye bu orijinal çalışma içerisinde yer almamaktadır. Fakat bu çalışmasının devamında gerçekleştirilen birçok araştırmada Türkiye, 'Ekmek Kazanan Erkek' (Male Bread Winner) modeline dahil edilmiştir. Bu tezde bu araştırmalardan farklı olarak, Türkiye'nin neden 'Ekmek Kazanan Erkek' modeline dahil olduğu, 'Toplumsal Cinsiyet Politikası Rejimleri' çalışması referans alınarak incelenmiştir.

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Introduction

We live in a world where economic growth has become the goal more so than the quality of life. Many countries aggressively pursue economic growth in hopes of achieving advance levels within the global economy. However, in such a pursuit, there are yet some countries that have taken it very seriously to provide better life quality for the people alongside an improved position in the global economy. These countries understand that human beings are the very essence of achieving more development, and a better quality of life means more productivity. Because the labor force has always been the indispensable part of the economic process, it continues to remain as the key factor of it. Thus within the economic process, to be productive, human beings need to live in a world where they have the ability to reconcile their lives while working comfortably. Moreover, it is crucial that they should have the ability to fulfill their life's needs outside of work to increase the probability of them effectively producing. However still, many countries do not adequately provide an environment for a better quality of life for their citizens. Those countries ignore the importance of human needs, for they are still struggling with societal issues and economic instability.

Today merely men's labor force participation is not enough to fulfill the needs of growing economies¹. It has become vital to involve women in the development of successful economics. Up until a particular point in history, women's participation in the labor markets was quite limited in both the

¹ According to Christine Lagarde the manager of the International Monetary Fund (since 2011), low female employment corresponds to lower economic growth. According to the information that she gives, if the women's labor force is raised as same as men's labor force, the country's GDP would grow. For example this growth would be 34% in Egypt, United Arab Emirates 12%, Japan 9% <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/how-to-increase-women-s-participation-in-the-workforce-by-christine-lagarde>

advanced and the developing countries². The women were mostly confined to household activities as such: the nurturing of children, if needed the nurturing of all other members of the household and household tasks. These works have been unpaid, thus, invisible, for these works in past history had not been viewed as valued or notable economic activities from the country's or state's perspective. Given today's situation, almost in every country, women's unpaid labor in the household, as well as their position in the labor force, are important issues when looked at from every aspect as it relates to the development and the sustaining of economic activity. In addition, as the active participation of women increases as it relates to economic development, without proper policies, the responsibilities of women in the home coupled with active participation within the labor force only puts more strain on women. While the world has been changing the working age is expanding since people are living longer. This means people are working more. As a result, the policies and regulations that effect quality of life have to be revisited, re-discussed and redesigned. This process has already begun in many advance economies.

In the light of this information, gender friendly policies have proven to serve as the foundation of this process playing a very important role in many of advanced societies in the West as it has shaped the relations and division of labor within the family as well as in the workplace. From the smallest unit of the society, which is family, to a much large union the state, as it relates to the changing world, the roles and divisions of labor have to be redesigned. This is not only to bring more equality in the society but also to sustain the economic productivity and development. This can only be

² For instance, according to data that Cipallone, Patacchini and Vallanti (2013) examined while analyzing the European Union countries, there was a surge in female labor participation from 1994 to 2009. In fact they asserted that one of the causes of surge was contingent upon to social policies (21).

implemented by the shifting existing traditional gender roles that are presently structured within society.

However, the way in which gender friendly policies are designed alone does not directly provide better opportunities to ameliorate men and women's lives. Although the understanding of gender sensitiveness to policies is one of the essential steps, there is more effort needed that goes beyond legislation to provide justice needed in terms of gender equality. Firstly, it should be understood that, it is related with how traditional gender roles have been situated in every part of lives through the support of religions, traditions, and cultures. Sometimes these inequalities reveal themselves for they are heavily embedded in human behaviors and societal behaviors. Moreover, these behaviors have been accepted as ordinary behaviors even though such behaviors have influenced great gender inequalities. Secondly, the state and its institutions must have consistency with the policies that it regulates; otherwise, the picture can be ambivalent for its citizens and would not have the impact needed to change these structured behaviors for its citizens. At this point, it is crucial to note where a state stands in terms of gender perspective as well as where it stands on the subject of providing welfare to its citizens to better understand why policies are successful or not.

Firstly, this study examines whether the comparative welfare regime studies have gender perspective, while simultaneously trying to understand the nature of the states. According to this discussion, it is inferred that the classification of welfare regimes in mainstream approach does not address gender inequalities that exist within the states, and in relation to implementation of the policies. Moreover, when states are evaluated by gender perspective and classified with gender policy regimes, it is

concluded that states are classified different than with the welfare regime approach. In this framework, the selected countries Sweden and Turkey are discussed within these two different contexts.

Thereby in this paper, the attempt has been made to explain gender friendly policies, specifically the care policies in different welfare state models with a particular reference to gender regimes prevalent in those countries. The main reason for focusing on care specifically is the urgency of the needs for care policies. What this paper advocates is that the lack of care policies with gender perspective is one of the fundamental reasons for the existence of inequalities within the social security systems or labor market. Therefore, the division of labor problems in the household should be solved first to understand the inequalities in different structures and systems of states. Thus, rigorous gender roles should be transformed to that of equal sharing opportunities via care policies.

Sweden was chosen in order to present a crucial level of gender equality that needs to be reached in every society and economic activities as well. Sweden is not only a country that includes the representation of gender equality in legalization and policies; it also provides a large magnitude of support such as inducement through media or gender mainstreaming understanding to aid the implementation of such policies in a practical sense and on an institutional level. Thereby, these policies seem more applicable in regards to giving people the best opportunities to change their behaviors. Sweden is one of the countries that has a strong economy when looking at multiple aspects of their development. The philosophy of full employment helped Sweden and provided more opportunities regarding the designing of gender friendly policies regardless of the initial differing gender norms.

On the other hand, for the purpose of this study Turkey was chosen as the second model; in order to look at the position of a country that poses very low gender equality standards in many aspects of its society and economic relations. Turkey shows a different path in gender equality perspective³ when compared to similar category of welfare states. It is fair to point out that throughout the economic history of Turkey, there have been many reforms and regulations implemented by legislation to achieve greater equality in gender relations. However for Turkish women, the employment rate has remained extremely low. Unfortunately, though one side of legalization was changed to provide more equality; the other policy reforms caused more burdens on women magnifying the ‘carer’ role of women as it relates to both family and society.

In light of this general picture, the first chapter of the paper looks at development issues in the global context within the historical process. This chapter then continues with the presentation of gender and development approach. This chapter is important to bring attention to the development issues in the global context. This development context is crucial to see how neoliberal policies that are designed to regulate the free market economy affect the welfare state mentality, people’s daily lives and the care policies. The subject of ‘Gender and Development’ aims to underline the relation between development and gender, which has relation to designing policies as well as the implication of those policies.

The second chapter elaborates on the theoretical approach of Esping-Andersen’s comparative welfare states and it continues with the criticisms of this approach. The chapter continues with gender policy regimes, which constitute the backbone of this thesis. Gender policy regimes approach not only point the weaknesses of welfare states in terms of gender equality, but

³ Detailed information is given in chapter 2

also delineate how gender inequalities are embedded in the structures of the states, as well as policies. Moreover, gender regimes perspective support practical information to ameliorate the current implications in both Sweden and Turkey. Following the welfare state and gender regime discussions, the chapter continues with the definition of gender and gender friendly policies with a focus on care policies. In the final part of this chapter, some samples from different countries in the world were given to show how gender friendly policies, specifically care policies were designed respectively, as it relates to the different countries and their different developing levels.

In the third chapter, the historical development of gender friendly policies in Sweden is explained as one of the chosen countries for this study. Next, the implementations of care policies are presented with the selected data to shed light on the current situation in terms of implication of the policies.

In chapter four, Turkey's historical development of gender friendly policies is discussed using very limited data and resource. The focus is on care, how it corresponds to information that was presented in chapter two. The main idea behind explaining the historical process is to point out the absence of gender sensitiveness in care policies. Also, the social security system and the labor market are discussed in context to Turkey in order to draw a correlation with that of care policies. Thus, in light of information presented, it is shown the urgent need for care policies

The purpose of this study is to understand how care policies affect both men and women's lives while affecting gender roles within societies, particularly in two different welfare state models, Sweden and Turkey. This study would show that different welfare states have different gender regimes and, therefore, different paths in terms of their implication of care policies.

One of the main findings in the study is that the importance of gender perspective is crucial to understanding the needs and deficiencies of the existing systems of a state in terms of gender inequalities. In this context, the importance of gender policy regimes emerges while shedding light on every stage of the states' actions. Peculiarly, for Sweden, it is inferred that consistency in policies along with the commitment to providing gender equality, gives rise to more justice and a better quality of life for the citizen. Conversely, for Turkey, it is proven that changing the legislation and policies are not enough to change the behaviors that have been embedded into the society. There are still inequalities that exist in many different parts of life in Turkey such as the social security system or the labor market. With this study, it is shown that these inequalities are mainly related to the lack of the type of care policies that are designed from a gender perspective. In this manner, Sweden's experience presents itself as an important model, not due to its status of being one of the leading 'developed' countries, but in order to understand how to better implement the coordination between policies, legislation and mentality on a state level to change the behaviors within society(s) and provide gender equality for a better world.

Chapter 1 Economic Development and Gender Perspective

This chapter will briefly discuss the historical process of economic development followed by a discussion covering gender development perspective, a topic that will end this chapter. Gender perspective in development will be presented as an important key factor, as its main purpose is to provide gender equality. Furthermore, gender perspective would aide in providing evidence that gender equality effects the distribution of wealth and the varying levels of economic development for countries. It is also ideal to bring to light, as a part of this chapter, the relationship between equality in economic situations and the effects of societal norms on gender relations.

As it will be mentioned, “gender in development” includes its own context while discussing the development. The main focus is to better understand the general development approach and the necessity of “gender” perspective in issues related to gender friendly policies, especially those dealing with care policies. From a chronological historical perspective, he subject of development will briefly be discussed, after which, different development approaches will presented to bring the different perspectives to the table. Next, neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus will be discussed in order to establish their respective importance as it relates to the mainstream idea of development approach. Lastly, gender in development will be discussed to present how the mainstream development approach effects gender equality and the economic positions of both men and women.

1.1 General Framework

Development remains as one of the most important topics in economics and has been discussed in many different contexts since World War 2. Many different development theories have contributed to the world of academia as it pertains to Economics. A vast number of theories have focused on many the ideas, from stimulating economic growth as an essential goal, to such theories, which have supported ideas focused on “reducing” poverty and inequality. Furthermore, these theories have been constructed more so for less developed countries to raise their development scales (Dogan & Ozturk 2010). With an undeniable rise of neoliberalism and neoliberal policies all around the world, this development subject became the central argument for inducing neoliberalism. In this manner, the main focus of Neoliberalism has become that of societal development issues as it has adopted the responsibility of sustaining the development for all developing and under developed countries. On the other hand, as Beneria Lourdes (20) shared; *“UNDP estimated for 1998 showed that the assets of the three richest people were more than the combined GNP of all of the least developed countries while the assets of the 200 richest people were more than the combined income of 41 percent of the world’s population... Raising many questions about the danger in the corresponding concentration of power and the real meanings of democracy”* (2003 introduction). Analysis of the progression of the past and present development theories along with the leading theories that dominated the world, the major parts of them do not seem to be working in practice (Senses 2004). In the light of Beneria Lourdes’s information; 75% of the worlds population residing in less developed countries, when taking a different perspective, the historical

concept of the mainstream development theories can help one to better understand how human development separated from the core of economics and how gender equality became one of the sub-sections in human development instead of being central part.

As early as the 1940s “third world” discourse was one of the terms that have been used to distinguish between both those countries that are developed and those countries that are still developing. In this respect, a large amount of the development theories have mostly been shaped according to this distinction of this term. Besides, this third world definition was applied to different policies in different countries regarding how the country had been classified. Thus using such a definition carried an overtone that conveyed the understanding that developing countries were still being dictated to developed countries (Hopper 2012:3-5).

During 1940 to 1980, most countries fell behind their economic development phase due to prioritized economic growth. Mainly, after the 1970s, these situations worsened with neoliberal policies, along with insufficient data with in the androcentric world that poorly attempted to explain the development issues of women from differing areas. A matter of fact, at this time the academic world’s focus was too narrow minded to find a solution for the overall of this practical experience. Besides, with the worsening poverty and equality, it can be seen, gender development has more issues than that of economic factors that affect the women’s inequality problems in society (Beneria 2003: 27). However there will take some work to reach a better understanding of the gender inequalities that exist. Not only as it relates to economic factors, more so, it must be understood that these same inequalities also present themselves in society in such forms as traditions, values and also in economic activities (Klasen 1999: 8) To look deeper into the situation, for one, there have been many questions asked in

building the road of understanding regarding the effects of economic factors on women's lives. For instance; what does humanity understand about a societies anthropological and historical effects on the woman's position within that society? Moreover, how have these effects precipitated continued attributes of gender inequalities? This goes to show when looking at the development concept, economic factors are not only effected by economic conditions but also they are affected by social relations as well as the ideologies that appear within the different societies (Rai cited in Visvanathan et. al 2011: 29).

Mainstream economics has been trying to find new ways to solve development issues of countries by analyzing different economic models, although they continue to focus on mostly economic growth and less on gender dimension. This is a mentality that both consciously and unconsciously promotes continued inequality through the implementation of polices that perpetuate ideals of discrimination via many separatist ideologies such as sexism. First off, developing countries and all their associated attributes should be looked at in their entirety when surveying new development approaches in academic life as it relates to finding solutions to inequalities. These associated attributes include poverty, productivity, and gender quality, to name a few. Secondly, there has been a trend that has allowed for the terms economic growth and human development to be used to represent the same meaning. Thus, it has been thought that they can and could be used interchangeably. It has been one of the main discourses of neoliberalism that if economic growth is sustained then human development is sustained. Thereby, the human dimension has been considered, oddly enough, as secondary dimension with in the goal of achieving human development (Fine 2001: 221). For decades, this mentality effected the research process, causing a point of view that could only construct an environment that would ignore the reality of how women were

the ones most effected by the rigorous traditionalisms of neoliberal policies worsening the situations of inequality.

If going back to the understanding of human dimension or human aspect with in different economic models of today, it must be asked, whether economic development is the result of human development eventually gender development or vice versa? How a state does respond these questions can show that how they have shaped their policies and what those policies are focused on. This will become more visible as this discussion progresses. Specifically, whether or not women are considered as a subcategory or as a focal point in a policy can shed light on a countries position regarding the questions recently asked here. Continuing the statement began in the previous sentence, the treatment of women via policy is a central issue, this central issues begs the question again, whether or not women are considered as a subcategory or as a focal point in policy making? In addition, it should be emphasized that there is no one particular model for all countries where the mechanism of that policy can predictability bring about the development of equality 100% of the time.

In this context, the questions regarding the relation between economic development and human development have put new questions into the field; “Whom the development is for” and “How this can be achieved with which instruments”. If development is human-centered and social welfare based then what structure will be the best to sustain this development and so how can it be done? The issue will be examined in this context; putting “the human” at a center of the problems and answer these issues while referring to and focusing on a human from gender equality perspective as well.

1.2 The Different Approaches on Development Issue

During the post war period with the beginning of the third world discourse, the historical face of the world had been changed. While the threat of communism influenced countries with Soviet Union ideas, “Modernization Theory” was being founded by the United States (Philips 2010 cited in Ravenhill 2011: 416-451). Simply, the “Modernization Theory” was created for developing countries to orient them towards common sense, which it was believed developed countries already possessed. If the developing countries followed the industrialized-developed countries, to eventually catch up with them, they would not only accomplish the status of being developed they would also reach and acquire that of westernization. Furthermore, in 1960 according to Rostow, building modernization on the “stage of economic growth”, it changed the understanding of development, as a result economic growth moved to the center of the development process (Ibid). Consequently, according to the modernization theory, becoming a developed country corresponds to westernization, which corresponds to liberal democracy.

During this time, Raul Prebisch, who promoted a structuralist development theory, he tried to create a relationship between Latin America countries and the global system. Then he distinguished the world countries as they related to two different categories periphery (developing countries) and center (developed countries) (ibid). Moreover, he advocated that free trade was not advantageous for all countries and there was income flow from periphery countries, which was specialized due to primary goods to center countries, which were due to industrial goods (Dogan & Ozturk 2010).). The underdevelopment theory, which originated from structuralism, contrasted

with the modernization theory. In addition to that underdevelopment theory, there can be found an association with the dependency theory as it relates to the world system theory. From the point of Dos Santos: “Dependence is conditioning situation for countries that it correlates economic developments of a country to the other countries’ development and expansion. This relationship might provide expansion to a country due to expansion of the dominant countries. Moreover, it may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development.” (Cited in Fannd & Hodges et. all 1971: 226)

In 1970s, Wallerstein developed both the dependency theory and the world system theory as a result of understanding different trajectories of the world market system. This understanding distinguished the countries into subcategories according to their different economic trajectories. These sub categories were labeled semi-periphery and periphery (Philips 2010 cited in Ravenhill 2011: 416-451). However, it is important to note here that, between 1960s to 1980s, the uniqueness of some countries -particularly Asian-, showed the disparity of practical experiences with dominant development theories.

1.3 Neoliberalism and Washington Consensus

The 1980s was the rising time of the Neoliberalism; Neoliberalism and its intensive market oriented policies worsen the situation as it related to the development of the world. More so, in ‘developing countries’, these policies caused deterioration of the economic situation affecting the greater part of the society. Some small parts of world had progressed on accumulating more wealth while inequalities still were flourishing (Beneria 2003: 23).

While a market oriented world enriched the wealth of the world, only one part of the world benefited, as the other part, the larger part, experienced the rising of inequalities in a way that had been never seen before.

The Washington Consensus was the key factor in here for empowering neoliberalism and shifting the understanding of development in the world mainly via the World Bank, IMF within the partnership of the USA (Fine 2001: 221). The Washington Consensus was against policies that mixed with Keynesianism, state intervention, and market regulation. Before moving forward, it is important to be reminded hereof the significant influences of traditions and culture and the roles they play in a country's development processes. Thereby, state intervention might be a requirement in terms of implementing policies and legislation to reach a mature enough level as to achieve, for example, a development goal such as gender equality. However, as the state had been leading the policies that prevented market regulation, it must be pointed out, this prevention was related to the adoption of carbon copy policies from already developed countries. Because the policies were adopted from another more developed country, it did not take into consideration the culture or traditional needs of the present developing country. As a result, this caused for an unwelcomed and very different outcome with different consequences and unexpected failures. Thus the transference of carbon copy development policies from developed countries to developing countries ignores the heterogeneity of traditions and culture of less developed countries (Ibid).

Washington consensus was the biggest opposition to the old development understanding as it were in late 1980s and it was mainly based on free market understanding, privatizations, minimizing the role of the state, flexibility of the labor force, trade liberalization and so on. IMF and World

Bank had the key role of leading the policies imperious for countries. IMF played the role as being responsible from stabilization, while the World Bank was responsible for structural adjustment (Fine 2001: 223). With this, the mindset of these organizations shifted the path to reach development affecting the implementation processes of many of the conditions required for free market economies. There were no necessary requirements for development policies for countries; all they need to do was to rely and react to market. With this key mentality, there might no need for a development concept or theory, for here development could be considered as consequences of market action. At this point Washington Consensus had the key role to compromise this situation. Neoliberal policies were the driving force for Washington Consensus and they had big support from different dominate players in the free market, such as media and big corporate businesses (Beneria 2003: 3). Washington Consensus empowered itself and furthered the neoliberal policies that had been implemented such as tax reforms, free regulation of exchange, reducing the public expenses, labor market flexibility, protection of private property and so on. IMF and World Bank gave credit to developing countries as to encourage them to implement these policies. However these credits forced more conditions on these respective countries (Fine 2001: 221). Meanwhile, all of the regulations made the market the main focus instead of a device and opportunity to implement development policies. If the market achieved their intended targets then development would be the results; therefore the consequences of market achievements have only brought more inequalities and more poverty (Ibid 223). As seen Washington Consensus stand against to active state involvement to development issue and the main goal of Neoliberal policies was to minimize the social welfare state and its tools.

Despite the fact that the rising of Neoliberalism and globalization caused big shift to take place in the development agenda of the world, big progress

was happening in some Asian countries, which based on neo-statist approach for economic development and this progress challenged the idea of Neoliberalism. Besides, Neoliberalism had shown a number of big failures in Latin America as well as in some African countries (Haque 1999: 206). As a matter fact, it was seen that neither Neoliberalism nor modernization theory truly help to lift the development of the world. This was because; both modernization theory and Neoliberalism undervalued and ignored the background and productivity history within the respective countries.

1.4 Gender and Development

Essentially, the gender and development (GAD) approach was raised as a critique to the women in development (WID) approach, which was advanced in the 1970s. Therefore, it is important to understand what the WID approach says and what GAD is against.

In the core of the WID approach, the main idea was to highlight the sex based division of labor in different sectors and how these divisions were influenced by different factors in society such as resources, population, education, etc. (Boserup 1970 cited in Tasli 2009: 12). In addition WID was one of the very first studies that had been implemented within the context of gender perspective (Ibid). The main idea to be highlighted in WID was the subordination of women and as a result of it, exclusion of women from the development process. In relations, Rogers (1982) advocated that involving women in the development process would have helped women to benefit from the process but also it would have helped the over all process itself (Rai 2011: 29). Towards Boserup's study (1970) on WID context, liberal

feminists built new studies within the approach in order to make it more practical so that third world women benefit from the modernization process as well (Ibid). However, the main criticism about WID is in terms of structuring it according to modernization theory, which correlates with industrialization (Rahtberger 1992 cited in Tasli 2007: 13-14). In addition, the following criticism was based on the lack of concentration on subordinated position of women in society (Ibid).

WID focused on general needs of women regarding education and skills based on productive work. The idea behind focusing on productive work that is implemented by men was to improve the understanding regarding the nature of work along with the needs of women as it relates to work and its processes. On the other hand, WID didn't pay attention to the structural systems in society such as built in culture or politics within that system (Rai cited in Visvanathan et al. 2011: 29). Besides this ignorance, the relationship structures within societies has also been seen as an additional determinate that place women in a "homogeneous category" (Razavi & Miller 1995: 12). Furthermore, WID neglected the root causes for the subordination of women only focusing on the productive value and perspective of women's work. Therefore, women's unproductive work was ignored as a result of being overshadowed by the pursuit of understanding the nature of women's productive work.

WID was important in bringing gender sensitiveness to the context of development. There have been many researches and discussions implemented in 1970s to 1980s centered around gender. As a result, division of labor and statistical works are improved due to this increased attention that has been given to gender. As Moore (1988) explained: "*The value of a symbolic analysis of gender, it was argued, lies in understanding how men and women are socially constructed, and how those constructions*

are powerfully reinforced by the social activities that both define and are defined by them” (Quoted in Razavi & Miller 1995: 12). In light of the new information, the rising critical voices during 1980s regarding WID, changed the development context towards to GAD (Rai cited in Visvanatha ets. Al 2011: 31). One of the main criticisms about WID was neglecting and not challenging the subordinated position of women. What GAD advocated was the belief that raising women’s inclusion in productive economic activity does not directly correlate to strengthening women as well as their position in society (Tasli 2007: 24).

In relations with the subordination position of women in society, there are two main points that are at the heart of GAD. Firstly it focuses on shifting the power, which is male dominant throughout society, economy, and politics. After that, it aims to implement structural changes in social relations between men and women (Ibid). Regarding with these purposes, it focuses on division of labor not only in productive work, it also focuses on this division of labor at home as well (Rai cited in Visvanatha ets. Al 2011: 32). In this manner, GAD tries to understand the essentials of the gender roles, which are created because of the social and traditional norms and design policies in order to shift that unbalanced power between men and women in any activity or situation (Reeves & Baden 2000: 33).

However, there were criticisms of GAD. With the rising of the “gender mainstreaming⁴” movement as GAD concept and it was overused in policies, strategies and discourses; GAD was criticized for that due to focus on “*process and means rather than ends*” (Razavi & Miller 1995 cited in Baden & Goetz 1997: 5). Because “gender mainstreaming” became more

⁴ Gender mainstreaming refers to “*focuses on gender roles and relationships rather than on women only; it is designed to ensure that women and men have access to project resources and services, in relation to their actual responsibilities*” in this paper (quoted in https://www.unodc.org/pdf/Alternative%20Development/GenderMainstreaming_Eng.pdf).

dominant than GAD it self, the tool for achieving GAD turned out to be an independent training tool. It eventually caused many to begin to ignore the practical means and needs of the GAD. Khan (1995) explained the problem that was caused by gender streaming as “...becoming theocratic discourse ... no longer addressed the issues of the power center responsible for the subordination of women” (ibid 4). In addition, the shift in terminology from women to gender created concerns in terms of loosing the meaning of gender and also “depoliticizing” the term. Razavi and Miller (1995) criticized the shift from WID to GAD in general: “*Although the gender discourse has filtered through to policy-making institutions, in this process actors have reinterpreted the concept of gender to suit their institutional needs. In some instances, gender has been used to side step a focus on women and the radical policy implications of overcoming their disprivilege*” (41).

In light of this information, it can be said that the main criticisms about the GAD are not due to the formation of the context its self. The main problem is that how the approach will be implemented and who will implement the approach. Since the approach became really popular and “professionalized” from smaller fund or donor organization to the state and international organization level, the questions become more significant about how the approach serves to provide gender equality in society and economy (Khan cited in Baden & Goetz 1997: 6; Razavi & Miller 1995: 32). One of the main criticisms has been made of WB regarding the topic because the belief is a dominant GAD approach as it relates to WB understanding. WB has strong political goals prioritizing the its own agenda. GAD approach was added to structural adjustment programs (SAP) but with the new shape by WB’s prioritized goals. (Collison no date: 25). Due to it being based on neoliberal policies in the WB’s context regarding GAD policy design, the outcomes of such implementations seemed to been a failure in terms of providing gender

equality (Ibid). In addition, WB policies have been implemented by third world states with the enforcement and structure of WB and dominant OECD countries. This is also seen as a cause of a failure to neglect the diverse and necessary tools needed and a failure to consider the understanding and improvement of women as homogenous group (Ibid).

On the other hand, when looking at GAD from outside of the mainstream perspective and looking at the pure goals of GAD from a critical perspective, it can be easily seen that GAD by itself challenges the existent system. The GAD model especially analyzes women's subordination and exploitation in the current system as it relates to the division of labor. It focuses on a gendered nature of the capitalist system and how this male dominance situates women as a "means of production" (Miets et. al cited in Visvanatha ets. Al 2011:34). However, the same system doesn't consider the domestic and reproductive work of women as "productive". Based on this perspective Young's (1997) highlights of "transformatory potential" of GAD stands out as a very significant approach, "*which means is changing what society value and consider 'productive'* " (cited in Collison no date: 25). This shift is directly interrelated with the emancipation of women and balancing the power relationship in society. In this case, women's unequal position should be taken into account in terms of accessing "resources and power".

Within the respect of discussed information above, it is important to note that state plays a significant role in terms of implementing GAD and specific "women's emancipation (Tasli 2007:24). Therefore, GAD approach also points and challenges the "housewifisation of women" through their marriage or in the work environment and how these perspectives are institutionalized by the state (Rai cited in Visvanatha ets. Al 2011:34). Since

the policies and strategies are built according to the state's mentality, the states play very important role in accepting different essential needs of women and men, in addition accepting women as individuals/citizens while providing equality (Bhatta cited in Collison no date: 25). One of the very important conditions regarding the emancipation of women is in challenging the division of labor in home and work environment as well. The state can play a revolutionary role in challenging the existing division of labor with its "*social capital allocator and employer*" role (Young 1997 quoted in Tasli 2007: 24). Moreover, states have the power to influence the participation of men to caring and domestic work. However, it depends on whether the state recognizes the caring and domestic work as social value leading to social capital, while also considering the unbalanced division of labor in home. If the pure purpose of GAD is internalized by the states without the external forces, as it was explained above, the state can then play pivotal role on that process.

Chapter 2: Welfare States and Gender Friendly Policies

2.1 Different Gender Regimes in Social Welfare States

2.1.1 Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen's Welfare State Classification

Welfare is as a concept regarding the state, representing the well being of citizens of that state (Goodin 1999: 21). Whenever this terminology is used within the same context as the word “state”, it points to the intervention of the state to provide social justice for its citizen. Firstly, this means that a state is the main player that provides well-being for the citizen therefore, it intervenes in the social and economic lives of its citizen to redistribute of wealth and provide social justice (Şenkal & Sariipek 2007: Hemerijck cited in Andersen 2002: 173). Secondly, the state provides protection, or it can regulate the life in terms of social and economic situations to support its citizens to deal with societal issues in society such as aging, childcare, unemployment (Bugra 2001). On the other hand, the dedication to social justice in terms of the welfare state helps to sustain economic productivity and growth (Hemerijck cited in Andersen 2002: 173). State ensures productivity for economic progress as a welfare state with providing health and productivity conditions for its labors (Abramovitz 1988: 17). There have been methods and definitions developed to explain the welfare state within the context of the historical process. Also, different examples and dates can be found in the academic world that helps to identify the birth of the welfare state. These definitions have been changed during the historical path. The influences of the market and the family also provide added

support to these explanations regarding the welfare state. With all that it is prior and important to remember that the welfare state is a state system that arose after the modern nation state's understanding about capitalism's development (Ozdemir 2007: 16-26). Even though the welfare state has been defined in different approaches, the welfare state is a system that is born with rising capitalist order (Ibid). According to Kempfski (1972) 'welfare state' can be a group of countries that are classified with their distinct characteristics in developing a process of the economies as it relates to capitalist societies (cited in Art & Gelissen 2002: 140) Therefore, with changing capitalist states creating different welfare states, these different state models helped to improve the understanding regarding the different societies in capitalism. From the beginning, welfare states have been shown to have different properties correlating to the different paths that have been taken during the rise of the industrial economic systems. However, with some welfare states similar properties have been noted and thus create distinct groups can be created between and within one another (Ibid).

In 1958, Titmuss's (cited in Esping-Andersen 1990) classified welfare state in two different categorizations: residual and institutional (20). According to this categorization, residual concepts take into consideration welfare as a regime and in this way these residual ideas explains the state with welfare regime. When welfare regime as a concept is put to use, then family, community, and market also effect the prevention or provider of welfare (Buğra 2001). In this case, when analyzing residual understanding, the state assumes minor responsibility, or intervenes when the market or family cannot regulate welfare by itself. In this way, a temporary narrow role is given to the state (Ozdemir 2007: 128). This model closely corresponds to liberal countries, which will be explained further while explaining Esping-Andersen's typology. In contrast, the institutional approach is mostly

established on universalistic understanding, which is strongly based on the states serving its citizens as a whole with equality. (Esping-Andersen 1990: 19; Anttonen 2002: 71) Moreover, the state is the responsible part as it relates to providing social justice with redistributive policies (Özdemir 2007: 128). As Titmuss's explanation of Institutional approach for welfare states; *"The institutional-redistributive model of social welfare . . . sees social welfare as a basic integrated institution in society providing both universal and selective services outside the market on the principle of need. Universal services, available without distinction of class, color, sex or religion, can perform functions which foster and promote attitudes and behavior directed towards the values of social solidarity, altruism, toleration and accountability."* (Quoted in Abrahamson 1999: 397)

In earlier studies, welfare states also had been trying to describe its concepts with topics such as economic growth, urbanization or state's commitment to social expenditure. However, Esping-Andersen was against this understanding given its lack of guidance or information about social expenditure (Esping-Andersen 1990: 20; Bonoli 1997: 353). As Therborn (1983 cited in Esping-Andersen 1990) stated that, the state has to commit to serve its citizen and that service should be service that is provide to its citizens consistently everyday (20). Therborn's understanding also includes strong similarities with the institutional approach, which was explained above. There are so many states classified under welfare states in terms of social expenditure even though the social expenditures do not only consist of support solely for the social welfare of the citizens. The expenditures can be implemented for defense or administration, but these expenditures do not refer to the welfare of the citizen (Esping-Andersen 1990: 20).

Theoretical discussions around welfare states and its definition with classifications vary. From Esping-Andersen's perspective on welfare state regimes categorization "de-commodification, social stratification and employment" are the more important factors for understanding the characteristics of welfare states (Ibid).

According to Esping-Anderson (1999), a state has the responsibility to its citizens to prevent the commodification against the market. It means; citizens are placed or born into society with their social rights, moreover, they are recognized by their social rights instead of their performance in the market. Therefore, social benefits such as sickness insurances, pensions, etc. are very important; they regulate the system for de-commodification (Esping-Andersen cited in Şener 2006). Esping-Andersen also addressed the stratification in the capitalist order and he mentioned the importance of social policies in welfare states to resist inequalities in the society (Esping-Andersen cited in Şener 2006). Therefore, social policies motivate unity and support the solidarity in welfare states and this prevents the occurring of social stratification in society (Art & Gelissen 2002:141). His classifications of welfare states are determined under these perspectives. Inspired by Titmuss's classification Esping-Andersen created his own set categorized classifications. Even though there are different criticisms and new classifications modifying his works, the first of Esping-Andersen classification works is still being used as a reference work today (Ibid).

As it can be seen from Table 1, Esping-Andersen clustered his typologies into three different groups. The first category of this classification is "Liberal Welfare States", which adopts classical liberalism as an ideology defined as the "Anglo-Saxon model". In this category, the market is the main acting body to regulate relations while the state is given the role,

which induces and subsidizes the private regime to provide welfare. This model provides individualism in society and promotes the ability to move on with one's own ability. More so, this is related more with the lack of support for social policies and limited solidarity, therefore the states have high levels of stratification (Ibid). The states only aim is to provide support for the minimum needs of the citizens, thus, providing such support only for a particular group of people, for those that need external help to sustain their lives such as those that are categorized as poor (Esping-Andersen 1990: 26). In addition, the position of the state is situated within the system as a last option for individuals where they can only apply for state support if they are able to show they are experiencing very difficult circumstances in their lives. This model causes very intense social inequalities. The last feature of this model is about gender perspective. The mentality of the model supports women to be more involved in the labor force (Art & Gelissen 2002: 142). To represent this category he used the United States and the United Kingdom as his sample countries.

The second category of this classification is that of the "Conservative-Corporatist Welfare States". This model is considered as corporatist, as it relates in terms to social rights and privileges; this model produces stratification and only affords social rights according to class differences (Ozdemir 2007: 137). Moreover it has been made apparent, the strong combined effects of Catholicism in catholic nations and statism regarding the welfare states in this typology (Art & Gelissen 2002: 141; Ferrera 1996: 18). On one hand, this model refuses the privileges of the market, while on the other hand; family has a strong influence regarding provided welfare support. Therefore, in this model social expenditures can be higher than liberal welfare regimes but the retributions of wealth are the families' responsibility. Thus for individuals, this distribution is implemented through the family. The problem with this model is that the male is considered as a

breadwinner; therefore, wealth distribution is performed with in an ideology where the male is viewed as the leader of the household (Esping-Andersen 1990: 26; Özdemir 2007: 127). Related with that, this ideology can discourage women to join the labor force in order to lack of support in terms of gender friendly policies. Germany is the main representative country for this category.

The third category of this classification is the “Social democratic” or “Scandinavian model” (table 1). This model is the “Swedish Model”, for Sweden is the leading country for this model (Özdemir 2007: 140). Esping-Andersen (1990) explains “*This model is titled social democratic because social democracy is the main force behind the social reform*” (27). The purpose of this model is not only to provide minimum needs for a particular group of citizen; it aims to provide the highest standard to the whole of its citizens. The model is also very universalistic and considers the citizens as an individual, meanwhile it infuses the solidarity in society (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). Universalistic understanding is also based on providing equality between citizens and preventing stratification (Özdemir 2007: 141). This model is very well known for its generosity. Many different services for children, seniors, are provided by the state, thus the state assumes major responsibility for these groups. Moreover, in contrast to the conservative model, this model gives women the options of being active in the labor force versus only staying at home. The purpose of this model is also about aiming for achievement of full employment for women.

As it is mentioned before, there have been many discussions around Esping-Andersen classification of welfare states. Moreover, this model was improved as well as he also updated his classifications in the following years. However, his main highlight regarding his first classification is that the welfare state cannot be classified only by its social policies and the

implementation of those policies. The same statement is valid in regards to the classifying of welfare states according to institutional formations and their systematics (Art & Gelissen 2002: 139). In this statement his main point is to highlight the importance of the market, state and other forces such as family as they relate to the economy and state, establishing a relationship between them as it pertains to the constitutional system. From Esping-Andersen point of view, given the time period and social-political climate, he believed, to understand the welfare states, there should be a new structure implemented, for the current classification or theoretical debates are barren, unable to explain or make the topic of development progress of welfare states more understandable (Ibid: 141).

Table 1: Esping-Andersen Three Welfare Regimes Model

Regimes	Liberal	Conservative	Social-Democratic
Examples:	USA, UK	Germany	Sweden
Decommodification	Low	Medium	High
Social Rights	Need Based	Employment-related	Universal
Welfare Provision	Mixed Services	Transfer Payments	Public Services
Social Policy Provider	Market	State	State

Source: Ebbinghaus & Manow 2001

In light of all information regarding Esping-Andersen's "*three welfare typology*", this typology is one of the fundamental classifications (Orloff 1996: 64). However, it has been subjected to criticism from Baldwin (1996) for including a few works on theorizing welfare states and for using "*typologizing*" to explain his point of view. On the other hand, according to Abrahanson (1999), "*typologizing*" is a very fruitful approach to understand

the European welfare states (395). Nevertheless, some commentators like Ferrera (1996), strongly highlighted that there were missing points regarding this typology and one of her main criticisms is the missing of Mediterranean countries in Europe in the typology (18). Although Italy (Table 2) was classified under corporatist-conservative welfare state category, Spain, Portugal and Greece (table 2) were not included in the categorization. Esping-Andersen's response to this criticism by saying that these countries as welfare state exemplified a certain level of undevelopment. In his later research he added these three countries. However, they were placed in the classification as only a subcategory under the corporatist-conservative category. (Ferrera 1996: 18). In order to have less developed structure of those Portugal, Spain and Greece, Esping-Andersen believed that a fourth category should not be added to classification. (Art & Gelissen 2002: 145). On the other hand, like Ferrera, Leibfried (1992) believed these southern European countries should be classified as a fourth category thus he added the fourth category and called them "rudimentary- Latin Rim Model" in his categorization. His classification was also based on Titmuss's institutional/residual approach while the scope of his model to categorize the countries was social insurance and poverty policies. According to his approach, each welfare state copes with poverty by accessing different systems; therefore, he classified the welfare states as it related to the context of social policy (Ibid: 143). As a result of his own criticism and work Leibfried added the fourth category "*rudimentary*", as a new type of welfare regime (Abrahamson 1999: 403). In Leibfried's classification, family structure, familialism and Catholicism play a very dominant role in distinguishing those countries as to be placed in the fourth category (Ibid). It is also important to highlight that although Ferrera advocated the fourth category, as did Leibfried, in contrast he underlined that the strong influences of Catholicism and familialism cannot be the determinants in distinguishing some countries as

fourth classification countries (Ferrera 1996: 18). Ferrera looked at different dimensions of the welfare states such as cash benefits, income governing within the social protection system and also organizational structure of arrangements to explain what distinguishes southern countries from corporatist model as the fourth category (Ferrera 1996: 29). These characteristics present the Southern model as having a fragmented social security system rather than systematic unit and having different social aids to support the many different situations (Ibid: 30).

Table 2: Esping-Andersen Welfare State Typologies

Measures	Welfare State Regimes		
	Liberal	Conservative	Social Democratic
18 Countries			
Decommodification	Australia	Finland	Austria
Social Stratification	Canada	France	Belgium
Private-public mix	Ireland	Germany	The Netherlands
	New Zealand	Japan	Denmark
	UK	Italy	Norway
	USA	Switzerland	Sweden

Source: Bambra 2007

The additional important criticism to Esping-Andersen's classification involves its misleading portrayal of the feminist perspective. Many commentators carrying a more feminist focused perspective (Langan&Ostner 1991, O'Connor 1993, Orloff 1993, Sainsbury 1994, Bussemaker&Kesbergen 1994, Bochorst 19994) stated that Esping-Andersen's typology ignores the gender dimension in this comparative study. According to O'Connor, the comparative welfare study mostly focuses on social rights issues that are based on citizenship; however, there is no sensitivity regarding the gender aspect in the study. Moreover, O'Connor (1993) highlighted that after the Esping-Andersen's comparative study, there were welfare states studies that had begun to study from the feminist perspective, however at this point in time comparative study from gender perspective did not exist. Therefore, it prevented the overall ability to see the interaction between gender and welfare states (501). The first issue O'Connor looked at was the status of women in society and their usage of rights according to Marshall's citizenship⁵ explanation. Marshall pointed to a distinct position of "*married women*" in society in terms of citizenship (O'Connor 1993: 504). However, O'Connor underlined two problematic points of this approach; one is, according to Marshall, though citizenship rights are "*given*" to married women, their equal rights can only be measured amongst their immediate peer group of other married women. It also means, "even though *married women*" are actively involved citizens, they still are not placed in the decision-making process" (Orloff 1996: 70; O'Connor 1993: 504). O'Connor points to a second problem involving the social benefits in society. This is based on citizenship rights, such as insurance or other benefits. Women benefit from such rights through man and women's needs are defined according to the family's needs while the male is considered as an individual. Therefore, it shows stratification in

⁵ According to Marshall: "*Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.*" (quoted in Manza & Saunder 2009: 150).

terms of citizenship and social rights while not recognizing women as an individual citizen (Ibid 502). For women, there is no access to social rights directly even if they are single or married. In light of this information, one can see that there is no equal access for women regarding usage of their social rights (Ibid).

O'Connor focused on social democratic welfare states to show the missing parts of Esping-Andersen comparative welfare study. Consequently, because of all these problems explained above, she stated that missing the gender perspective in these comparative studies could be a preventive factor in seeing the gender problems and inequalities regarding class relations. She presented very striking examples to this problem by using Scandinavian countries, which are considered social democratic countries in Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology as well as other comparative studies such as Ferrera (1996) and Bonoli (1997). Even though there is a high female participation implemented in these countries, the gender segregation in labor markets still prevails for specific job categories. Labor such as public works show high female participation or part time work at best. (Ibid 508, Art & Gelissen 2002: 149). As it can be inferred from O'Connor's perspective, even in social democratic Scandinavian countries, they still do not include pure gender equality, even though they have high female participation in the work force. In this respect, the statement of feminist scholars sounds remarkable: "*...there is no universal story about gender and citizenship. In modern democracies, gender relations and welfare systems are dynamic concepts embedded in national histories, institutions and cultures*" (Siim 2002; Hobson, Lewis & Siim 2002 quoted in Siim 2003).

As O'Connor, Orloff (1996) also advocated that, Esping-Andersen's comparative study and further studies did not consider the gender dimension in class relations while trying to understand the stratification and the relation between state and family. This understanding blocked the ability to observe the influences of the state regarding power dimension and inequality (Orloff 1996: 65).

To understand Orloff criticism more deeply, it is fruitful to look into Abramovitz's (1988) criticism about welfare states in a general sense. According to Abramovitz (1988), patriarchy⁶ is coded into capitalism and it sustains itself with the existence of the relations between each other. Meanwhile, patriarchy establishes its power from the biological differences between sexes and transfers it to capitalism. What Orloff and Abramovitz commonly agree upon is that, the welfare states and the Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare study considers males as the major workers in the states. In relations to that, welfare states and the social policies are structured according to men's behaviors. The main focus and goal of social policies are to protect men, so men can pursue their productive work. At the same time, these policies, which consider men as a productive part of capitalism, implicitly or explicitly define the women's place is to in the home as married

Therefore, policies under the capitalist welfare states model support male domination and the dependency of women to men with these policies (Ibid: 25). This is due to the fact that men are considered the wealth provider of the family, thus he is given the role of the breadwinner in the system

⁶ *"Patriarchy is general structure in which men have power over women. Society is the entirety of relations of a community. Patriarchal society consists of a male-dominated power structure throughout organized society and in individual relationships"* Quoted from: <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/feminism/a/patriarchal.htm>

(Ibid:2). This understanding creates such strict family structure, moreover, defining the strict roles of both sexes in society. Under these roles, women have such a place that they are the ones who are responsible for raising the kids for the benefit of the family while they are dependent on men for financial support given the financial position in the family is given to the order of man as being the breadwinner (Ibid: 3). From this perspective, Orloff advocated that the welfare states persist of gender inequality when looking at their social policies such as social insurance systems or pensions, while also looking at the existent understanding of citizenship that has been in used in Esping-Andersen typology. The lack of attention to gender dimension while evaluating those social policies and the institutions of welfare states without efficient gender condensing lens, Orloff believes that,

these welfare studies only provide continuity of gender segregation in the existent system (Orloff 1996: 52). These particular problems in terms of social policies under welfare states required a gender sensitive perspective (Abramovitz 1988:2)

When it comes to Turkey and its relationship to this categorization, as it can be seen in the table 2 (Esping-Andersen Welfare State Typologies), in the original typology of Esping-Andersen, Turkey was not taken into consideration and included in this comparative study. However, after this process, there have been researches implemented to understand where Turkey stands in Esping-Andersen's typology as a welfare state. These studies stated that Turkey has many similar properties with South European countries⁷ and Turkey is placed under the fourth category (Eardley et al. 1996; Gough 1996; Gough 2001; Saraceno 2002; Bugra & Keyder 2006 cited in Bugra & Ozkan 2013: 132). Nevertheless, according to Bugra and

⁷ In this study, the term of "*Southern Europe Countries*" and "Southern countries" refer to "*Latin Rim Model*" or "*Mediterranean*" countries in the fourth category, which was added to Andersen's comparative study by many researchers as Ferrera (1996), Bonoli (1997).

Ozkan (2013) when it compares with other southern countries, Spain, Italy and Portugal, Turkey showed a slower development process as it relates to being a welfare state in capitalism (Ibid 132). In addition to that, Turkey also shows less increase about female participation in the labor force when compared to these southern countries regarding (Bugra & Ozkan 2013). Turkey will be explained in more detail in chapter 4 and where Turkey stands in the comparative welfare states discussions will be discussed.

One of the big similarities to southern countries of Turkey is the position of the family. As other southern countries, Turkey positioned the family as one of the important units of society (Ozar & Cakar 2013: 3). As it is explained above, the patriarchal system can be identified in the smallest institution of the society, which is the family (Moreno 2002: 2). For Turkey's case, the importance of the family and its result of patriarchal understanding are not only based on traditional structures of the society but also due to state policies on social security benefits (Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 29). In this beneficiary model, women benefit from social security through the men in the family, which is husband or father. That means women are not recognized as an individual and do not benefit from the social security system as an individual citizen and they are excluded from the current system (Ibid 30). As a result, women are positioned as mothers and the main individual responsible for domestic caring, household works and unwritten rules in the family. With this feature, Turkey is more close to the "*Southern Countries*" (Moreno 2002: 2). However, even though it is not one of the criteria for comparison of the welfare states, according to Ozkan and Bugra (2013), there is a significant difference between Southern countries and Turkey in terms of female labor force participation of Turkey. As it can be seen from table 3, despite the rising tendency of female participation in the labor force, this rise is quite slower in Turkey compared to Southern countries. The majority of this remarkable raise of female participation in

Southern countries regarding the labor force is also related to the changing patriarchal understanding in the family (Moreno 2002: 3). In the 1980s, the employment rate of Turkey (table 3) was equal to the other Southern countries. This employment rate of women in Turkey is mostly compromised of agricultural industry. The rise has been limited during the years thereafter (female employment rate for Turkey in order of years; 1980; 36%, 1990; 35.9%, 2000; 27.9%, 2008; 26.6%, 2013; 33.7%). Meanwhile other Southern countries have shown quite remarkable rise in terms of female employment and related to that female participation to the labor force as a whole (Table 3).

Table 3: Female Labor Employment/ Labor Force Participation between 15-64 ages

		Sex	Women				
		Frequency	Annual				
		Age	15 to 64				
		Time	1980	1990	2000	2008	2013
Country	Series						
Greece	Employment/population ratio		34.4**	37.4	41.2	48.7	40
	Labour force participation rate		39.2**	42.5	49.6	55	58.4
Italy	Employment/population ratio		33.4	36.2	39.5	47.2	47.1
	Labour force participation rate		38.4	44	46.2	51.6	54.3
Portugal	Employment/population ratio		45.8	53.9	60.5	62.4	57.9
	Labour force participation rate		52.4	57.8	63.8	68.8	69.7
Spain	Employment/population ratio		28.4	31.7	41.9	56.2	51
	Labour force participation rate		32.8	42.1	52.8	64.5	69.6
Turkey	Employment/population ratio		32.1*	32.8	26.1	23.5	29.6
	Labour force participation rate		36.0*	35.9	27.9	26.6	33.7

*: There is no data available for Turkey between 1980 to 1988 years, therefore 1988's data is used as an indicator **: There is no data available for Turkey between 1980 to 1983 years, therefore 1983's data is used as an indicator

Source: <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>

The main reasons for these differences between Turkey and Southern countries can be inferred from the policies implemented in Turkey. The last three decades, policies in Turkey have been affected by neoliberalism,

which was the mentality that cut the social expenditures in terms of minimizing the state responsibility, and also carried the mentality, which was based on keeping women in the house. Although there are some policies, which were also implemented to provide gender equality during

the European integration process⁸, without changing the state mentality, it didn't ameliorate the gender inequality in practical life (Ozkan & Bugra 2013: 134; Ecevit 2012: 15). Rising conservatism in addition to neo-liberal policies excluded more women from the labor force in Turkey (Bugra cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 61-63).

2.1.2 Gender Policy Regimes

In looking at recently updated Sainsbury's work (1999), it can be seen gender perspective was added to welfare state categorization. Sainsbury conceptualized her work as a result of being against three particular characteristics of comparative welfare state analysis. The first characteristic that she is against is considering and defining women as workers only while prioritizing the paid work in terms of the benefits or lack thereof that results from women's relationship with social policies (Esping-Andersen 1990, cited in Sainsbury 1999). However, Sainsbury highlighted that women's access to paid work did not appear to be equal, thus it did not elicit the same conditions for men and women (Sainsbury 1999: 77). This dilemma is related to the second problem that she highlighted. The current comparative welfare studies were lacking gender perspective, which ignored the unpaid work of women in terms of the large workload women carry in maintaining family responsibilities. Ignoring the unpaid

⁸ For more information about these; see chapter 4.

work of women while constructing social policies causes inequality for women in the labor force, more specifically, their ability to participate in the labor force. The last characteristic that Sainsbury highlighted looks at the problematic approach to social rights as it defines work benefits, and how a woman's position is recognized regarding such rights. Here women can be only defined as “wives or mothers”. Therefore, women are not recognized as an individual in terms of benefiting from social rights (Ibid). In light of this information, Sainsbury’s work “*gender policy regimes*” helps one to understand the different social policy implementations in different social welfare state models from a gender perspective. It also helps to understand the reasons that cause rigidity and exhaustion in families’ members while they try to balance their work and lives (Guo & Gilbert 2012: 164). These gender regimes are not only important to understand gender relations in welfare states; they also give the picture of how traditional norms, belief systems and values are embedded into states (Sainsbury 1999: 77). Moreover, gender regimes are related to how policies are designed and implemented within the different structural units of society such as family, volunteer organizations, market or state (ibid). Based on the type of gender regime, it can be understood whether the state is the main responsible body for social policies or family. The model of Sainsbury is based on social policy regulations and its effects on gender relations and division of labors between sexes (Sainsbury 1999: 79; Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002).

Sainsbury (1999), systematized her work as shown in the table 4 based on division of labor, entitlement, taxation, employment/wage priority, sphere of care and caregiver type work. According to these indicators, Sainsbury defined three different gender regimes. The first gender regime is called “*male breadwinner*” regime. As it can be implied from the name, the roles that are shared between men and women in this regime are defined with a rigid line. This line consists of strict traditional divisions of labor (Guo &

Gilbert 2012: 165). These roles are given to men and women in distinct characteristics of the traditional norms and values that are supported by social policies under this regime. Husband/Father is considered as the main earner in the family and the head of the household. In relation, in order to be defined as an income provider to the family, men are constituted prior legal obligator, which means that, there is an unequal position between men and women in terms of entitlements. While the father is defined as the family provider, the mother is considered as the responsible person for caring and for overseeing all domestic work, which is covered the unpaid work, in the home. Therefore, women's place is defined as being at home, and this determination is one of the main reasons that creates inequality regarding the participation of women to the labor force (Sainsbury 1999: 78) Thereby, the social policies cannot support women who are outside of these strict roles (Abramovitz 1988: 2). Related with these defined roles, employment and wage policies prioritize the men as well (Table 4). In addition, there is hardly public support for women on caring works because these works are mostly defined as private. In many ways, mother and children are dependent on the breadwinner- father in this regime. Policies taxation commitment is upon the breadwinner of the family that means taxation is implemented as a family (Table 4).

The second gender regime is called “*separate gender roles*” regime. In “*separate gender roles*” regime, the roles, responsibilities and benefits are defined as well as the distinctions between men and women. Moreover, entitlements are defined, further establishing the differentiation between man and women according to defined roles in the regime. Therefore, women and men both can benefit from entitlements (Sainsbury 1999: 79). The remarkable distinction between “*male breadwinner*” regime and “*separate gender roles*” regime is that, in “*separate gender roles*” regime, women also receive benefits due to the identification of the distinct role as

implementing caring work of the family (Table 4). This feature is important in order to include single mothers to receive benefits (Ibid). On the other hand, as in the “*male breadwinner*” regime, “*separate gender roles*” regime also prioritizes men in terms of employment and wage policies. Moreover, caring work is considered as private, but in “*separate gender roles*” regime, a “*paid component*” exists for women because of their home care.

The last category of the gender policy regimes is called “*individual earner-carer*” (Table 4). This regime has distinct features when it compares with the other two gender regimes (Sainsbury 1999: 79). In “*individual earner-carer*” regime, men and women are treated the same, in addition this model does not define distinct roles between men and women. Women and men both are considered as “*carer*” or “*breadwinner*” (Bergqvist 1999: 122). Therefore, entitlements are equal and the basis of entitlements is defined in terms of citizenship or residence, not in terms family responsibilities or the principle of maintenance. Women and men receive benefits as an individual instead of as a family, so that, family does not consist a head of household who is responsible for tax obligation, and thus, who unfairly receives all the tax relief. Women do not have to be married; women can be single mothers as well, since the benefit depends on social right understanding. In the meanwhile, father can be carer as well and that gives benefit to father from the “*carer*” opportunities in order to have right for being a “*carer*” as a citizen (Sainsbury 1999: 79). Father can be defined as an “*earner*” and also a “*carer*”. Therefore, the benefits of either paid or unpaid work are in principle equivalent. One of the remarkable points of Sainsbury is showing that “*Individual Earner-Carer*” is a model that invalidates the differences between men and women (Ibid).

Table 4: Gender Policy Regimes

Regime attributes	Male breadwinner	Separate gender roles	Individual earner-carer
Ideology	Strict division of labour	Strict division of labour	Shared tasks
	Husband = earner	Husband = earner	Father = earner-carer
	Wife = carer	Wife = carer	Mother = earner-carer
Entitlement	Unequal among spouses	Differentiated by gender role	Equal
Basis of entitlement	The principle of maintenance	Family responsibilities	Citizenship or residence
Recipient of benefits	Head of household	Men as family providers	Individual
	Supplements for dependants		
		Women as caregivers	
Taxation	Joint taxation	Joint taxation	Separate taxation
	Deductions for dependants	Deductions for dependants for both spouses	Equal tax relief
Employment and wage policies	Priority to men	Priority to men	Aimed at both sexes
Sphere of care	Primarily private	Primarily private	Strong state involvement
Caring work	Unpaid	Paid component to caregivers in the home	Paid component to caregivers in and outside the home

Resource: Sainsbury, 1999

The “*Gender Policy Regimes*” of Sainsbury contributed to the gender perspective as it relates to comparative welfare studies in a distinctive way. In addition to that, her new perspective regarding the way in which she looked at welfare states gave the opportunity to see the distinctiveness of the Scandinavian countries in terms of gender perspective. This feature of Sainsbury’s study is important for this thesis as well. As Sweden is one of the main countries in this comparative study, Sainsbury made a definite distinction between Sweden and Norway, Denmark than did Esping-Andersen’s original typology. These three countries were classified under the same category in Esping-Andersen’s original typology⁹. However, according to “*Gender Policy Regimes*”, while Norway and Denmark are

⁹ Table 2: Esping-Andersen Welfare State Typologies, page 50

classified under “*separate gender roles*”, today Sweden is classified under “*individual earner-carer*”, after its shift from “*Separate Gender Roles*” in 1970s (Sainsbury 1999: 81).

When one looks deeper for details on gender policy regimes criteria for Sweden, it can be inferred that Sweden fulfills the criteria that Sainsbury determined as “*Individual earner carer*” (Table 5). There have been consistent reforms implemented in Sweden allowing for the transition to this regime. In 1971 the tax act in Sweden, made significant impact on changing the roles in families and also in the citizenship understanding from a gender equality perspective. Since 1971, individuals have been taxed income separately in the family. Therefore, regardless of their position in the family, women and men have been recognized as an individual citizen respectively (Eduards 1991: 682; Bergqvist 2002: 9). Moreover, with this regulation, women also gained the recognition of being a “breadwinner” as well. Thus, It can be stated for the certain effects it has on the respective traditional roles. Besides, this regulation can be considered as the admission of shared task role of women and men without the influences of conventional norms in terms of state’s perspective (Bergqvist 2002: 9). Understanding the benefits that have arrived from social right, it can be viewed that it is based on citizenship of Sweden. This feature remains the same while evaluating the system according to gender policy regime. Sweden shows the “individual earner-carer” as well when viewing both employment and wage policies (table 5). The equal opportunity act (1980) can be shown to be a commitment of state regarding the advocacy of equality in different parts of society. With this act one of the main goals was to provide equal quality and position for both men and women in the labor force. Accordingly, “equal opportunity commissions” have been established on both the national and local level therewith the implementation of the act (Eduards 1991: 691). No wonder there have been oppositions that have appeared concerning the

equal opportunity act due to its gender-neutral nature (Ibid 692). However, the final decision about the equal act was to keep the gender-neutral nature of it, together with the decision of ameliorating the situation of women in the labor force (ibid 693). The consistency and commitment to gender equality can be observed when looking at following policies in other areas of the society such as parental leave policy (1974), which also the idea of sharing tasks in the family in terms of childcare (Bergqvist 2002: 9). In addition to this generous policy, Sweden also provides public childcare services with financial support while day care services provide elevated construction for childcare for working mothers. As can be seen public childcare is to encourage women to stay in labor force. Public childcare is also important for the independency of women in work force (Mahon 1997: 383). This also shows the strong state involvement in childcare and support for the childcare outside of the home (Table 5).

When it comes to considering Turkey according to Sainsbury's work, some commentators (Dedeoglu 2009, Bugra & Ozkan 2006, Ozar & Cakar 2013) advocate that Turkey is shown as having a "*male breadwinner*" regime's feature (table 5). Turkey is included in the "*male breadwinner*" regime owing to the dependency of women on men as head of the family in terms of taxation, receiving benefits and the basis of entitlements. Traditional gender roles show it self on almost every level of interaction with the state.

On the other hand, Turkey seems to take affirmative actions in terms of gender equalities (for example with the change in the Civil Code in 2001), removing the "bread winner" terminology from the civil code. This can be considered as a significant shift from "*male breadwinner*" regime in such ways as moving closure to achieving equal rights. Also the amended perspective as it relates to the sharing of properties in divorce, to begin to show recognition of paid work as it pertains to women in Turkey (Kilic

2006: 75; Bugra 2013: 35). However, with the last reforms in social security system (March 2008), it strengthened the women's dependency to the men (Keig 2008). As it was discussed in the previous title; "Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen's Welfare State Classification", most of the women benefit from social security and also from the pension system by the head of the family (Ibid: 18). According to Elveren (2008), 68.4% of women receive benefits by men, 12.9% by their parents and 2.7% receive by their children in Turkey. According to this information, the positions held by women within the family as wife, mother or daughter, are dependent on men¹⁰. As a result unequal share exist in the model due to man having vested rights through 'principle of maintenance'¹¹. This also means that the entitlements are not based on citizenship status (table 5).

With the rising conservatism (Ecevit 2012) and the current understanding of the state regarding caring work in Turkey, it strengthens the role of the women as carer, thus encouraging the idea that is the woman who is responsible for providing the primary support for home care (Bugra 2012:67 cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012). In fact traditional roles are imprinted with policies, furthermore these policies are designed to keep women in the home (Dedeoglu 2009: 45, Ecevit 2012:15). However, there are some recorded cash transfers documented regarding women and their caring work. For instance, women, who take the responsibilities of caring for the senior(s) or disabled person in the family, can receive monthly cash from the state. Solely, this can only be bolstering the idea of keeping women in the home (Ecevit 2012: 25). Nonetheless, most of the caring work for women is determined to be unpaid and invisible (Table 5). The lack of

¹⁰ However, this benefit is limited with the basic coverage of health insurance. Women, if in dependent position cannot benefit from any other entitlements under principle of maintenance such as poverty or disability

¹¹ This terminology is taken from Sainsbury's original study about gender policy regimes. For more information see: Sainsbury D. 1999, "*Gender and Welfare State Regimes*" Oxford University Press Inc. NY, USA

institutionalized care policies and lack of accessibility to existing policies ultimately discourage women to stay in labor force (Bugra 2012: 63 cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012).

Lastly, joint taxation is implemented in Turkey as well as deductions exist for dependants (table 5). According to the position of women in the labor force the number of the children, rate of deduction changes¹².

Table 5: Comparison of Turkey and Sweden according to Gender Policy Regimes

	Regime Attributes	Ideology	Entitlements	Basis of entitlement	Recipient of benefits	Taxation	Employment and wage policies	Sphere of care	Caring work
Turkey	Male breadwinner	Strict division of labour Husband = earner Wife = carer	Unequal among spouses	The principle of maintenance	Head of Household**	Joint taxation- Deduction for dependants	Priority to men	Primarily private	Very few paid component/ Unpaid and inside the home
Sweden	Individual earner-carer	Shared Tasks	Father = earner-carer Mother = earner-carer	Citizenship	Individual	separate taxation- equal tax relief	Aimed at both sexes	Strong state involvement	Paid component to care givers and outside the home

Source: Author

2.2 Gender Inequality as a Worldwide Phenomenon: Some Observations through Time Use

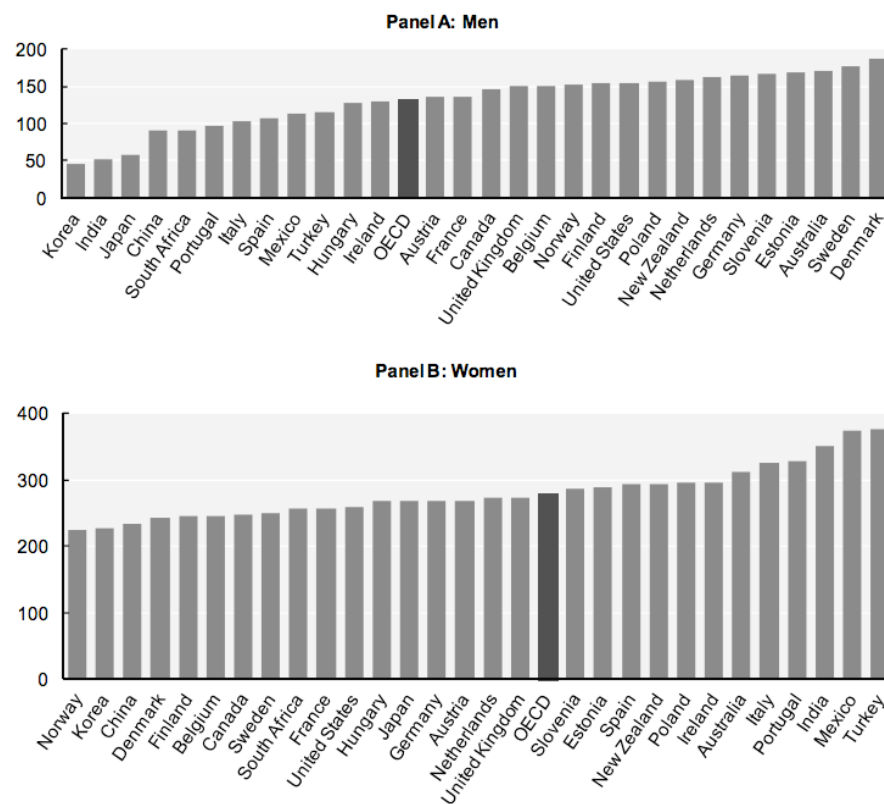
“We live in a sexist society.” Paulina B. Bart wrote this statement in 1972 (qtd. in Zuckerman 1975: 53). Today this statement still stands to be true. These sex-prescribed treatments start to shape human beings at every stage and phase of human life. It establishes itself as early as birth, where it strongly presents itself to the child, disguising modeling itself as strong family cultural beliefs. Furthermore, gender-sex beliefs begin with the

¹² <http://www.expatguideturkey.com/payroll-basics-in-turkey/>

family strongly shaping the human life; this shaping begins immediately at birth (Denmark 1974, cited in Zuckerman 1975: 89). Even when looking at differences that can occur between the many diverse societies within the global dynamic, similarities remain. Kids grow up in a family that women, not men have the role of nurturing, and bringing the child to predominately equate women with the act of nurturing. Bring one to the fact that since the child sees their mother as the nurturer, the child then sees women as a whole as nurturers. In addition to this role, kids also grow up witnessing the mother/women in the house as more responsible from domestic work¹³. Related with the general picture of this thesis, table 6 shows that while Sweden is the second country in accordance to devoted time given by men regarding in category of unpaid work in comparison to other OECD countries. On the other hand, Turkey has the highest rate for women regarding to devoted time to unpaid work.

¹³ In this study domestic work refers to; “Housework, child and adult care, gardening and pet care, construction and repairs, shopping and services, and household management”, the definition cited directly from; “Life organization of men” by Péter Németh, Eszter Jakopáncz http://www.iises.net/wp-content/uploads/pp029-058_ijobm_2014V2N1.pdf

Table 6: Minutes of unpaid work per day for the population aged 15-64 over the period 1998-2009



Source: Miranda 2011, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers
 Cooking, Caring and volunteering: unpaid work around the world
[http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM\(2011\)1&doclanguage=en](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM(2011)1&doclanguage=en)

Looking at a more global picture of the world, when it comes to childcare specifically, table 7, “Primary childcare in minutes per day for the population aged 15-64” shows that for OECD countries, even the non-working fathers spend less time for childcare than working mothers. When looking for more details related to childcare time, fathers do not partake in the responsibility of physical care time that is spent for childcare and they do it very minimal. Figure 1 shows the ratio of the devoted time for different childcare works. As it can be seen, for fathers, they devote a large amount of their reserved childcare time for recreational activities or

transportation of the child (41% Recreational and educational care, 14% transportation of the child). Fathers spend only 41% of their time with children for physical care. However, when it comes to women physical care rate goes up to 60%.

Table 7: Primary childcare in minutes per day for the population aged 15-64 over the period 1998-2009*

	Fathers		Mothers	
	Working	Not Working	Working	Not Working
Australia**	69	105	137	236
Belgium	28	31	58	99
Canada	59	59	97	188
Denmark	48	46	81	120
Finland	42	43	52	166
France	26	48	62	114
Germany	37	48	66	182
Italy	40	49	85	124
Ireland***	69	-	150	171
Japan***	20	-	53	154
Norway***	46	-	67	179
Spain	43	60	85	135
Sweden	55	56	82	144
United Kingdom	43	63	81	155
United States	62	95	94	155
Turkey****	72		245	
OECD	40	51	74	144

* The estimates refer to care for children under the age 18, except for Australia and Canada (less than 15 years) and Turkey. Working parents included both full-time and part-time workers. Non-working parents includes on leave, and unemployed, inactive and retired parents.

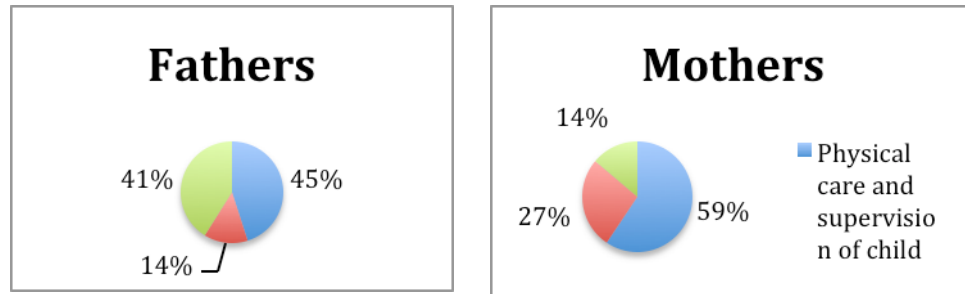
**The estimates for Australia include the time spent on care of non-household children

***The sample of non-working fathers is too small in Ireland, Japan and Norway

**** There is no specific data on childcare activities; these data for Turkey show the overall domestic work in house. However, according to OECD social policy division paper, in Turkey women dedicates 4 to 6 times more to childcare than men (<http://www.oecd.org/els/family/44720649.pdf>)

Source: Miranda 2011, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers Cooking, Caring and volunteering: unpaid work around the world, [http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM\(2011\)1&doclanguage=en](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM(2011)1&doclanguage=en)

Figure 1: Women devote most their time to physical care while men devote most of their time teaching, reading, and playing with children



Source: Miranda 2011, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers
 Cooking, Caring and volunteering: unpaid work around the world
[http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM\(2011\)1&doclanguage=en](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=DELSA/ELSA/WD/SEM(2011)1&doclanguage=en)

As it can be seen from the data (table 7), women spend more time in the home than men culturally and globally. Given the home is considered a domestic place, the women as mother accrues more domestic time than men as father in a lifetime, therefore mother as women represents the private world carrying the role that bears with domestic responsibilities at home, while father as a man, represents the social world outside of the home (Chodorow 1999: 173-174). As it can be inferred from here, these roles in the family can be taken, adopted and modeled by kids. Kids then act out these roles as they pursue their place in society as they choose the path of least resistance. This begins the cycle of a sexist social behavior. Psychologist Albert Bandura and Key Bussey (1999) studied modeling and the effects it has on the shaping, early conditioning, and cognitive development of children. Thus if the parents of the household play out

sexist roles the child will model these same sexist roles carrying them to their children. Eventually, over generations, it becomes a social norm¹⁴.

Therefore, gender roles are neither created owing to only biological differences between male and female sex, nor does gender refer only to the categorization of sex (Loutfi 2001: 4). For instance, Butler's (1990) discussion around what gender really means and what distinguishes it from sex, is that gender is constructed under the guide of the community's accepted cultural norms, and that sex is merely one of the apparatus that allows for gender to create predictable reproducible culturally situated roles in society. Moreover, being born to a sex does not infinitely define the role of a human being, as one may conclude focusing in on this biological difference alone, however proposing that it become the cultural environment situated around the sex that one is born with, sexist ideology begins to shape one's fate.

These cultural norms interpenetrate and interweaving themselves into the faction of sex, so when human beings come to the world, whatever sex they genetically inherit directly defines their roles in society (7-8). As a consequence, gender, the cultural influenced by product of sex determines the interactions between man and women and also tries to define what social and cultural norms are necessary for its continued production its continued survival. It finds its breath, its life in the essences of the sexist creative differences it establishes and perpetuates. In addition to that gender defines the interaction of power between man and women (Beneria 2002: 20).

¹⁴ For detailed information about Albert Bandura and Key Bussey's study, see; "Social Cognitive Theory of Gender Development and Differentiation", American Psychological Association, Vol. 104, No.4 676-713

2.3 Gender Friendly Policies

Gender is a factor that can provide the scaffolding systematically to focus on the social interactions between man and women. In this manner, focusing on gender friendly policies rather than focusing on women friendly policies would help prevent the one-sided focus. Besides, it will support to form or change a women's behavioral patterns given more genuine gender friendly policies there seen, would be the building of a more humanistic understanding that equivocally works for both men and women as a collective (Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002: 1).

Gender friendly policies help to provide an environment that is less dependent on traditional roles, policies that dare to live outside the confines of traditional roles. However what is the difference between women friendly policies and gender friendly policies? What has been the historical role and effects of women friendly policies vs. gender friendly policies?

What gender friendly concept advocates, is that policies that specifically focus on women, recreate an environment where society would be faced with the same inequality issues of making policies solely for the problems of women. Adjudging the issue at hand from one side, not looking at both sides equally, would only continue to perpetuate the ideology of inequality, further categorizing these issues. Thus, it would remain a woman's problem wrapped in a disproportionate sexist understanding; instead of looking at it for what it is a broader societal problem. This is why a gender friendly concept is important to see the overall picture from the vantage point of both sides' men and women, providing them both the same opportunities in

life in terms of policies. However, the concept of women friendliness and women friendly policies should only be seen as necessary foundation to achieve gender equality as the next level. Moreover, the opportunity for a gender friendly environment cannot truly exist if the state's foundation and understanding is not based on *women friendliness* first.

The gender equality scale has been so far out of balance, grossly disproportionate favoring men that it has come time to begin to throw massive support on the other side of the gender scale, the women side of the equality issue to bring the scale into balance. That's why there is now a major focusing on more women issues than men issues at this point in time regarding the respective societies. There is also a focusing in on more positive action policies due to ongoing inequalities or lack of equal opportunities in the collective women's day to day lives (O'Cinneide n.d.). This inequality arguably is due to the lack of support on the women side of the gender equality scale. Therefore, prioritizing women in terms of social policies is to provide equal opportunities for women to make sure they benefit from all the policies (Yilmaz 2009). Only if equal opportunities are provided to women that can help them to gain an equal benefit in society via gender friendly policies, then following, these policies will continue provide consideration for the equality state of both men and women owing to rule out the differences that come from cultures or social norms (Öztan n.d.).

Understanding past and present mentality of the state about gender are important in for the policies that are designed to regulate or support women and men's daily lives. From a gender equality point of view, the state's definition, or more appropriately put, a state's understanding and interpretation of gender, greatly effects the shaping of its of gender equality. Moreover, this definition helps to see how the state can facilitate or cause segregation (Sainsbury 1999: 78). In light of this information, in this study,

while explaining and then using the concept of “women friendly state” is referred to as an important step to achieve the next level as gender equality. In addition to that, one should not look at the concept of women friendliness as an unnecessary foundation to be internalized by states or designing policies. The main concern is to prevent the misunderstanding of women friendliness being the final concept or philosophy that will provide equality both for women and men’s lives. One should know, there is more work after designing and implementing women friendly policies. In this case gender friendliness can be seen as a next level for states to achieve more equality and justice.

According to Norwegian political scientist Hernes (1987) a “women friendly state” is a state that can provide women a sustainable balance between their work and their relations with their kids. In this case, women can have their children but at the same time they do not have to make a one-sided choice between their social life and motherhood. Moreover, here the state attempts to reduce some of the strain for women during the onset of parenthood. Woman friendly states allow women to have a presence in public life while at the same time allowing a woman also to become a mother in her private life (cited in Borchorst & Siim 2008: 209). It can be strongly inferred that the understanding of this definition is a very strong starting point that aim to change the traditional gender roles in terms of responsibilities regarding parenthood. The main goal of this understanding is to increase the flexibility in women’s lives and give them more opportunities to develop a professional and social life while they become a mother (a parent). The fact that, this woman friendly state definition highlights the importance of women’s choice but also mostly encourages motherhood. Moreover, it can be seen here that, it prioritizes motherhood more than being solely a woman. Therefore, this definition, unfortunately, may add causes that continue the segregation between women and man even

though it tries to build better options for women regarding the sex differences (Borchorst & Siim 2008: 209).

It is for sure; women friendly policies had a huge impact on women in the workplace. However, it cannot be ignored; the underlined hidden influence it has in its seemingly unconscious promotion of segregation, while no forms of compensatory policies have yet to be assembled to fill and close the gap between men and women such as in shared care responsibilities, wage subject or empowerment subject. Women are looked at as being mother and, therefore, looked at as only being capable of doing certain jobs or holding certain positions within the company for many different reasons: sex (biological), strength, endurance, cognitive (physical), and the motherhood (physiological). For instance, Andersen states; even though ‘Women-friendly’ Scandinavia countries have high employment of women; they have the most segregated labor markets in OECD (Andersen 2002: 74).

It is the result of women friendly policies that focus and promote only “one stage” of the female development in promoting motherhood. In contrast, making gender friendly policies, which focuses and promotes, in its entirety, the multiple stages that are needed in healthy female development in its promotion of the broader scope of womanhood. More so, gender friendly policies move far outside the scope of womanhood and focus on the balance and equality for social relations. Thus, its purpose is not to aid the concept of the sexes but to provide support through policy the improvements required and needed in many of the global societies.

On the other hand, what makes gender friendly policies different from women friendly policies is that gender friendly policies point out the importance of focusing in on men’s needs and behaviors as much as they focusing on women’s needs and behaviors. Thus, that means that societal

issues and living conditions would be taken into consideration for both women and men. Consideration of policies from both the men's and women's perspective also helps to reorganize the understanding of fatherhood around policies. This reorganization is crucial for gender equality around productive and reproductive process in societies (Datta cited in Visvanathan et al. 2011: 121). In this manner, policies could be constituted to enable both women and men with the ability of associating their particular life to things such as domestic care as it relates with work.

When looking at the difference, it is no wonder, gender friendly policies and women friendly policies might appear similar to each other or are more likely to be confused with each other. However, it is important to remember that, gender, as a term does not mean the replacement of the term women. It is more so to understand the relation of power and situated norms between men and women especially in the workplace (qtd. in Beneria 2002: 40). Considering policies in terms of gender friendly perspective instead of women friendly perspective will help to focus on economic drains as it pertains to women and men's lives instead of warding off the context from the economic situation (Beneria 2002: 27). Gender friendly policies can help to remove or reshape the traditional roles in families in terms of care or domestic work (Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002: 17). From this perspective, it can be observed that most of the welfare states vary more on care policies for working mothers than working fathers, and this effects the decisions of men and women in work force (Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002: 1-17). This shows that gender friendly policies may help to take into consideration the societal needs of both men and women; therefore, it can help to direct or change the patterned behaviors of both men and women as it relates to their decisions in the field of employment. This distinction should also be taken into consideration when viewing the next subject of discussion involving maternity leave, paternity leave and parental leave. This allows for an

evaluation that is centered on the differences between policies that focus either one side or both sides in terms of reconciling work-life.

2.4 Gender Friendly Work-Life Balance Policies and Country Samples for Regulations

2.4.1 Maternity Leave

Maternity is a situation that demands special needs and regulations for women to recover themselves. From an equality perspective, there have been many regulations and enforcements to encourage countries to implement better practices in work life to reconcile the gap regarding the productive and reproductive lives of women as compared to men. Since 1919, with the foundation of ILO, women in work have been one of its leading and important topics. The first international regulations implemented by ILO were in 1919 (Convention 3 that underlined the importance of maternity protection. There have been many regulations implemented since then and also updated by ILO (2012: 32). Today, ILO's regulations support UN Millennium Development Goals (Number 3 and 5)¹⁵ from gender equality perspective,

“Maternity is condition which requires differential treatment to genuine equality and, in this sense, it is more of a premise of the principle of equality than a dispensation. Special maternity protection measures should be taken to enable women to fulfill their maternal role without being marginalized in the labor market” (ILO 1996 cited in, ILO 2012: 31).

¹⁵ Millennium Development Goals consist from 8 goals and defined by 193 members of countries to achieve until 2015. Number 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women Number 5: Improve Maternal Health for more information visit <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

As it can be seen from table 8, in most of the countries today, maternity leave exist in different shapes and forms to protect women's health and also as a push for more rights for mothers as to receiving a greater allotment as it relates to the giving of a break for a defined period of time. This break also should guarantee the choice of coming back to work if the mother wants to after the childbirth process (ILO 2012: 43).

“Protective measures for pregnant women and women who have recently given birth include the prevention of exposure to health and safety hazards during and after pregnancy; entitlement to paid maternity leave; entitlement to breastfeeding breaks; protection against discrimination and dismissal; and a guaranteed right to return to the job after maternity leave (ILO, 1996)”

ILO's national legislation around maternity leave has three different aspects. First one is the duration of the maternity leave, second one is the economic benefits for women to recover her situation during maternity leave time which is a cash benefit and the last aspect is the equality and creating opportunity for equality for women. Benefits of Maternity Protection;

“...A woman to whom this Convention applies shall be entitled to a period of maternity leave of not less than 14 weeks. [Convention No. 183, Article 4(1)]

Members should endeavor to extend the period of maternity leave referred to in Article 4 of the Convention to at least 18 weeks.[Recommendation No. 191, Paragraph 1(1)]”

“ This convention also consists from different features in it;

- Scope;*
- Health protection;*
- Maternity Leave;*
- Leave in case of illness or complications;*
- Cash and medical Benefits;*
- Employment Protection and Non-discrimination; and*
- Breastfeeding mothers.”*

When one looks at details of the maternity leave duration by country and by region from table 8, it can be seen in the data that Europe and CIS have the highest maternity leave time for women. All countries in Europe and CIS region (except Iceland) contain at least 14-17 weeks or 18 weeks or more of maternity leave. What it is also significant here is that most of these countries are also considered as developed countries in academic literature as they are the members of OECD ¹⁶. Moreover, in terms of developed/developing country classification, some countries like Japan, New Zealand and Australia, from different regions of the world and they are viewed as developed participating countries. For example, these countries have maternity leave duration of 14 to 17 weeks or 18 weeks and more¹⁷. Besides, one should also remember that most of the countries in last two

¹⁶ However there is no distinct separation for regions as developed and developing regions according to OECD explanations and World Bank, there is a separation between countries as developed and developing. Especially OECD countries are considered, “ high income” and “democratic governments” which directly relate with development. For detailed information see; <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6326> , <http://www.worldbank.org/depweb/beyond/global/glossary.html#16>, <http://geography.about.com/od/lists/a/oecdmembers.htm>

¹⁷ UN has the separation between developing and developed regions. According to these separation; North America, Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand are considered developed regions. <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm#least>

categorization of table 8 are the welfare states that have been used in welfare comparative studies¹⁸

Table 8: Maternity Leave Duration by Country and Region 2012

Region	Less than 12 Weeks	12 or 13 weeks (meets ILO Conv. 3 & 103)	14- 17 Weeks (meets ILO Conv. 3, 103, &183)	18 weeks or more (meets C3, C103, C183 & R191)
Africa	Cape Verde, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Malawi, Mezzambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Sudan, Tunisia, Ugand	Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea*, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana*,Kenya, Mauritius, Nambia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Swaziland, United Rebuplic of Tanzania, Zambia*	Algeria*,Benin**,Burkina Faso*, Cameroon*, Central African Republic*,Chad, Comonos, Cengo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Ivory Coast*,Gabon*, Guinea*,Libya*, Madagascar, mali**, Mauritania*, Morocco**, Niger, Senegal, Seychelles, Somalia, South Africa, Togo, Zimbawne	
Asia and Pasific	Brunei-Darussalam, Malaysia, Nepal, Papua-New Guinea*, Philippines	Afghanistan, Cambodia, Fijii, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kiribati, Republic of Korea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Myanmar, pakistan, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka*, Thailand,	Bangladesh, China, Japan, Mogolia*, New Zealand, Singapore, Vietnam	Australia

¹⁸ For detailed information see: Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen's Welfare State Classification

Table 8: Maternity Leave Duration by Country and Region 2012 (cont.)

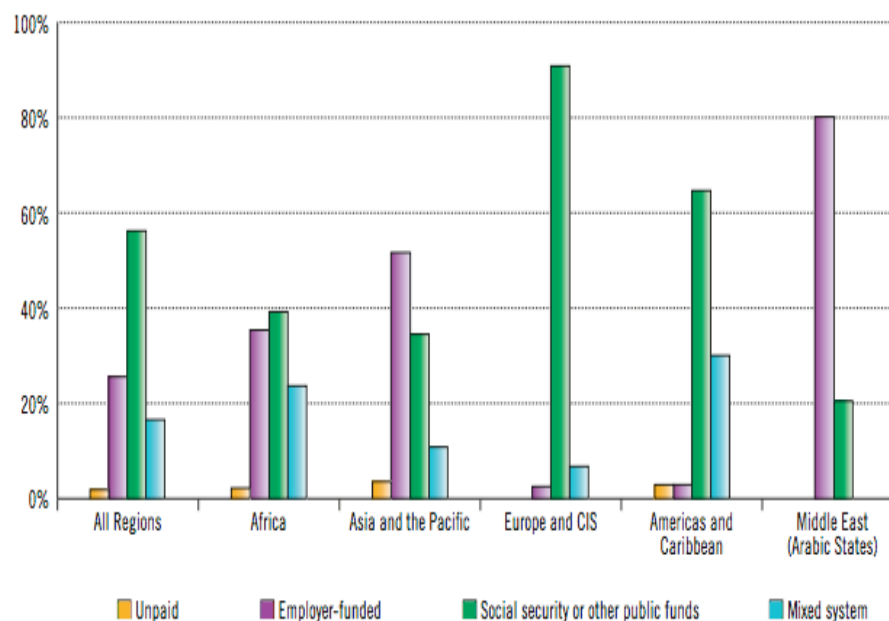
Region	Less than 12 Weeks	12 or 13 weeks (meets ILO Conv. 3 & 103)	14- 17 Weeks (meets ILO Conv. 3, 103, &183)	18 weeks or more (meets C3, C103, C183 & R191)
Europe and CIS		Iceland	Austria **, Belarus**, Belgium, Finland, France*, Germany*, Greece, Israel, Latvia**, luxemburg**, Malta, Netherlands**, Portugal*, Slovenia**, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey	Albania**, Armenia, Azerbaijan**, Bosnia-Herzegovina**, Bulgaria**, Croatia*, Cyprus**, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary**, Ireland, Italy**, Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyzstan*, Lithuania**, FYR Macedonia**, Moldova**, Norway, Poland, Romania**, Russian Federation*, San Marino*, Serbia**, Slovakia**, Tajikistan*, Ukraine, United Kindgdon, Uzbekistan*
America and Caribbean	Bolivia*, Honduras	Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina*, Bahamas*, Barbados, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecvador*, El Salvador, Greneda Guatemala*, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua*, Paraguay, Peru, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Trinidan and Tobago, United Satets, Uruguay*	Belize**, Brazil*, Canada, Colombia*, Costa Rica, Panama	Chile*, Cuba**, Venezuela*
Middle East (Arab States)	Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebenon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen		Syria	

Source: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_235155.pdf

2.4.2 Maternity Leave Benefits

After ILO implemented maternity protection in 1919, in 1952 in 50 countries maternity leave was supported by maternity leave benefits. Today in 97% of the countries, they have some type of legislation to provide maternity leave benefits. There are different systems implemented by countries to provide these maternity leave benefits. Some of the funding options for benefits are created in social insurance system, or some of the employer organizations pay directly. Today, very little funding comes from public sources. However, figure 2 shows that, Europe as a region has the most public funds or social security support to provide maternity leave benefits. According to ILO's data in Europe and the CIS region, 91% of the countries maternity leave benefits are paid by social insurance or public funds (Figure 2). What is also significant for this region is there is no unpaid maternity leave (Working Conditions Laws Report 2012: 39). One can also see from figure 2 (Source of Maternity Leave Benefits by Region) that, Middle East region is the one region, which contains the lowest legal regulations to provide maternity leave by social insurance or public funds. Table 9 gives more detailed information country by country to see the source of maternity leave benefits by country and regions.

Figure 2: Source of Maternity Leave Benefits by Region



Source: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_235155.pdf

In addition the information in table 9 (Source of Maternity Leave Benefits by Country and Region 2012), table 10 (Country Samples for Maternity Leave and Maternity Leave Benefits 2012) includes information from selected countries pertaining to duration of maternity leave, amount of maternity leave benefits and the source of maternity leave benefits. These selected countries are comprised of countries that were used for Esping-Andersen's original comparative welfare study, and southern Europe countries with addition of Turkey¹⁹.

¹⁹ For more information about these countries' feature see "Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen's Welfare State Classification" in this chapter.

Table 9:Source of Maternity Leave Benefits by Country and Region 2012

Region	Unpaid	Employer-funded	Social insurance or other public funds	Mixed system
Africa	Lesotho	Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe	Algeria, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, South Africa, United Republic of Tanzania, Tunisia	Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Egypt, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Togo
Asia and the Pacific	Papua-New Guinea	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brunei-Darussalam, Cambodia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Kiribati, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Vanuatu	Australia, China, Iran, Japan, Republic of Korea, Lao Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Philippines, Vietnam	Singapore, Thailand
Europe and CIS		Kazakhstan	Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, San Marino, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	Denmark, Germany, United Kingdom
Americas and Caribbean	United States (Federal)	Jamaica	Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada (Federal), Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominica, Guyana, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela	Bahamas, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama
Middle East (Arab States)		Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen	Bahrain, Jordan	

Source: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_235155.pdf

Table 10: Country Samples for Maternity Leave and Maternity Leave Benefits 2012

Country	Duration of Maternity leave (as expressed in the national legislations)	Duration of maternity leave, converted into weeks	Amount of Maternity leave Benefits	Source of Maternity leave Benefits
Austria	16 Weeks	16 Weeks	100%	Social Insurance
Belgium	15 Weeks	18 Weeks	100%	Social Insurance
Denmark	18 Weeks	18 Weeks	75%	Public Funds (State: local and national government & employer)
Finland	105 Working Days	18 Weeks	70% up to ceiling, plus 40% of the additional amount up to a ceiling plus 25% of additional amount	Social Insurance
France	16 Weeks	16 Weeks	100% up to a ceiling	Social Insurance
Germany	14 Weeks	14 Weeks	100%	Mixed Social Insurance up to a ceiling/Employer pays remainder)
Italy	5 Months	22 Weeks	80%	Social Insurance
United States	12 Weeks (Federal Level)	12 Weeks (federal level)	Unpaid	No National Programme
Greece	119 Days	17 Weeks	100%	Social Insurance/ Public Funds (State)
Ireland	42 Weeks	42 Weeks	80% (for 26 weeks) up to a ceiling	Social Insurance(universal flat rate for non qualifying women)

Table: 10 Country Samples for Maternity Leave and Maternity Leave Benefits 2012 (cont.)

Country	Duration of Maternity leave (as expressed in the national legislations)	Duration of maternity leave, converted into weeks	Amount of Maternity leave Benefits	Source of Maternity leave Benefits
Portugal	120 or 150 consecutive days	17 or 21 weeks	100% for 120 days, 80% for 150 days	Social Insurance
Netherlands	16 Weeks	16 Weeks	100% up to a ceiling	Social Insurance
Sweden	14 Weeks	14 Weeks	80% (up to a ceiling)	Social Insurance/ Mandatory Private Insurance
Turkey	16 Weeks	16 Weeks	66.60%	Social Insurance
United Kingdom	52 Weeks	52 Weeks	6 weeks paid at 90%; lower of 90% flat rate for weeks 7-39; week 40-52 unpaid	Mixed (employer pays; receives 92% refund by public funds)
Japan	14 Weeks	14 Weeks	66.67%	Social Insurance(state also contributes)
New Zealand	14 Weeks	14 Weeks	100% up to a ceiling	Public Funds(State)
Switzerland	14 Weeks	14 Weeks	80% (up to a ceiling)	Social Insurance/ Mandatory Private Insurance
Australia	12 Months	12 Months	18 Weeks paid at federal minimum wage level	Social Insurance

Source: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_235155.pdf

2.4.3 Paternity Leave

From gender friendliness perspective paternity leave also has an important role in terms of equal opportunity for men as a father. ILO doesn't have standard regulation for paternity leave yet; however paternity leave exists in some countries national legacies (ILO 2010: 43). As it can be seen from table 11, there are different variations of paternity leave regulations. The range starts from one day to three months. Mostly, European Union states highlight the importance of paternity leave and incentivize countries to have an independent non-transferable leave benefit for fathers (ILO 2010: 44).

Table 11: Examples of Leave Provisions in National Legislation for Fathers
Time at Childbirth

Country	Provision
Belgium	Ten days' paid paternity leave
Estonia	Fourteen calendar days
Finland	Eighteen days' paid
France	Eleven days' paid paternity leave, plus three days' paid leave for family reasons
Hungary	Five Days' paid paternity leave
Iceland	Three months' paid parental leave reserved for the father
Netherlands	Two days' paid paternity leave
New Zealand	Two weeks' unpaid paternity leave (or one week if only employed six months)
Norway	Ten weeks' paid parental leave reserved for the father
Portugal	Five Days' paid paternity leave
Spain	Four weeks' paid paternity leave
Sweden	Ten days' paid paternity leave, plus two months' paid parental leave reserved for the father
United Kingdom	Two weeks paid paternity leave

Source:

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/@publ/documents/publication/wcms_124442.pdf

2.4.4 Parental Leave

Parental Leave is a policy, which is design as a particular device of time that provides the opportunity for a family to spend their time with their children for childcare. The difference of parental leave from maternity leave or paternity leave is that, parental leave can be taken by any parents, while one parent is at work the other one is to take care of the child (Sundström & Duvander 2002: 436). Parental leave policy is usually designed to be used by any parents in post period of maternity leave. If specific “maternity leave” does not exist, there merely would be part of the parental leave usage to allow for women to recover themselves after the birth. Meanwhile, mostly with parental leave, policies are designed to encourage fathers, therefore, these policies include “daddy quota” specific for fathers to use (<http://www.childpolicyintl.org/issuebrief/issuebrief5.htm>). There is no convention for countries by ILO, however; ILO does have some recommendations for these countries.

“The employed mother or the employed father of the child should be entitled to parental leave during a period following the expiry of maternity leave (Recommendation No. 191, Paragraph 10(3))”

“Either parent should have the possibility, within a period immediately following maternity leave, of obtaining leave of absence (parental leave), without relinquishing employment and with rights resulting from employment being safeguarded (Recommendation No.165 Paragraph 22(1))”

- *“The period during which parental leave might be granted, the length of the leave and other modalities, including the payment of parental benefits and the use and distribution of parental leave*

between the employed parents, should be determined by national laws or regulations or in any other manner consistent with national practice (Recommendation No: 191, Paragraph 10 (4)).

There are different variations for parental leave policy. Table 12 (Minimum and Maximum Parental Leave Allotments, in Weeks of FTE Paid Leave) shows the minimum and maximum parental leave allotment, in Weeks of full time equivalent (FTE) Paid Leave. The FTE parental leave is a key element for father to take parental leave. This table is also important to see the allotment both for women and men under the parental leave policy system. Mainly maternity leave or childcare leave data can be used as parental leave in the studies. However there are countries that specifically regulate FTE parental leave policies as table 12 shows. For families, which have a dual-earning model, if women make less money than men it directs women to take parental leave. In addition, even income is not the main concern in terms of using parental leave, the social norms continue to reinforce the necessity of the mother's care of children over the father's care, preventing the acceptances of more convenience situations for father to take care of the child care responsibilities (Ray, Gornick & Schmitt 2009: 2). Despite the fact that even most Europe countries have parental leave, for several reasons, the woman is the main person responsible for childcare; work place conditions and regulations can be seen as the cause for this. Due to a stereotypical perspective, which considers a job career the priority role for men, childcare responsibilities might not be seen as convenient action for men in work place. The main strategy used to prevent this problem can be to provide high replacement rate for fathers as well. Another reason which discourages families is that the income ceiling²⁰ for high-income

²⁰ "The highest level in a pay range that an employee can achieve under his or her contract", quoted from <http://www.qfinance.com/dictionary/salary-ceiling>

families (Duvander & Johansson 2002: cited in Duvander 2014: 915). Ray, Gornick and Schmitt (2009) used Spain as an example for this situation (13). Spain has the second longest parental leave in their analysis of 21 countries (table 2), however, only 18 weeks of the parental leaves is FTE for per couple, while 312 weeks is the entitled for per couple. Therefore this policy doesn't prevent to sustain the traditional gender roles in terms of childcare. However, Ray, Gornick and Schmitt (2009) states that a country like Finland, which offers FTE parental leave as the greater portion of the parental leave (32 weeks are paid in 48 weeks for per couple), fathers have big incentives to use parental leave (Ibid). Moreover, the level of education is one of the variables that impact and effect parental leave usage. High education families show the tendency to use parental leave more (Duvander & Johansson 2002: cited in Duvander 2014: 915).

Table 12: Minimum and Maximum Parental Leave Allotments, in Weeks of FTE Paid Leave

Country	Couples' FTE Paid Leave	Mothers' FTE Paid Leave		Fathers' FTE Paid Leave	
		Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
Australia	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Austria	16.0	16.0	16.0	0.0	0.0
Belgium	18.0	13.9	13.9	4.1	4.1
Canada	27.5	9.4	27.5	0.0	18.2
Denmark	19.6	9.0	18.6	1.0	10.6
Finland	31.7	11.7	29.0	2.7	21.3
France	21.8	16.0	19.8	2.0	5.8
Germany	46.7	14.0	42.0	4.7	28.0
Greece	34.1	17.0	33.5	0.6	17.1
Ireland	20.8	20.8	20.8	0.0	0.0
Italy	25.1	17.3	25.1	0.0	7.8
Japan	26.0	8.4	26.0	0.0	17.6
Netherlands	16.4	16.0	16.0	0.4	0.4
New Zealand	14.0	0.0	14.0	0.0	14.0
Norway	44.0	9.0	38.0	6.0	35.0
Portugal	18.0	6.0	17.0	1.0	14.0
Spain	18.0	16.0	16.0	2.0	2.0
Sweden	46.9	6.9	40.0	6.9	40.0
Switzerland	11.2	11.2	11.2	0.0	0.0
United Kingdom	13.0	12.6	12.6	0.4	0.4
United States	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source:

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/@publ/documents/publication/wcms_124442.pdf

It is important to underline here that there are still some countries, which haven't any regulated "parental leave policy"; Australia, Ireland, Japan, Turkey and the United States are included to one of those countries (Table 12)²¹.

2.5 The Importance of work-life Balance Policies In terms of Gender Equality

Work-life balance policies if designed with gender equality perspective have such an important position and mission in achieving redistribution and recognition of women in society. Their support has a positive impact in helping keep women in the labor force. Moreover, these policies prepare the society to achieve gender equality. However, women friendly policies can have disadvantages, if not supported with gender friendly policies they cannot help to achieve the true essence of equality between men and women. Without supporting those policies by gender equality perspective, they seem that they were just as a result of needing restraint in social behavior of society for the production and consumption cycle while involving women in the production cycle of families, keeping going the livable average in changing economic scales (Esping-Andersen 2002: 68).

In the post war era, the purpose of the welfare state point of view, was that they believed at in protecting the male means protecting women or even the family, today it is not the case anymore. With the economic change women became more active in labor the force, however, this development in economy did not improve social protection for women linearly. In here, the importance of gender friendly policies become prominent since these

²¹ For more information visit: <http://www.childpolicyintl.org/issuebrief/issuebrief5.htm>

policies began to show they could facilitate the balance between work and life instead of putting strain on both men and women as well as change their behaviors²². Therefore, with the changing situation of the welfare state, the content of the policies should be changed in terms of complexities of women's situation in society. Otherwise, they would only keep the status quo or maybe worsen the socio economic situation; furthermore, they would then prove to be insufficient to fulfill the needs of society.

To transform process of social behavior of the human being, women made a huge effect on the production process and social change (Esping-Andersen 2002: 68).). It was unforeseen the importance of women in both economy and social change. It also served to gain the first big step for equality in some countries while also helping to achieve a post-industrial level of capitalism in those same countries. As Esping-Andersen (2002) explains: "Men were the indisputable protagonists of high industrialism; women may occupy center-stage in postindustrial society" (68).

It is important to see a shift in economic and social conjecture, for social welfare understanding should also be improved, and social policies should be built according to those changes. Related to historical shift, social policies were designed to support the consisting conditions of employment and unemployment situations of men (Abramovitz 1988: 17). However, employment understanding changed over the years globally. It can be said that some "western" countries understood the necessity of these shifts and moved faster to take actions (Hemerijck, cited in Andersen 2002: 173). While the main idea for social policies were to protect men, with the change in the nature of employment, it began to turn to now protect both men and women regarding social challenge of employment. Moreover, this change of

²² To see one of best practicing examples for parental leave policy:
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/10/world/europe/10iht-sweden.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

the employment nature also changed the traditional structure of the family and for sure the given roles for both women and men in society, as well as family. These fundamental changes have brought essential changes to the understanding of welfare state and its policies and also the division of work in the family (Ibid 71).

The changing nature of the society should be sought in the advancement of neoliberalism. As Polanyi states in a perfect way, “market economy can only function in a market society” (Polanyi 1944: 57). The way to maximize profit is to sustain the consuming process as much as possible. For those individuals who need to consume more, they also require the need to sustain their incomes. From a gender point of view, families need more income to reach the livable standards. The changes in society created forces, which created many more opportunities for women to work (Andersen 2002: 69).

From another perspective, the economic changes cause people to change their behaviors, and it changes the fundamental elements of society such as family. Therefore, when women become more independent, “family” as one of the main cores of society can be considered as a personal choice more than economic relationship for women (Andersen 2002: 71). However, it is important to remember that, the choice of having a family or being active in the labor force are not optional for most of the women in the world when developing countries or some traditional countries are taken into consideration in terms of social forces. Therefore, women prefer to secure their lives before the decision of marriage or having children (Andersen 2002:81) Hence, nowadays so many women trade off because of being active in the workforce and having the role of being mother and also domestic work, besides this active participation in the production process does not give them any independence because of ingrained power relations puts more weight on them. However, gender friendly policies have huge

impact to balance women or men's lives and work even if they are married or single in order to be designed to consider the one as an individual rather than its sex, therefore needs of the individual are determined as providing equal opportunities for every body.

O'Connor's strong statement with her addition to Hernes' statement, is valid in terms of understanding the importance of gender equality and work life balance policies; *"In considering the quality of labor market participation it is important to note the distinction made by Helga Hernes between women's policy and gender equality policy. The former 'is concerned with the redistribution of goods, services and transfers' and refers to traditional social policy aimed at the improvement of the situation of women and children. In contrast, gender equality policy is concerned with 'the redistribution of status and social power'. These policies relate essentially to access to employment and decision making at senior levels. This implies, for example, that the focus of policy is not just labor market participation but the quality and condition so that participation. Consequently, equal opportunity policies become crucial aspects of the social policy framework. This approach to public policy implies that both inequality of condition and systemic discrimination are recognized in the policy formation process. The objective is not just equality of opportunity but also the change of institutional structures which give rise to and sustain structured gender inequalities. Since policies with a gender equality focus are directed to making women the subjects, not just the objects, of social policy, the realization of participatory citizenship rights becomes an objective of social policy. This is of course crucial to the lessening of dependence and the achievement of autonomy."* (Quoted from O'Connor 1993: 513)

3. Sweden and Gender Friendly Policies

3.1 Historical Framework of Sweden in Terms of Gender Equality in Economics

Sweden has one of the highest scores, according to the gender equality index, that has ever been implemented by OECD²³. More so, it has been proven; Sweden has one of the best-practiced models throughout the 21 OECD countries in terms of parental leave policies²⁴. In order to establish more attention a towards gender equality in care policies, Sweden has been chosen as one of the case countries in this study. This chapter is designed to explain the implementations of gender friendly policies as it relates to specific care policies in Sweden. In relation, it is important to understand what makes the system more gender friendly as whole throughout Sweden. Therefore in detail, Sweden's place in gender and welfare regimes has already presented in chapter 2. Due to detailed information in chapter 2, the position of Sweden in gender and welfare regimes will be just briefly discussed in this chapter. In this section, in addition to the brief explanation of Sweden's position in gender and welfare studies, the historical progress of gender friendly policies will be explained with a special focus on the current implementations of care policies. Afterwards, this information will then be supported with current data from various sources to see how effective the policies have been implemented.

Analyzing prior information in chapter 2 about Sweden's position in gender and welfare regimes, Esping-Andersen's comparative welfare study is the

²³ <http://www.lisdatacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/parent-leave-report1.pdf>

²⁴ <http://www.lisdatacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/parent-leave-report1.pdf>

starting point for welfare regime discussions. According to his study, Sweden was initially placed in his original trilogy²⁵. In fact, since Sweden was appointed as the leading country of this category, the third model, which is called the “Scandinavian or Social Democratic model, was also named the “Swedish Model” (Esping-Andersen cited in Ozdemir 2007:140)²⁶. In addition, Norway and Denmark were also classified under the “Scandinavian or Social Democratic model” in Esping- Andersen’s original comparative welfare state study²⁷. Apart from this, the main focus for this study is gender policy regimes. What relates Esping-Andersen’s study to gender policy regimes is that, gender policy regimes was created to shed light on and oppose the absence of gender perspective in Esping-Andersen’s study. As a result, Sainsbury (1999) developed gender policy regimes to indicate how states are positioned from a gender viewpoint²⁸.

The first distinction between Esping-Andersen’s comparative welfare study and gender policy regimes is shown in the classification of countries. Moreover, while those countries above are classified under the same class in Esping-Andersen’s study, they are not classified under the same class when looked at in correlation with gender policy regimes. In gender policy regimes, Sweden is classified under the “individual earner-carer” model²⁹. As of today Sweden still remains classified under “*individual earner-carer*”, after the shift from “*Separate Gender Roles*” in 1970s (Sainsbury 1999: 81). However, Denmark and Norway are classified as “separate gender roles”

²⁵ This categorization is implemented in terms of given information in chapter 2. To get further information on Esping-Andersen’s comparative welfare study see title “Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen’s Welfare State Classification” in chapter 2

²⁷ See Table 2 Esping-Andersen Welfare State Typologies page 50

²⁸ For more information see “Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen’s Welfare State Classification” in chapter 2

²⁹ This categorization is implemented in terms of given information in chapter 2. To get further information on Esping-Andersen’s comparative welfare study see title “Gender Policy Regimes” in chapter 2

(Ibid)³⁰. Even though, Denmark and Norway are not the case countries of this study, this information is important in order to show how gender perspective brings about different approaches to comparative welfare states studies and how it affects differently a country's position on gender equality. Thus, this new classification provides information about countries that show their weaknesses and strengths in terms of providing gender equality.

Another commonality between the Scandinavian countries is similarities that are found when analyzing together their social policies. However, though the majority of all Scandinavian countries started from similar positions, they have individually moved forward taking different paths in terms of policy development, respectively. In their own unique paths, each country within the region has instrumented huge impacts related to women's rights in society and in gender related laws. Moreover, Scandinavian countries are known as 'women friendly countries', which can be seen as very essential step towards achieving gender friendliness (Hernes 1987, Esping-Andersen 2002: 91Borchorst 2009;) However, different paths have been detected in policy development for each of the respective countries and looking at the historical progress of the policies can unfold the respective journey of these different paths. Therefore, this information would help provide a greater understanding to the distinctions that exist between countries which otherwise, in terms of gender friendly policies, have been view to be very similar to one another.. In this way, more holistic steps could be taken towards gender friendliness after pondering in greater scope the processes behind the developmental maturation of Scandinavian countries.

³⁰ For detailed information about "separate policy regimes" see : "Gender Policy Regimes in chapter 2

Sweden has made more progress than many other “Western countries” regarding social regulation for gender equality (Agassi 1990). After initiating several reforms in light of women friendliness, now today, Sweden prioritizes gender friendliness over women friendliness within the Scandinavian countries (Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002; Borchorst 2008). However, there are some landmarks that must be visited to better understand gender friendly policies versus women friendly policies. For this reason, visiting these landmarks will help to answer the question of why Sweden chose the route of gender friendly policies rather than women friendly policies, which made Sweden different than any of the other Scandinavian countries. This is not to focus on the negatives of the other Scandinavian countries, but to show what makes Sweden’s policy structure more unique than the other countries in the region.

Today, Sweden is a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. The history of this nation state’s monarchy starts from the late 1800s 1900s³¹. When looking into this nation state in terms of women rights that have been regulated, it starts from 1845 with the equal rights in inheritance sharing. Following, “Entitlement of unmarried women in specific work” was another set of rights that women gained in Sweden’s modern history. Nevertheless, the regulations on care policies started in 1901 with unpaid maternity leave for four weeks³². Even if it doesn’t look like it is directly related to care policies, gaining the suffrage right in Sweden was important for it was seen to have recognized the woman as an individual. This observation can be found in Sorensen & Berquist’s (2002) study when looking at the details of two different Scandinavian countries Sweden and

³¹ For more information about Sweden historical timeline visit: <http://www.kungahuset.se/royalcourt/monarchy/themonarchyinsweden.4.396160511584257f2180005799.html> and <http://www.nispa.org/files/conferences/2009/papers/200904171232470.POPESCU.pdf>

³² For detailed information visit: <http://lpf.lt/women-employment.lt/history.html>

Norway. Interestingly, in Sweden women had to wait until 1919 to gain universal suffrage rights. However, in Norway women had gained their suffrage in 1913 (Sorensen & Berquist 2002: 5). What is being highlighted is the different approach to woman rights in Sweden when it compares with Norway. During the independence days of Norway (between 1814 to 1905), “strong mobilization” was seen within the women’s movement. According to Sorensen and Berquist (2002); “ ... *the importance of this period in shaping a strong mobilization of Norwegian women in favor of maternalist concerns. Women’s claims were often based on their role as mothers rather than their role as citizens*” (5). In the meanwhile, the prioritization was different in Sweden in gaining suffrage rights. The women’s movement strongly stressed women’s rights from the social equality perspective rather than using the mother role of women as the driving force. Thus, even though women waited a bit longer to gain their suffrage right in Sweden, these different approaches separated the paths of the two countries effecting their future actions in terms of gender perspective (Nagel 1995; Sainsbury 2001 cited in Sorensen & Berquist 2002:5).

The 1920s and 1930s was the time in Sweden where strong voices were raising regarding the restriction of the married woman’s participation in the labor force. The rising voices, were especially found amongst the civil servants who were supporting the restriction, however, the voices opposing the restriction, were equally strong (Ibid). This corresponds to the time of the big depression, which had a great influence throughout the Nordic countries as well as in other European countries. (Hagemann 2007: 423). Even with the demands looming from the great depression, restrictions on women’s participation in the labor force never did gain enough momentum to bring about legal action for the gender inequalities that existed in Sweden during this time period, despite the fact that during this time the women’s movement in Sweden had made a crucial step. Using this as an opportunity

to gain more ground within the subject of equality between men and women, the women's movement highlighted the importance of the "citizen right" by prioritizing the ideal of being viewed first as an individual rather than the continued support and implementation of social right only relates to being a "woman" or "mother" (Ibid). As a result, equal opportunities for women were regulated in Sweden in 1925. Meanwhile, Norway went with developing more restrictions in regards to employment of married women, which showed the bias towards the male breadwinner in Norway (Sorensen & Berquist 2002: 5).

On the other hand, in Sweden, the ideology of equality and citizen's right within the women's movement was indirectly supported by the states through the choosing of universalism as a philosophy of the state in the 1930s. This was so that social reforms would be constructed with the understanding of equal citizenship. (Eduards 1991: 680). Following, according to Frangeur, in the 1930s, Sweden was forming the basis for its 'two-provider family' and moving away from "male bread winner model" (cited in Hagemann 2007: 423). It can be said that the consistency to universality and the women's movement's determination to being recognized as individuals supported to build a system for women, was based on citizenship rather than the role of motherhood in Sweden. It was this system that established itself as the foundation for the successes that would come about in future movements. Thus, Sweden had acquired valuable lessons through observing many situations that had manifested out of Norway's policy treatment, for Norway's policies only seemed to support the continuation of the traditional male dominant mentality towards its Norwegian woman, Sweden was able to gain a greater understanding of how to develop gender friendly policies and avoid rewriting women friendly policies that would only continually support inequality and the ideologies of the male policy regimes (Sorensen & Berquist 2002: 5).

Sweden took another distinguished step in 1938, during the time that population issues appeared to becoming a big concern within its society as well. As it can be seen from the table 13, the data, which includes the birth rate period from 1899 to 1937, Sweden had the lowest population rate as the last country among Europe countries in that time period. In addition, when it comes to the 1920s to 1930s, including the time of the great depression, the birth rate decreased even more. Despite this fact, the act on prohibiting contraception was implemented in 1910 (Kälvemark 1980: 39). This was followed by the 1920s. Here the decline in population had begun to raise an issue again. In 1932, the ‘pronatalist’ solutions were brought on board in Riskdag (Swedish parliament) as a first time proposal by Conservatives. In addition to these supplementary solutions, which came from the conservative group and were more prohibitory, engineering constraints on immigration or as well as pertaining to the issues of contraception (Ibid 52). On the other hand, from the standpoint of the social democrats, the issue was more likely related to social policies. They advocated reviewing the social policies to provide a healthier environment for a better quality of living for future generations’ (Ibid).

Parallel with the information above, one of the effective social acts implemented in 1938; the anti-discrimination law was accepted in riskdag. ‘*The committee on women’s employment*’, which was mostly consisted of social democrats, was the main influencer of the implementation of this act. Though this was during a period that was plagued with population issues, there have been many different developments implemented for the benefits of women³³. In fact, the fear that was attached to the population issues

³³ Equal basic pensions adopted for women and man (1935), Legalization for contraception, Child’s support assistance established. Financial assistance to mothers established. Universal maternity allowance established (1938), Gainfully employed women may not be dismissed due to pregnancy, childbirth, or marriage (1939), directly quoted from; pflt/women-employment/history.html

served as another opportunity for the women's rights movement (Sörensen & Bergqvist 2002: 6). In addition, '*The committee on women's employment*' made a big move and gained support from the Minister of Finance and Minister of Social Affairs as well. This proved to be an extremely useful step in progressing women's rights. As a result, structuring '*The committee on women's employment*' under the Minister of Finance, made big a difference on future considerations regarding women's employment. Here the women employment issue had now gained economical perspective concerning the topic rather than the past-prescribed social or population perspective (Ibid). This big step of re-structuring and re-assignment of the committee responsible for women's employment placed the issues within the women's movement under the guidance of the ministry of finance. This allowed for women's issues to be better integrated into the policymaking, embedding it within the population issue. There was already a "population committee" structured apart from '*committee on women's employment*'. Not only did this '*committee on women's employment*' provided greater visibility when analyzing the issues, it also distinguished Sweden from other countries such as Denmark, Germany and even the U.S. in terms of consideration of policy support for women in the labor force (Ibid).

Table 13: Crude birth rates for various European countries 1899-1937

	1899/01	1909/11	1919/21	1929/31	1931/35	1936	1937
Belgium	29.1	23.4	20.2	18.4	16.8	15.2	15.3
Denmark	29.8	27.5	24.0	18.4	17.7	17.8	18.0
Germany	35.4	29.8	23.7	17.2	16.6	19.0	18.8
England and Wales	28.7	24.2	22.6	16.1	15.0	14.8	14.9
Finland	32.4	29.9	23.1	22.3	19.5	19.1	19.9
France	21.7	19.3	18.4	17.7	16.5	15.0	14.7
Italy	33.1	32.5	27.8	25.7	23.8	22.4	22.9
Holland	32.1	28.7	26.7	22.7	21.1	20.2	19.8
Norway	29.8	26.3	24.3	17.0	15.2	14.6	15.1
Switzerland	28.9	24.9	20.1	17.0	16.4	15.6	14.9
Sweden	26.8	24.7	21.6	15.2	14.1	14.2	14.4

Source: Bickel 1947³⁴

The steps that Sweden took regarding anti-discrimination laws and positioning the *committee on women's employment* under Minister of Finance, made a big difference in Sweden's role as it began the stand for women's equality (Nagel 1995; Sainsbury 2001). Moreover, these were the signs of Sweden again making a definite shift away from the ideology of the male breadwinner regimes.

3.2 Parental Leave System

In 1968 Swedish policies started to change towards an even more identifiable equality along with a formal declaration of equal opportunities for both sexes, which would consider everybody as an individual regardless of the difference (Lewis & Åstrom 1992: 64). Following the tax act in 1974³⁵, Sweden accepted a parental leave policy in 1974, being the first

³⁴ This data is taken from Källemark (1980), "Sweden in the 1930's Population Development, Population Debate And Policy Implications",

³⁵ In 1971, the tax act in Sweden made a significant impact on changing the roles in families and also in the understanding of citizenship from a gender equality perspective.

country in the world to do so. The main idea of the parental leave policy was to recognize women and men equally regarding childcare responsibility and work place opportunity (Bergqvist 1999: 124). Legalization of equal opportunity regarding childcare, as it related to the family, was a huge win for the women's movement. It meant the state had become a regulative and the major role player in achieving gender equality within the family or household. In contrast to the majority of the welfare states, according to Lewis and Åström (1992), Sweden's economic model preferred to see women as an individual and involve them into the design of the policy making, placing more emphasis on their position in labor force rather than their positions as mother/wife (59). This intention was mainly contingent upon the shift in Sweden's system towards the "individual earner-carer" model. In fact, it can even be said that parental leave was a proactive move to provide a form of legislative support for women as it relates to the "individual earner-carer" (Bergqvist 1999: 124). Parental leave not only influenced a shift within the family unit as it relates to parental responsibilities, it also influenced a major shift regarding the roles in the work place. With the aid of legislative regulation, this developing new perspective that was being born as changing the women's position in the work place, and the family, as well as in society overall.

Eventually, the implementation of parental leave in 1974 that replaced maternity leave was seen as one of the most important steps made towards the advancement of gender relations understanding in Sweden on the legislative level.(Sorensen 2005: 57). Following, as a continuation of parental leave policy Sweden implemented advanced content policies, which included different reforms during the years. In 1975 six-months

Since 1971, individuals have been taxed on their income separately in the family. Thus, regardless of their position in the family, women and men have been recognized as an individual citizen respectively (Eduards 1991: 682; Sorensen & Bergqvist 2002: 9). For more information, see chapter 2, the title 'Gender Policy Regimes'.

parental leave was risen to seven months and in 1978- seven-months parental leave was increased to eight months. In 1980- eight month was increased to twelve months. These twelve months consisted of 9 months with 90% replacement earning and 3 months with a flat rate level and this principle was applied to the parental leave system in 1980 (Sundstrom & Duvander 2002: 436). In addition to that in 1980, the number of child sick leave days was increased to 60, and in 1989 it was raised to fifteen months. Although there were breaks in replacement rate of the reforms in 1995, 1996 and 1997 where it decreased to 75%, in 1998 the replacement rate was raised to 80% again and stayed there (Ibid).

In 1995, the Swedish government took an additional step. It introduced the first “daddy-month reform” which specifically allocates one month to the father within the first year of the child. With daddy month reform, one month as “daddy month” and one month is reserved for mothers as “mommy month” These months cannot be combined or exchanged between the parents. The only exception is for single parents, which states, they can use both months (Ibid). This reform was mainly created to encourage father’s to take care of their children and to spend time with their children in the first years of the child’s life. Furthermore, it was an important step for Sweden to put an end to unequal opportunities for women in the labor force, while providing more equal opportunities for them (Ekberg, Eriksson & Friebe 2003) With this reform, it was also believed that long term, reform would have a positive effect changing gender roles in society. As it pertains to the benefits gained by the child, the reform was established to allow both the mother and father quality time that would provide the family with a positive yet diverse effect on the child’s development.

Sweden as a country, claimed that it was not only the first country to implement parental leave, which provided care time for the father, Sweden also presents itself as the pioneer of a gender equality that provides and fosters responsibility as it relates to both the mother and father.

“It is important that fathers take parental leave. An increased use of parental leave by fathers should contribute to a change in attitudes among managers; they will view parental leave as something natural to consider when planning and organizing the work. This change in attitudes is necessary for both men and women to dare to take parental leave without a feeling of jeopardizing their career or development opportunities at work. Another reason for increasing fathers’ use of parental leave is that women’s prospects of achieving equal opportunities to men in the labor market will be limited, as long as women are responsible for practical housework and children. A shared responsibility for the practical care of children would mean a more even distribution of interruptions in work between women and men, and women would thereby gain better opportunities of development and making a career in their profession.” (Government Bill 1993/94:147 cited in Ekberg, Eriksson& Friebe 2013)

3.3 Current Parental Leave Policy; How Does It Work?

Today in Sweden, before or after the birth every woman has to take two weeks maternity leave. The main leave policy is related with birth of the child or the act of adoption, note they can also benefit from parental leave related with maternity leave. This maternity leave is a paid leave, which provides 80% of earnings for during this time period. In addition, the number of days of the leave can be increased to up to 50 days within the last 60 days of the pregnancy if the reason for leave is related to a physical

condition of the pregnant woman (Duvander & Haas 2013). Parents have the right to take up to 480 (16 months) days of parental leave after the child is born or after the legal date of adoption if the child is adopted. The ways in which a parent can use their parental leave rights is quite flexible. For instance, it can be used by the month, week, day or even per hour. Each parent has as their right 60 days (2 months) to use their parental leave. However these 60 days cannot be transferred between parents. The remaining parental leave, which consists of 360 days/12 months, can be used by either parent, whoever prefers to use them in the family. Looking at 13 months of this period, payment for the leave is almost €51,100 per year and the remaining 3 months is a flat rate paid which is €21 per day³⁶.

As it can be seen from table 14, parental leave policy had a notable influence changing the male behavior as it relates to childcare, although it has been rising slowly since 1974. Despite the generosity of the Swedish parental leave system, fathers in Sweden use only 24% of the parental leave as of 2011. However, Sweden still works to improve the usage of parental leave by fathers. To foster this, in 2008 Sweden announced gender equality bonus, which was first initiated as a tax reduction. In January 1, 2012, marked the first attempted to adopt this “tax reduction with gender bonus reform” into the parental leave benefit. With this reform, the highest per child average benefit reached (€1,570) per child.

³⁶ For more information visit; <http://sweden.se/society/gender-equality-in-sweden/>

Table 14 Parental Allowance Paid According to Gender 1974-2011

Year	Allowance			Temporary allowance		
	Number	Distribution by sex		Number	Distribution by sex	
		Women	Men		Women	Men
1974	19 017	100	0	689	60	40
1980	27 020	95	5	3 042	63	37
1985	33 193	94	6	4 156	67	33
1990	48 292	93	7	5 731	66	34
1995	47 026	90	10	4 890	68	32
2000	35 661	88	12	4 403	66	34
2005	42 659	80	20	4 421	64	36
2011	50 284	76	24	5 044	64	36

Source: Swedish Social Insurance Agency cited in Women and Men in Fact and Figures 2012

Along with the slowly increasing usage of parental leave by fathers; there are different reasons behind why fathers do not use the parental leave or why it has been increasing so slowly. One of the causes is the income of the fathers. The fathers' / mothers' income ratio affects the usage of parental leave by fathers. The lower the income the fathers have, the more they are likely to use the parental leave benefit (Ekberg, Eriksson& Friebel 2012). Thus this can also play a role in being one of the reasons why fathers' usage of parental leave is slowly increasing.

3.4 Day Care in Sweden

The beginning issue in childcare is based on 1960s in Sweden. In this time period, the growth in the public sector urgently required more labor force throughout Sweden (Sorensen 1999: 12). This correlated with the women's movement, and was a big motivating factor for women to stay in the labor force. In addition, according to the numbers, the surge in participation in labor force can be seen due to the number of women that were becoming active throughout the labor force. Having kids did not change the trend in

increasing labor force participation of women. The numbers reflecting women's involvement in the labor force was rising amongst those women having kids less than 7 years old. The statistics show it was 32% in 1960; it increased to 50% in 1970, and 60% in 1975 (Ibid). These numbers painted a very vivid picture. It showed that the topic of childcare had to be taken more seriously. Therefore, the 1970s became the time period when day-care centers and many other types of child care services began to grow into a position of great importance throughout Sweden.

In 1975, The National Pre-school act was implemented. According to this act: *“The 1975 National Pre-school Act that followed imposed upon the local authorities the task of systematically expanding public child care and to provide an official report of their plans. In addition, municipalities were required to provide all 6 year olds with at least 525 hours of free pre-schooling. Children needing special support should have priority in pre-school activities from an early age. The public pre-school, even though voluntary, has in practice served all 6 year olds from its introduction.”*³⁷

Parallel to the progress of childcare services, it was the time for Sweden where, the women's positions in society and gender roles were discussed at an intense level. Furthermore, political parties also supported the “women as workers” understanding. It is through this unity of government that the dual-earner model was phased out, transitioning to individual earner mode bringing it into acceptance in Sweden. Therefore, day-care centers expanded in Sweden, starting in the 1970s (Sainsbury 1999: 81). With all that progress, in 1993 women with the 0-5 year old kids, their labor force involvement rate increased to 81% (Leira 1992, Sainsbury 1996 cited in Sorensen 1999: 27).

³⁷ For more information visit;
http://www.unesco.org/education/wef/countryreports/sweden/rapport_1.html

Moving closer to current system, the state of Sweden is given the obligation to provide childcare for all of its citizens. According to Sweden's Ministry of Education and Science memorandum, which was prepared to present in the OECD meeting in 2000:

13. *"There are currently 289 municipalities in Sweden. The task of the local government sector fall into two distinct categories: those included in the general power granted to municipalities under the Local Government Act (1991), such as streets and roads, water and sewage, communications and transportation, and those based on special legislation, for instance child care, schools and social services. Education is by far the largest sector of municipal operations, accounting for about 1/3 of the costs. In 1998 total child care costs amounted to about half of the total education costs."*

15. *"According to legislation each municipality is responsible for providing school activities and school age care to children permanently residing in the municipality. Pre-school activities are run in the form of day care centers- (now labeled preschool), family day care homes and supplementary pre-school activities. School age childcare is run in the form of leisure – time centers and family day care homes. Pre-school activities and school-age child care shall be provided extended needed, taking account of whether parents are employed or studying as well as the child's own need. When the child's parent has notified the need for a place within the childcare, the municipality shall provide such a place without unreasonable delay (3-4 months)."*

32. *“...In addition to already existing legislation, all children regardless of their family situation should be offered a place in the pre-school. The pre-school activity should be at the least a three hours daily session, free of charge, for children from four years of age until they start school. The universal pre-school will be mandatory for the municipalities but voluntary for the children participating.”*

Sweden's current childcare system is explained briefly when looking at Sweden's Ministry of Education and Science memorandum below. In addition to the information and data, which will be coming next, it will show how much the state of Sweden committed to the existing legislations. In 2008 46% of all children between 12-23 month old, 85.8% of all children between 24-35 month old and 88.8% of all children between 36-48 month old were enrolled into day care centers³⁸.

Sweden's Ministry of Education and Science memorandum, as well as the National statistics of Sweden, shows how much of day care (pre-school labeled in Sweden) is established by state. According to this data, which is shown in table 15, in 2011 67% of all children between 1-5 years were enrolled in municipal pre-school, while 16% of all children were enrolled in private school under private management. In addition to these numbers, the data shows that great amounts of children are enrolled in leisure time programs in Municipal Leisure time centers; 74% of all children between 6-9, 15% of all children between 10-12 years old. This goes to show the great support from the state in terms of early childcare. Moreover, for children from 6 to 12 years old, the state provides leisure based public centers, for these centers are very important in order to give more dedicated personal time for parents themselves.

³⁸ For more information visit; <http://www.folkhalsomyndigheten.se/>

Table 15 Pre-school, other pedagogical operations and leisure time centers by form of operation and age of child 2011

Proportion (%) of all children in each age group

Form of operations	1–5 yrs	6–9 yrs	10–12 ¹⁾ yrs
Municipal pre-school (day care centre)	67	0	.
Pre-school under private management	16	0	.
Municipal leisure time centre	0	74	15
Leisure time centre under private management	0	8	2
Pedagogical child care under municipal management	2	0	0
Pedagogical child care under private management	0	0	0

1: Children older than 12 may be included.

Source: Pre-school activities, school-age child care, National Agency for Education, Sweden

3.5 Conclusion

In most of the welfare states, women have proved to be of significant importance as it pertains to the developing economics of continually growing process, especially when analyzing the accelerated economic shifts that have taken place in history. However, without proper policy support for women, moreover, for gender equality, perpetuated dual-role forces will continue for the majority of all women, forcing them to make a decision between staying active in the labor force or staying home and having children. This is directly with not recognizing women as individuals by state. On the other side, identifying men's roles and responsibilities strictly in terms of traditional fatherhood and being a "bread winner", husband hampers the achievement along with the true nature of gender equality and justice (Morell 2005 cited in Visvanathan ets al. 2011). It is policy

breakdowns such as these that are responsible for increasing the barriers to equality, while it continues to feed the inequalities in the public and private life of both men and women. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the intent of the welfare state in terms of gender policy regimes to be able to constitute the right framework for countries affording them the proper platform required to specify the need for achieving gender equality.

In addition to information that was given in chapter 2, in this chapter attempt is made to explain Sweden's historical process regarding the development of gender friendly policies, specifically care policies. With this chapter, it is tried another attempt is made to illuminate the position of Sweden on gender policy regimes. Thus, the information in this chapter supports Sweden's association with the "individual earner-carer" model. This is according to criterions that are use to determined gender policy regimes' classification. These criterions; the regime attributes, the ideology of the state, entitlements, the basis of entitlements, recipient of benefits, taxation, sphere of care and caring work for Sweden were already explained in chapter 2, drawing a general framework. However, in this chapter the attempt was made to present within a more historical context of gender friendly policies.

Today, Sweden is a country with one of the highest income in OECD and has one of the most advanced economies in the world³⁹. Moreover, Sweden has been used as an important model in terms of being a social welfare state in the present world. This is partly due to its passion to remain committed to equality through the distribution of incomes and social policies that are provided to the citizen via a universalistic perspective. Sweden also helped to develop and establish a structure allowing for the achievement of full

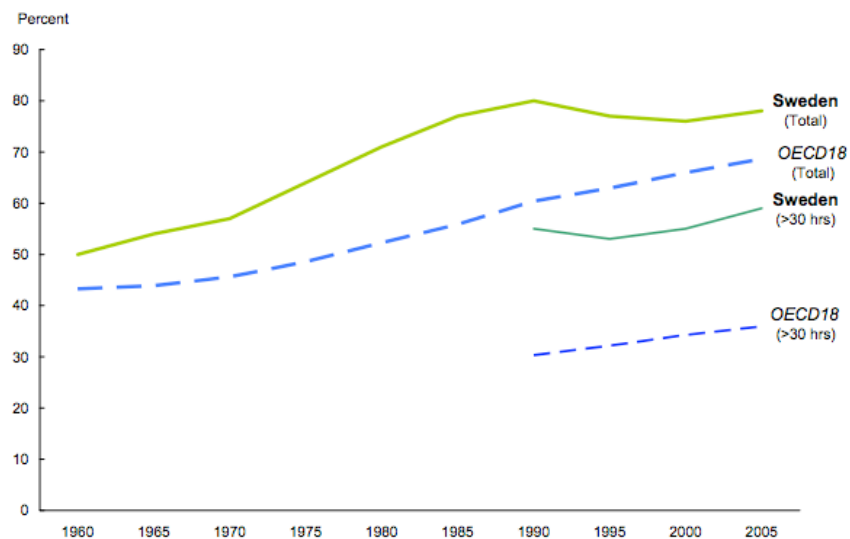
³⁹ For detailed data of Sweden, check http://data.worldbank.org/country/sweden#cp_wdi, <http://www3.weforum.org/docs/CSI/2012-13/Sweden.pdf>

employment to become more of a reality (Lundberg 1985) thus providing more gender equality in terms of policies and society. As it can be seen in the figure 3, starting with the early 1960s and 1980s, the women's employment rate was around 50% and 65% respectively. Today, women employment is still pretty high in Sweden when it is compared to other OECD countries. Moreover, according to table 16, 91% of the women between 25-44 ages are actively involved in economic activity, which is a pretty high rate when it is compared with the greater part of the world.

Generous parental leave policies in Sweden and the financially manageable childcare especially for young mothers were indicated as one of the main motivation for the high female employment rate (Gustafsson & Stafford 1992; Pylkänen & Smith 2004; Kangas & Rostgard 2007; Rum & Teague 1995; Winegarden & Bragussi 1995; cites in Ferrarini & Duvander 2012). Today Sweden as being one of the most developed countries in the world⁴⁰, has the proper foundation to discuss more gender neutral policies, for they truly understand the benefits of gender equality as providing justice for both men and women, positively affecting their economic productivity and social life.

⁴⁰ According to global competitiveness report of World Economic Forum, Sweden's is capable to advanced economies category in many ways;
<http://www3.weforum.org/docs/CSI/2012-13/Sweden.pdf>

Figure 3 Female labor force participation (total and over 30 hours a week) in Sweden and 18 OECD countries (average) 1960-2005, women aged 15 to 64, in percent



Source: OECD 2009

Table 16 Population and Economic Activity Rate by Region of Birth and Age, 2011

<i>Population in 1 000s and economic activity rate (%)</i>				
Region of birth	Number		Percent	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
25-44 years				
Sweden	931	1 010	91	95
Other Nordic countries	22	21	92	95
Europe excl. the Nordic countries	89	82	81	94
Asia	109	90	66	86
Africa	27	22	62	87
Other countries	23	25	82	92
Total	1 200	1 250	87	94
45-64 years				
Sweden	979	1 009	84	89
Other Nordic countries	60	51	73	80
Europe excl. the Nordic countries	80	71	69	80
Asia	52	57	64	75
Africa	9	14	65	80
Other countries	19	17	77	88
Total	1 199	1 218	81	87

Source: Women and Men in Sweden Facts and Figures 2012

Yet another reason for Sweden's success in gender equality is due to their ability to adopt "gender mainstreaming"^{41 42}. Every institution within the state on both the regional and national level implemented Gender mainstreaming collaboratively throughout the country. This understanding spread to society as a whole while being heavily supported by social policies (Braithwaite 2005: 38-39).

In spite of great encouragement to establish gender equality, Sweden in its entirety still has not reached full gender equality yet. One of the big problems that exist in Sweden is the continuing gender segregation in the labor force. According to information that was given by Hessle and Vinnerljung⁴³, most of the women are employed in public work or social works in Sweden. In addition, while 30% of women work part-time, 5% of men work part time. This challenge is waiting to be solved. However, there are still lessons that can be taken from Sweden. In relations, it can be inferred from analyzing Sweden's historical progress that Sweden did not start to implement gender friendly policies immediately. There was smooth transition from women friendly policies to gender friendliness in regards to policy making. Moreover, apart from women friendly policies, a general understanding of universality and equality and the implementing of policies have been of concern. Therefore, this mentality corresponded with the strong demands of women that continue to seek equality in the realm of citizenship rights as well as for recognition of women as an individual.

⁴¹ Gender mainstreaming was discussed with details in chapter 1, under 'Gender and Development' heading subject.

⁴² Swedish State perspective of gender mainstreaming in local and regional level explained by Swedish Association for Local Authorities and Regions' booklet. This quote is cited from this booklet; *"This strategy is about always having a gender policy perspective on specific policy issues, to analyze power relationships between women and men with a view to carrying out measures in such a way that there is equal opportunity regardless of sex. Gender mainstreaming aims at systemic changes that differ from the strategies for gender equality initiatives which try to bring out changes by giving women a presence and a vote in existing system."*

⁴³ Sven Hessle & Bo Vinnerljung (n.d.); *"Child Welfare in Sweden - an overview"*

More importantly, the state has shown consistency by implementing policies that provide a greater representation of gender equality. One of the main lessons that can be taken from Sweden's case is the connection and consistency between the different voices in society as well as on the state level in terms of demands and implemented policies. Besides, it is important to highlight that the state uses the "*social capital allocator and employee*⁴⁴" (Young 1997) role that it has appropriately enough to achieve more equality in society. Thus, even though there might be still many problems existing within Sweden's society in terms of gender equality, Sweden gives hope to the possibility of achieving gender equality, as long as the different state actors affecting society are genuine in their goals and commitment.

⁴⁴ For more information see subject heading; Gender and Development section in chapter 1.

Chapter 4: Turkey and Gender Friendly Policies

4.1 Historical Framework of Turkey in Terms of Gender Equalities as it relates to Economic Activities

The main purpose of this chapter is to explain gender friendly policies in Turkey within the context of care policies. In connection, Turkey's position as it relates to gender and welfare regimes will be discussed in parallel with the mentality of the state towards gender friendly policies.

As it was discussed in detail in chapter 2, Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare states has been placed as one of the reference studies used in comparative welfare studies (Orloff 1996: 64). However, initially, Turkey was not included in the original study. It was not until the fourth category was added, that Turkey was recognized by Esping-Andersen's three-typology study. The Fourth category, "Southern Europe Countries", was added to the categorization given these countries showed a distinct differences from the other countries within the three categories, furthermore, these Southern Europe countries aggregated together due to indicated similarities that they shared amongst each other. (Leibfried 1992; Ferrera 1996). Moreover, there have been further studies implemented after the addition of the fourth category, where Turkey was included in this fourth category of the "Southern Europe Countries" (Eardley et al. 1996; Gough 1996; Gough 2001; Saraceno 2002; Bugra & Keyder 2006 cited in Bugra & Ozkan 2013: 132). However, according to Karacan (2008), Turkey

can be classified under “Liberal Welfare States”⁴⁵ in the Esping-Andersen’s original three typology. One can see some evidence of transition from the “Southern Europe Countries” model to the “Liberal Welfare State” model in Turkey’s evaluation, when the topic of Social Security System reforms is discussed. Despite the fact that Turkey has shown many similarities with the “Southern Europe Countries” model, one should keep in mind that there also have been critical discussions still concerning the question of where Turkey stands in this study (cited in Butun 2010: 93).

On the other hand, after addition of gender perspective to comparative welfare studies, here began the study by Sainsbury (1999) on gender policy regimes. This study helped to bring more understanding to the nature of the state from a gender perspective. In order to bring gender perspective to welfare regime discussions, gender policy regimes must present as the main reference point in this study. In it’s relationship with this chapter, Turkey markedly shows the necessary characteristics to be placed in the category of “male breadwinner regime” (Dedeoglu 2009; Bugra & Ozkan 2006; Ozar & Cakar 2013). Therefore, explaining the historical path of gender friendly policies will illuminate these marked characteristics of Turkey.

In looking at the general picture of gender equality, it seems that Turkey still has far more crucial problems in the way of providing gender equality when compared to the other countries within the classification of “Southern Europe Countries⁴⁶” as well as with other welfare states in the Esping-Andersen’s classification. For one, inequalities for women still exist in

⁴⁵ The categories in Esping-Andersen’s typology were discussed in Chapter 2. For more information see; Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen’s Welfare State Classification title in Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal. According to Esping-Andersen's original typology Italy was classified under “Conservative” model, however according to Leibfried (1992) and Ferrera (1996) Italy was classified under forth category Latin Rim/Southern Countries. For more information see; Art&Gelissen 2002, “Three worlds of welfare capitalism or more? A state-of-the-art report”

every stage of their lives. In fact, Turkey has one of the highest gender gaps such as in education, political representation and empowerment, economic participation and economic opportunities in the world⁴⁷. Related with that one of the reasons for this low rate of employment for women can be attributed to lack of gender friendly policies.

To understand the gender concept in Turkey and how it is processed today, one should look into the History of Turkey and its modernization process. The Modernization process started in the late nineteen century as a result of the Turks in the late Ottoman Empire. This existed even before the new Turkish Republic was established⁴⁸. Within the effects of “modernization”, the Ottoman Empire had already started to redesign the new “Turkish family” model, which is based on “nuclear family” model⁴⁹. This redesign was built to provide more opportunities in employment and in the field of education. Hereby, these changes seemed to have had an effect on the smallest unit of society, the family, and thus it created the new modern “national Turkish family” (Toprak 2011 cited in Bugra & Ozkan 2013: 128).

⁴⁷ According to The Global Gender Gap Report 2012 published by the World Economic Forum, Turkey ranks 124 out of 135 countries in over all pictures about gender equality and ranks 129 out of 135 countries on economic participation and economic opportunity. These data information are taken from 2012.1

http://www.ataa.org/press/Gender_Equality.pdf

⁴⁸ Turkish Republic was established in 1923 right after the Ottoman Empire was destroyed.

⁴⁹ In the time of the Ottoman Empire, the family was arranged by Islamic laws and according to this law system; men could marry with up to four women. However, with this modernization process, monogamy and secularism were advocated in family rather than religious system. For more information see: Jennie R. Ebeling , Lynda Garland , Guity Nashat , Eric R. Dursteler "West Asia"

The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History. Ed Bonnie G. Smith. Oxford University Press, 2008. Brigham Young University (BYU). 1

November2010 http://www.academia.edu/193378/Women_in_the_Ottoman_Empire

During the establishment of the Turkish Republic (1923 and later), there were many reformist regulations that accompanied the requirements of the modernization process. One of the main requirements was that the women's position in society had to change, which in fact had already started in the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth-century as it was mentioned. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, this modernization process was sped up, followed by aggressive implementation. The education of women on every level was also a requirement of the new process; thereby the institution for women's education was established on a massive scale (Ibid). It should be noted that during this time period, in comparison to some of the other European countries, there were many rights that were granted to Turkish women far earlier than many of the European countries. For instance, in the Turkish Republic, women gained the suffrage right in 1934, while such countries like France, Switzerland, Romania; women did not gain the suffrage right until after World War 2⁵⁰. The suffrage right is really important in order to represent, though indirectly, women's involvement in the decision-making process.

One regulation centered on labor laws, focused on women's position in society. This effected the position of women in the work force, between 1936 and 1967. This labor law was important in terms of the protection it provided women and children workers from arbitrary firing. Also within this piece of legislation it was mentioned the social obligation to provide health protection for women and children (Deniz 2007: 147). In addition, half paid maternity leave was included in the law (Kilic 2007: 40). However, the general mentality of the Turkish Republic at that time was not truly about adopting women into the labor force, as it was not one of the main concerns of modernization process of Turkey (Bugra & Ozkan 2013:

⁵⁰ For more detailed information see:
<http://teacher.scholastic.com/activities/suffrage/history.html>

129). The picture that was drawn for women stemmed from the early period of Turkey; it more likely was designed for educated, intelligent mothers, although it was not for women in general to become actively involve in the labor force. Though there have been many regulations implemented in light of providing equal and improved life conditions for women in Turkey, including women in the labor force was not a subject of priority. This is one a marked indicator establishing the Turkish Republic's positioning as a "*male bread winner*" regime, which places women as caregivers in the society (Bugra, 2007). Thus, women were not in a position that allowed them to be viewed as a respected individual. Women were in most cases placed in cultural-traditional roles and respected in society as being mother. As it can be seen, motherhood was sanctified in society from the earlier periods of the Turkish Republic (Ibid).

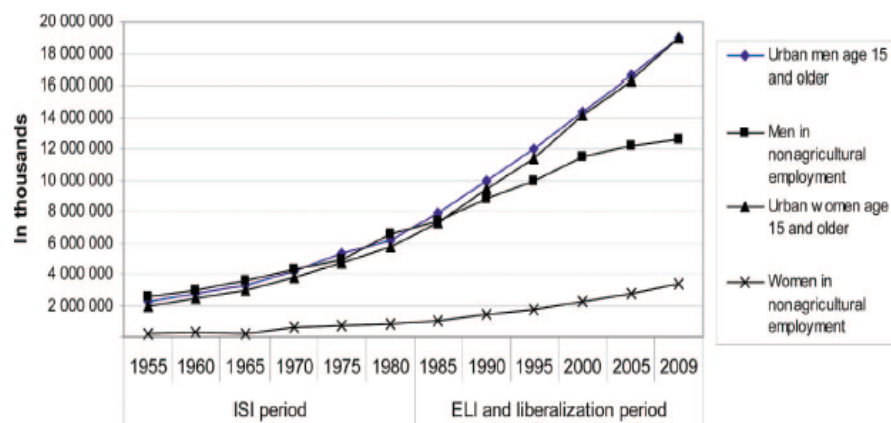
If going back to the late 1920s and 1930s to understand the economic participation level of women, agriculture was one of the main economic activities for families, and women were seen actively involved in the labor force in the agricultural sector, mostly as informal workers (Keig: 2008: 17; Ecevit cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 14). In addition, these women were still responsible for household works. This situation did not change for women in the Turkish labor force, even during the industrialization processes in 1950s. During this time period throughout Turkey, from countryside to the cities, massive scale immigration took place from the villages to the cities. As a result the women's employment rate decreased since families had to leave their agricultural works and homes for better opportunities in urban areas. However, the women's labor force did not shift from the agricultural sector to the non-agricultural sector in light of this immigration process. One of the main reasons for women not transitioning into the non-agricultural sector was the rising Squatting numbers (illegal formation in housing) while the migration continued towards the cities. The

state stood by allowing this process to grow as a result of a limited and loosely control system. Therefore, housing expenses were kept low for those immigrated families. Besides, when looking at the new urban life style, women still remained the main responsible person from household work and care while men worked outside of the household (Ecevit cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012:14). While continuing the transition from agricultural economic productivity to remaining industrialization process from the 1960s to 1970s, this situation protected politically and traditional norms in terms of division of labor in private space remained even as the main Turkish economic policy shifted to import substitution industrialization (ISI). Though the aim of Turkey with ISI was economic growth, economic relations in families remained the same as it was in the agricultural economic structure. This means that a male dominant family model remained via continued support of the traditional ideology that promotes women's dependency on the male in the family. These processes that have been found interwoven into the historical fabric of Turkey, have also been found to provide a cheap labor supply for the ISI process for new immigrant males from villages, who immigrate to big cities demanding works with low wages (Bugra cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 38).

These processes also kept the number of women in fields of formal work lower, not only was it because they had been conditioned to be more dependent on the male in the family, but the lack of institutional regulations to provide convenience for women to successfully move between work and family responsibility did not exist (Ilkcaracan, 2012: 30). The experience of Turkey during this time can be an example for the absence of gender friendly policies.

In the 1980s, there was a transformation to neoliberal economic policies in many countries throughout the world. This transformation process especially took its toll on Turkey. During this period the employment rate for women increased in many countries such as South European countries. While Turkey has been considered alongside “Southern Europe Countries” in comparative welfare studies, female labor participation did not show similar increase in comparison with other Southern countries in 1980s⁵¹. As you see from figure 4, the rise of women employment rate for Turkey was very limited during this time even though women were being employed in the service and industrial sectors. The rise in these areas was not significant enough to positively effect the rate of employment for women because it was not enough offset or to make up for the decrease of women employment in the agricultural sector (Bugra & Ozkan 2013: 136).

Figure 4: Trends in urban adult population and nonagricultural employment by gender



Source: Data for 1955–2000 from Population Censuses (TSI 2010b); for 2001–9, from HLFS (TSI 2008, 2009) cited in Ilkcaracan 2012⁵²

⁵¹ For more information see “Welfare States Discussions and Esping-Andersen’s Welfare State Classification” under chapter 2.

⁵² For more information see: Ilkcaracan, I. 2012 ‘Why so Few Women in the Labor Market in Turkey?’ *Feminist Economics*, Vol.18 No: 1 pp. 1-37

4.2 EU Integration Process

The 1980s and 1990s was a time in which the women's movements began to rise in Turkey (Cakir 2006). All of this progress, combined within a similar historical time frame, prepared Turkey for discussions that would begin to take place concerning women's rights as well as women as individuals (Ecevit cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012). In addition, this progress was responsible for the implementation of many reforms involving legislation and policies. Therefore, it is important to note the women's movement in Turkey was very much actively involved, and working hard to achieve reforms, which will be explained in more depth later. It must also be noted that, uniquely, these reforms were not initially due to the European integration process. However, the European Integration process did indeed further speeded up the needed reforms that had taken form as a result of the persistent voice of the feminist movement throughout Turkey.

One of the most important changes regarding this process was implemented in civil code. This code was directly related to the male breadwinner regime. In 2001, the "bread winner" terminology was removed from the law. This change affected the equality of the marriage. The law began to open the doors for further changes. For example, it changed the process of divorce, where women and men had gained equal rights in terms of property share. In relations, this change brought recognition to women's unpaid work at home (Bugra 2013: 35; Dedeoglu cited in Elveren 2013: 5).

In 2003, another very important change was implemented, with the focus of providing future support for gender equality policies in labor law (number

4857, article 18)⁵³. The law was designed to prevent the firing of a woman from work because of pregnancy. In addition, mistreatment of individuals because of marriage or family responsibility was now under close watch. In the past, workers would be fired if it were thought that either marriage or family would directly or indirectly effect productivity in the workplace negatively. Negatively, this option was giving additional personal options for employee termination to employer and weakening the position of women in labor force. It weakened the position of women in the labor force, for domestic and household duties effect women regarding marriage and family. However, through the new reforms, such mistreat had now become prohibited.

This law along with the changes and reforms, its influence continued, as its affects ignited a change in the constitution of Turkey. Here are the changes implemented in 2004 and 2010. The change about equality in article 10;

“(Paragraph added on May 7, 2004; Act No. 5170) Men and women have equal rights. The state has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice. (Sentence added on September 12, 2010; act No. 5982) Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality.” (www.global.tbmm.gov.tr)

The change in constitutional law was a crucial step for providing an equality that was to be maintained in every part of a woman’s life. It was with this change that the state was given the role of monitoring and providing equality respectively (Bugra cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 35).

One of the significant changes resulting from the implementation of gender perspective was related to its effects on the social security system (SSS)

⁵³ For more information visit; <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k4857.html>

during the EU integration process. Since the 1990s, Turkey's SSS has faced some financial issues correlating to the existing system. During this time, there were reports prepared by the World Bank (WB) and the IMF indicating the reasons for these financial problems found within the system. The reports found that the main problems plaguing the system were the early retirement age, the paradox between benefits and contributions and high cost of health care (Gokbayrak 2010: 146). In line with WB and IMF, Turkish Industry and Business Association (TUSIAD) prepared one of these reports in 1997⁵⁴. According to this report, the social security system of Turkey only required minimum social protection coverage⁵⁵. In addition, this report also states for long term insurance such as retirement, death or disability, it should be managed by a savings fund organization as an individual's personal saving preference. In addition, health care would be managed under one foundation. In summary, this report was saying that as the first step, the state was responsible for minimum social protection of the citizens, however, the second step of the social security system should be based on the insurance contributions made according to the individual's and employer's preference (Ibid). In 1999, Turkey made the first reform due to decreasing the public expenditures connected to the pension system therefore extending the minimum retirement age (Elveren 2013: 2, Grutjen 2009: 118). In addition, in 2001, the private pension system was introduced as a supportive structure to the public pension system, in order to provide an option for individuals to receive more income during the retirement period (Elveren 2013: 2).

⁵⁴ For more information about TUSIAD's report, see: Tuncay C. (n.d.), 'Tüsiad'ın Sosyal Güvenlik Raporunun Ardından' <http://www.ceis.org.tr/dergiDocs/1mak981.htm>

⁵⁵ In here, the minimum social protection term refers to the first pillar in a two-pillar social security system. According to this, the first pillar of social security should be; "standardized, state-run pension system, which offers basic coverage and is primarily focused on reducing poverty" (quoted in <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/pensionpillar.asp>).

The general health reform was one of the other key components in the SSS in order to understand the rigid ignorance surrounding the real problems of gender inequality. Technically, one of the main ideas of the reform was to provide general health care for every citizen at the basic level. Another idea was to look at all of the different structural institutions providing health care and gathering them all under one umbrella as one unit rather than having a fragmentary system providing health care services (Elveren 2013: 3, Grutjen 2009: 117). When looking at this reform in general, it may be seen providing opportunities for the beneficiaries as such, providing basic health services for all citizens that are receiving support through government, providing services for those who earn one third of minimum wage, and also covering children under 18 years old regardless of their family insurance (Grutjen 2009: 117).

However, this reform along with ongoing reforms regarding the social security system and the health care system neither had a strong effect on the system as a whole to prevent inequalities nor was it prepared to ameliorate the inequalities within the current system (Keig 2009: 6). In fact the reforms serve to exclude more citizens from the system indirectly given the tough requirements and contributions expected from individuals due to receive benefits from the new regulated system (Ibid).

Through this reform state classifies citizens as workers⁵⁶ and dependents. What has been ignored here is that the large amount of females in the informal labor sector; as house wives, temporary women workers in agricultural system, family workers, small entrepreneur women who work under the minimum wage tax-free, women in the labor force are off the records, therefore, they are not eligible for individual insurance in order to high cost. In this situation, these women can only receive benefits as

⁵⁶ Recorded workers in labor force

dependents to their father's or their husband's insurance, presuming they are insured; therefore their (women's) insurance rights are limited⁵⁷. From this point of view, the system is actually not universalistic at all since it relies on contributions from what the individual makes in order to determine which workers are to pay the allotted insurance charges, as well as how to include them into the system. Therefore, it makes this system different than a tax-funded universalistic health care system (Grutjen 2009: 117). According to Keig's report (2008), this new system excludes mostly women since most of the informal sector workers are women who unrecorded go as being contributors. The only other option that is given to women with in this system is to stay as a dependent, which means that they need to be taken care of.

It is true that the new reforms do provide to women an option of being insured on an individual basis. This is for women who are housewives or work in the informal sectors or the agricultural sectors. If women become insured as an individual, they would need to pay insurance charges themselves; therefore, they would then need to be recorded within the system. However, even if their incomes are less than the determined minimum wage, the lowest insurance charge rate is determined according to minimum wage (Ibid 46). Therefore, most of the women would choose not to pay the charges since it is way above than their economic ability. What Keig (2008) states here is, if the main idea was to involve these women to the system as an individual, then the insurance charges should have been determined according to their own income scale.

⁵⁷ According to numbers that had been given by Keig in 2008, the number of the women in this category is almost 17 to 18 millions. The whole population of women above 15 years old was 25 million. Keig subtracted the number of women who are insured according to work in the formal labor sector, retirement, or student status, from the subtotal number of women

http://www.keig.org/content/raporlar/SSGSS_10mart2008_web.pdf

In general, the SSS is positioned as a very important tool that developed to prevent inequalities in society through utilizing the redistributive role of the state. However, in the new SSS of Turkey, the main idea seems it is not to providing health, pension or care services to the citizens as a whole purely for the sake of it being their social right. It is more likely to provide benefits for specific groups of people according to their insurance rate charges that they would pay as formal workers (Keig 2008).

The same gender blindness can be seen in the pension system with ‘equal approach’ to women and men in the reform. A general understanding of the pension system is that the “individual receives benefits no matter what contribution he/she makes” According to Elveren (2013), there are two problematic approaches with this mentality. First, without providing equal opportunities through policies for men and women in the society, treating both men and women equal as regards to social rights does not make any difference in terms of facilitating equality for women as whole. Therefore, women would remain in a disadvantageous position of still being unable to receive benefits as an individual. Secondly, without care services for women and policies to lift some of the heavy burden of house responsibilities from the shoulders of women, employers will continue to prefer hiring men rather than women in order to avoid the care or maternity responsibilities carried by women. Then women continue to face a gender wage gap, lower pay than man, and having to work in the informal sector to make income. Because of the mentality; “you get what you pay for”, which remains a driving force within the pension system, low pay and part time jobs add to the limited benefits for women within the pension system (Ecevit 2000 cited in Elveren 2013)

Whether taking into account women’s unequal situations according to the utilization of benefits as an independent, or the other option, remaining as a

dependent to the male in the family to secure benefits, regardless of either scenario, overall, women are still deprived of the status of being an individual in society. Moreover, the benefits from SSS as a dependent are very limited, for it only covers general health services. Thereby, if the women would like to benefit from long-term benefits from the SSS, such as pension system or benefits through the disabled veterans system, they have to abandon their general health care benefit that they receive as a dependent. In this manner, they would have to pay two different insurance charges, one for health care services and one for pension system as well (Keig 2008).

The fundamental problem in the SSS of Turkey can be inferred from looking at the data that shows the related conditions of women. According to the data from 2008, 68.4% women benefit from social security system through their husband, 12.9% through their parents and 2.7 % through their kids⁵⁸.

In spite of the new regulations that accompanied the EU integration process, it still did not shift the subsidiary and secondary citizenship position of women in society as an individual. In fact, the secondary position of women became more distinctive due to the spread of conservatism throughout the country (Ecevit cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2013: 20).

Considering all of this, it can also be seen, during the shift of EU integration, between the changes in social security system and care policies, it did not carry with consistency in terms of recognizing the women as an individual. When looking at one-side of the regulations, it is shown that these regulations did indeed bring more equality. On the other side of the same regulations, policies consolidated subsidiary positions regarding

⁵⁸ For more information see; Keig 2013, *'Women's Labor and Employment in Turkey Problem areas and Suggestions 2'*

women in the family and dependency to the male of the family. In addition, the dualistic nature of these policies, it can be recognized in the context of many other policies. For instance in labor law there had been many changes implemented in 2010. However, chapter 1475 and article 14 did not change:

“ ... if a married woman decides to quit her job within the year of marriage, a compensation is paid that is equal to 30 days salary for every year of the work.”

According to some policy experts and lawyers, this article provides an example of positive discrimination⁵⁹ towards women⁶⁰. In contrast, this regulatory law supports the traditional role of women and men within the family, this is the mentality that believes the place of woman is in the home. The desire of this law is to keep women in the private space. Moreover, it makes visible the mentality of the state, and that it has very little desire to keep women in the labor force (Ecevit cited in Dedeoglu & Elveren 2012: 15).

4.3 Care Policies, Regulations and Current Implications

When regulations about care policies are evaluated, in general it can be seen that the mentality is recognizing women as a “primary carer”. One of the unique changes in care policies consolidated this position. According to this policy, if needed, the woman would take the responsibility of elder care or the care of disabled persons within the family unit, while the state would

⁵⁹ Positive Discrimination is a practice of policies providing more opportunities and incentives for women to benefit from their own rights, rights that normally were not used by women due to lack of equality situation.

⁶⁰ One sample for explanation for the labor law’s article from Social security expert’s perspective website; <http://www.alitezcel.com/index.php?sid=yazi&id=4825>

pay out a cash benefit for this responsibility. There are two aspects of this regulation; one is that the importance of family is highlighted, which is more likely a conservative action, and the second one is that state encumbers the care tasks to women. Here again one can see the neoliberal influences as it projects itself through this policy. With such care responsibilities fasten to women, the state can reduce the social expenses through the introduction of such a policy. This is only one of many policies written as such (Elveren & Dedeoglu 2012: 25).

Specifically, in this section, current maternity leave, paternity leave as well as the day care system in Turkey will be examined.

4.3.1 Maternity Leave

The regulation of current maternity leave legislation (2013), implemented within the partnership between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 16 weeks paid maternity leave was given to women, of which 8-weeks is to be taken before the prenatal period and 8 weeks is to be taken after the prenatal period. Moreover, women are allowed to work until the last 3 weeks if they prefer, but for safety there should be a report from the physician that shows a woman's ability to work. In this case, the days that a woman had from previous leave rights can be transferred as leave rights for the woman after the pregnancy.

After the completion of maternity leave, the mother can take unpaid leave up to 24 months⁶¹

⁶¹ Article 74, Turkish Labor Code No. 4857, full memorandum;

4.3.2 Paternity Leave

The regulation of current paternity leave legislation (2013), also implemented within the partnership between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. According to legislation, man, whose wife gives a birth, can use paid paternity leave but only up to ten days. However, if unfortunate circumstances occur and the mother dies during the birth process, the father can then use the maternity leave right of the mother. A man, whose wife gives birth, can also take unpaid leave up to 24 months. However, these regulations are only valid for public workers. There are no specific regulations in labor law about paternity leave. Therefore, for those who work with an agreement, paternity leave can be added to their agreements according to their concern between employee and employer⁶².

The common point that exists between maternity and paternity leave is that both were implemented within the partnership of Ministry of Family and Social Policies and Ministry of Labor and Social Security.

4.4 Day Care in Turkey

Traditional roles that are witnessed throughout Turkey still have significant influence regarding low female participation effecting child care as it relates to Turkey's case (Alkan 2005; Capar et al. 2009; Dayioglu 2000; Dayioglu & Kirdar 2009, Erman 2001, Eyuboglu, Ozar & Tanrioer 2006; Gunduz-

<http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLP%20Repository/csgeb/mevzuat/genelgeler/genelge43>

⁶² For more information see; <http://www.calismarehberi.com/osman-ozbolat-makale,38.html>

Hosgor & Smits 2006; Kasnakoglu & Dayioglu 2002; Ozar & Senesen 1998; Taymaz 2009 cited in Keig 2009). One of the biggest obstacles that must be overcome to provide some relief from such traditional roles, points to insufficient structure about who, where, and how the child is to be taken care of. The cultural perspective on childcare helps to define the mother as the predominant responsible person designated to raise the child while assuming the responsibility of the house as well (Keig 2009: 8). Therefore, women, who are actively positioned in the labor force, tend to leave their job to take care of their children. The strong tendency to establish such roles, the breadwinner male and the caregiver female, show itself in early childcare. This model could be the one effect that aids in the low demand for early day care centers. However, this is not the only reason for little demand for early day care centers. The biggest challenge in early childcare is the lack of institutionalization in the childcare system (Dedeoglu 2009, Butun 2010, Ecevit 2010). Inadequacy of early childcare day centers and the insufficient systematical foundation, in terms of the perspective of providing these services via national or local level, discourage women from leaving their children and the responsibility of care in the hands of these centers⁶³. In compulsory situations women are more reluctant to traditionally leave their children with one of the relatives or apply any number of other possible informal solutions such as leaving the child with neighbors as a daycare solution.⁶⁴ In combining cultural norms in terms of traditional roles and the support of the state through policy and law, most of the women in

⁶³ “*I would prefer to take care of my children by myself instead of getting services from early child care centers*” this is the mentality of women in Turkey who can not access institutionalized and sufficient qualified early child care centers cited from increasing the female employment participation rate in every field, commission report, 2013 (http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_raporu_2014_1.pdf)

⁶⁴ Bogazici University, Social Policy Forum, [http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/MAHALLE_KRESLERI - ARASTIRMA RAPORU.pdf](http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/MAHALLE_KRESLERI_-_ARASTIRMA_RAPORU.pdf)

Turkey today, therefore, stay at home due to responsibilities of unpaid works such as childcare⁶⁵ (Toksoz 2007: 58-61).

One of the reasons for the lack of institutionalization regarding early childcare centers is the negligent regulations surrounding these centers. In addition, there is no strong commitment to these regulations that were constructed towards providing childcare for women in terms of helping to keep them in the labor force. For instance, one significant regulation exists in the “Labor Code” concerning the provision of and the access to early day care centers for women. According to this law, which is numbered 4857, under the “Working Conditions and Requirements for Pregnant and Breastfeeding Women and Breastfeeding rooms and Nursery” subject, title 15 requires for enterprises that employ between 100-150 women, must provide breastfeeding rooms. Moreover, enterprises that employ more than 150 women must provide nursery/crèche⁶⁶. In addition to this requirement, they cannot be more than 250 meters away from the work place⁶⁷. This regulation was implemented in 1953. Since it was regulated, it can be seen that enterprises do not obey this rule, thus they do not provide the requirements of this title. One of the main reasons for employers not to provide this requirement is the high financial cost of these centers and rooms. In relation, to encourage companies more there were new employment policies implemented in 2008 by the government. What these policies provided was the option for enterprises to now be able to outsource nursery service, which means they do not have to configure it by

⁶⁵ 61,8 % of women, who are outside of the labor force, pointed the responsibility of the domestic work as reason to not to involve labor force. For more information visit:

http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_raporu_2014_1.pdf

⁶⁶ There are different names used in Turkey for early childcare centers such as; private crèche/nursery, child club or day care centers. These terminologies are used for the care services for the age group between 0 to 6 years old. All these centers are covered by the Social Protection and Child Services law (Butun 2010).

⁶⁷ For detailed information about the regulation see;

http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLP_Repository/isggm/dosyalar/yona

themselves. This regulation was implemented to decrease the cost of the nurseries, which was the main excuse for companies not providing these services. However, the main concern of women regarding this new reform was the manner and the quality, which the nursery service would be provided. Besides, women were concerned with how far away would this service be. If the nursery service is too far from the company, it would be problematic for women⁶⁸. An additional question was raised about why the regulation requirements only target certain companies regarding the provision of proper nursery facilities, such as those companies having a female employee population greater than a certain number. More so, why can't all companies be required to provide such benefits for their male employees as well and provide these benefits regardless of the number of employees? The focal point here is the evaluation of a companies and their inclusion of childcare centers and services according to policies pertaining to women in the labor force. This perspective demonstrates the traditional concept towards childcare roles. In addition, the danger of creating an upper limit of 150 female employees, regarding working women in the company and the opening of nurseries, is it develops a negative incentive for companies to then keep women worker numbers under the stated numbers. In this way, respective companies avoid having to take on the responsibility of childcare services (Ibid).

The other regulation focused on providing nursery services in working places, is regarding to the public work places. According to civil servant code (1987), no 657 titles 191, the state provides day care centers in public work places in needed cases. The nature of this rule does not include obligation. Moreover, authorized are the main decision makers, in terms of determining the necessity of day care needs in public work places.

⁶⁸ For more information visit;
http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_raporu_2014_1.pdf

Therefore, this flexibility in the code allows for the opportunity to make a much more personal decisions by authorization, which are generally predilection of not requiring day care centers⁶⁹.

Despite all the obstacles, there are some encouraging actions that have taken place that have been initiated by the state. In 2010, the premiership notice was implemented under the “escalating the women’s employment and providing equal opportunities for women” title. According to this title, government will be the main source responsible for inspection of companies regarding the law code no 4857 “Working Conditions and Requirements for Pregnant and Breastfeeding Women and Breastfeeding rooms and Nursery”. In this manner, the state placed itself as the main entity responsible for providing these facilities in support of escalating women’s employment. This goes to show there is some hope for improved commitment from the state, moreover, its institutions, towards the importance of early childcare (Butun 2010: 102). However, even with the improved commitment, it is still crucial that these regulations be continually monitored to confirm whether or not they are implemented with the proper experiences according to requirement of the policies.

Ecevit (2010) implemented a detailed and fundamental study about early day care centers and regulations related to them. She mentioned in her study the many challenges she faced while trying to collect the data concerning, early day care centers, providers, and number of children attendees associated with the respective centers. This was due to the lack of data connections regarding public institutions⁷⁰. The data collected by Ecevit

⁶⁹ To original document about the regulation regarding to this code see;

<http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/html/28.html>

⁷⁰ For detailed information about Yildiz Ecevit , 2010. “Aile ve Is, Yasamının Uyumlasması Baglamında Turkiye’de Erken Cocukluk Bakım ve Egitimi” [Childcare and preschool services in Turkey in view of work–family reconciliation], in Ipek Ilkkaracan, ed.

shows that the number of early childcare centers, which were provided by public institutions have been decreasing constantly since 2007. According to the data that she collected via the Minister of Education, the numbers of public childcare centers decreased from 497 in 2007-2008 to 322 in 2008-2009 and continue to decrease to 148 in 2009-2010. On the other hand, one can see from Turkey's case, preschool is more developed than is early childcare. 90%⁷¹ of preschools have been opened under the control of the ministry of education, while the children who attend them have been increasing⁷² on a steady incline from 2004-2005 to 2008-2009⁷³. According to Ecevit, the public school numbers have increased by 90% and the private preschool rate has risen by 107% from 2004 to 2009. The increase of the preschools and demand to attend these schools are more likely related to the "5 years old kids go to preschool" policy by Minister of Education. This goes to show, the motivation and policy that was implemented by state worked really well for the number of children (5 to 6 years old) attendees in preschool increased from 43,7 % to 61% between 2007-2008 period to 2009-2010 period⁷⁴. However, the Ministry of Education does not show the same commitment or responsibility to early childcare centers, which is focused on care and education for the children from 0 to 3 years old. The result of less attention to early childcare centers can be seen in table 17.

Emek Piyasasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Esitliğine doğru: Is, ve Aile Yasamını Uzlastırma Politikaları

⁷¹ Butun 2010,

http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/kadininstatusu.gov.tr/mce/eski_site/Pdf/uzmanlik_tezleri/melek_butun_tez.pdf

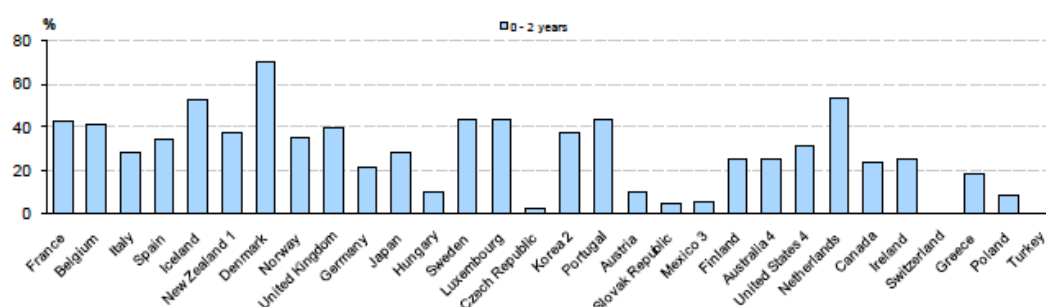
⁷² This information is given according the Minister of Education statistics, which is collected by Ecevit in 2010. For more information about this study, check the reference: Ecevit 2010, "Aile ve Is, Yasamının Uyumlasması Baglamında Türkiye'de Erken Cocukluk Bakım ve Egitimi" [Childcare and preschool services in Turkey in view of work-family reconciliation], in Ipek Ilkcaracan eds al. Emek Piyasasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Esitliğine doğru: Is, ve Aile Yasamını Uzlastırma Politikaları

⁷³ 10% of this portion consists of early childcare centers or pre-schools that are regulated by the Agency of Social Services and Child Protection or other Public Services (Butun 2010: 121).

⁷⁴ Minister of Education statistics cited from Ecevit 2012: 100).

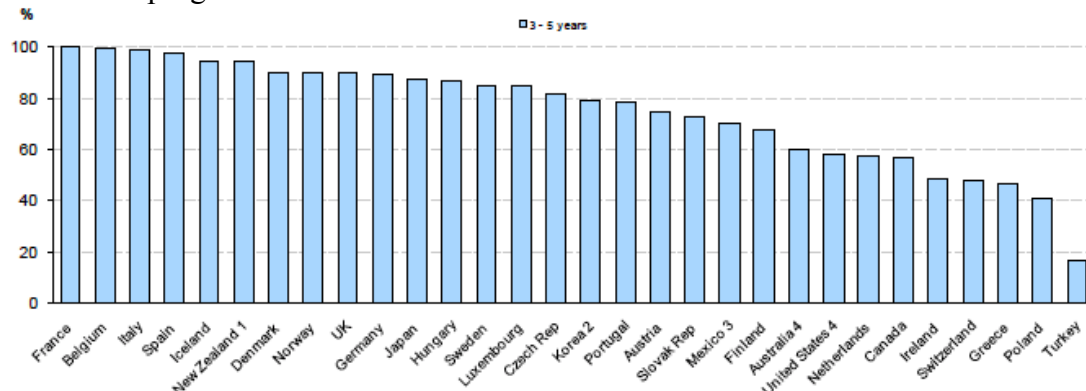
Turkey has the second lowest enrollment rates regarding formal childcare under the age of 3 in OECD countries. Moreover, Turkey's status of having the lowest enrollment rate still does not change for children age 3 to 5. As table 18 shows, Turkey is positioned as the last country in terms of enrollment rates regarding preschool childcare programs for children between the ages of 3 and 5.

Table 17 Participation rate of children under 3-years of age to formal childcare



Source: OECD Social Policy Division, March 2010 <http://www.oecd.org/els/social>

Table 18 Participation rate of children aged 3-5 years of age in pre-school educational programmes



Source: OECD Social Policy Division, March 2010 <http://www.oecd.org/els/social>

There are also private early childcare centers; crèche⁷⁵ and preschools⁷⁶ that have been provided throughout Turkey as well⁷⁷. The licenses of these centers are provided by The Agency for Social Services and Child Protection in Turkey (ASSCP). The opening, establishment, functioning and management rules are also determined under the ASSCP's legislations (Butun 2010: 100)⁷⁸. In viewing the current situation, the data shows that the lack of institutionalization is more likely found in early childcare and education area (Ibid 120). From 2007-2008 to 2009-2010, preschool enrollment increased from 43,7% to 61% in the age groups between 5 to 6 years old. The rise was found to be 2,7 % to 4,1% for the age groups 3 to 4, and 13 % to 14,5 % for the age groups 4 to 5⁷⁹.

One of the main issues is centered around early childcare centers and how they sustain themselves, while existing at such an inclusive level. There have been different documents and action programs that have been prepared by the state, showing the needs of early childcare and education. It is also shown here its effect on women employment. In addition it has been underlined, the significant need for care policies for women during the EU integration process regarding employment. Therefore, in response there have been some action programs implemented by state in light of increasing women's employment, despite the fact that it might be dangerous for women to implement one time package programs in order to access only a

⁷⁵ Education service for the age group 0-3 years, OECD, 2006

⁷⁶ Preschool education services for the age group 3-5 years kids, OECD 2006

⁷⁷ There are different names are used in Turkey for early childcare centers such as; private crèche, child club or day care centers. These terminologies are used for the care services for the age group between 0 to 6 years old. All of these centers are covered by the Social Protection and Child Services law (Butun 2010).

⁷⁸ No 2828 for detailed information see

⁷⁹ This data is taken from Yildiz Ecevit special work by the data collection from Minister of Education, 2012. For detailed information about this study see; "Aile ve Is, Yasamının Uyumlasması Baglamında Turkiye'de Erken Cocukluk Bakım ve Egitimi" [Childcare and preschool services in Turkey in view of work-family reconciliation], in Ipek Ilkcaracan, ed. Emek Piyasasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Esitligine dogru: Is, ve Aile Yasamını Uzlastırma Politikaları, 2010

specific group of women (Dedeoglu 2009: 42). What this means, is that care policies should not be implemented as a short-term fix. Care policies should be long-term included as one of the principles that will aid the understanding of social state as well as the needed criteria for the welfare regime (Orloff 1996 cited in Dedeoglu 2009: 42). Therefore, when looking from the citizen's standpoint the services can be covered and received. One can see the effects of prioritizing the alternative early childcare centers practices in Turkey. Even in Ministry of Labor and Social Security's documents⁸⁰, the projects that have been implemented by NGOs for the early childcare and education services have shown to be the main services that are provided to support childcare throughout Turkey. Although most of the project based early childcare centers, which are implemented by the NGOS' aim to provide these services to low-income families, however, they do so without state policies and financial support, sustainability or inclusiveness of the services. This raises a big issue. Moreover, the lack of the central support, inequalities in terms of early child care and education services continue to increase in Turkey.⁸¹

Another concern centered around early childcare and education services, is in looking at these services as only providing care options solely for women, to encourage them to stay in labor force. It has been studied, and found that, early child education is one of the significant factors that supports, encourages, and affects child development in a positive way. Moreover, the influence of education helps to prevent child poverty as well. Providing sufficient early childcare and education should be seen as a right

⁸⁰ http://www.csgeb.gov.tr/csgebPortal/ShowProperty/WLP_Repository/abk/bultenler/sayi53

⁸¹ For detailed information see: "Turkiye'de bakim hizmetlerinin yayginlastirilmesine yonelik bir oneri mahalle kresleri" "One suggestion to universalizing care services in Turkey: District Crèches" [http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/MAHALLE_KRESLERI - ARASTIRMA_RAPORU.pdf](http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/MAHALLE_KRESLERI_ARASTIRMA_RAPORU.pdf)

of the child, therefore, the state should take the responsibility of early child care and education services in terms of this understanding.⁸²

Recently, researches concerning one, care policies and different practices in Turkey, and two, the demands from different feminist and woman organizations towards more care policies have been increasing. These growing voices magnify the women and children's needs, having a significant influence on the changing perspective, resulting in a growing number to paying more attention to such issues. Predominantly the majority of all reports, workshops, meetings, and conferences have been implemented by women's organizations; networks as well as powerful campaigns have produced many growing announcements regarding the issues. One most recent example is "Kres Haktir" campaign.⁸³ The unity of 43 different women, along with LGBT, organizations, unions and movements all across Turkey are responsible for implementing this campaign. What they demand from the state is to provide care services for all citizens as a social right, looking at the issue as more than just a woman's issue.⁸⁴

4.5 Conclusions

From Turkey's point of view, it can be seen, how gender friendly policies, specifically care policies, hold such significant positions in the push for equal involvement of women in the labor force. The lack of gender friendly policies regarding the reconciliation of work and life allow for the traditional family model to remain dominant, which continues to influence

⁸² Bogazici University, Social Policy Forum; http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/docs/MAHALLE_KRESLERI - ARASTIRMA RAPORU.pdf

⁸³ "Crèch is the right"

⁸⁴ For detailed information about the campaign see: <http://www.kreshaktir.org/>
<http://www.bianet.org/bianet/diger/145765-cocuk-bakimi-erkeklerin-de-sorumlulugu>

the ideology of the male as bread winner and women as the responsible person for both the household and care duties. This ideology still remains the same in both society and on the state level. Therefore, traditional roles, which define women as ‘carer’ and men as ‘breadwinner’ stands as one of the biggest challenges in the way of women becoming more actively involved in the labor force, and being recognized, more so, as an individual citizen.

It is true that with the powerful feminist movement and EU integration process there have been many promising changes that have happened at the institutional level. Also, some employment policies in the context of periodic employment programs have been regulated to increase female labor force participation. However, low female participation in the labor force in Turkey cannot be solved with the one-time programs or plans. Turkey needs structural reforms within the system, while seeing this problem as an employment problem rather than social exclusion. Without recognizing women as individuals who are a potential and viable labor force for the economy, their traditional role will remain the same, thus policies will not be carried out to provide the prescribed equalities needed in society. Yet there have been many policies Turkey should implement to provide equalities in society.

There have been discussions about strengthening and broadening the scope of the ‘labor market flexibility’ in Turkey to increase labor force participation. However, it can be seen from the SSS that women, who are part of the flexible labor market, are excluded from the system in current situation. Therefore the ‘labor market flexibility’ model can cause more

problems for women such as in retirement due to completion of the insurance charge days⁸⁵.

In this manner, care and parental leave policies seem to be one of the main promising opportunities as it relates to women becoming more involved in the labor force. However for it to be effective, the enforcements, incentives and the order of control are crucial in terms of the development of these policies. Furthermore, Turkey needs specific “Daddy Quotas⁸⁶” in terms of sharing the care role of children in the family. In addition, for those who use the “Daddy Quotas”, it should be induced with tax reductions or cash benefits. This could be the way to change the traditional roles in family via the hands of state.

Early childcare and education remain as one of the big challenges in terms of involving women in the labor force. Important to mention, early childcare also has an effect on the access women have to education, moreover, higher education. This statement undoubtedly feeds into perpetuating that education remains as another big challenge in terms of involving women in the labor force.

Today, most of the women who stay at home indicate that home and care responsibilities force them to stay at home and not enter the labor force in Turkey. Besides, the existing regulations do not work efficiently since the state control and encouragement are at a very low level. From a gender equality perspective, the number of early childcare centers, the physical condition of the centers, quality of the education, financial sustainability,

⁸⁵ More information see:

http://www.keig.org/content/raporlar/keig%20platformu%20politika%20raporu_2009.pdf

⁸⁶ Daddy Quota is a reserved non-transferable time for fathers in the parental leave system. Mainly it is designed to increase the fathers’ responsibility in taking part in childcare (Eriksson 2005).

and state support, all of these subjects are extremely important in providing successful, healthy, and efficient day care. In addition, institutionalizing these centers as well as seeing child care as something that can be provided outside of the family would also help in supporting a change regarding the traditional roles of men and women. From the local to the national level, the state should take more responsibility in providing early childcare centers. This would take a considerable portion of the burden from the shoulders of the family especially the woman.

All these gender friendly policies require gender mainstreaming⁸⁷ at every stage of the state's action, especially regarding budgeting⁸⁸. In addition, these recommendations would help Turkey to achieve the level of gender equality. Given the current situation, positive discrimination must be enacted, as a fundamental need for women given there are no equal opportunities for women to benefit when it comes to social rights as an individual citizen. In such regulations such as in SSS, it shows a gender blind understanding of equal treatment. For the enactment of gender equality in real terms, policies for women that would allow them to facilitate their daily lives as well as remove some burdens of domestic responsibilities are needed. Therefore, Turkey should be really careful in terms of gender mainstreaming since it can cause more ignorance in hiding the need to provide equal opportunities for women.

In this chapter, implications of care policies and Turkey's position in gender policy regimes have been explained within the context of Turkey's historical path in terms of gender friendly policies. While considering

⁸⁷ 'Gender mainstreaming was discussed in Gender and Development topic. For more information see Chapter1, 'Gender and Development' title.

⁸⁸ This suggestion is made according to Keig's report (2009) on women's labor power and employment to point to the existing problems and possible suggestions to solve these problems. For detailed information see:

http://www.keig.org/content/raporlar/keig%20platformu%20politika%20raporu_2009.pdf

previous studies on Turkey's position in comparative welfare studies, the main reference point was the criteria of gender policy regimes. These criteria; the regime attributes, the ideology of the state, entitlements, the basis of entitlements, recipient of benefits, taxation, sphere of care and caring work for Turkey were already explained in chapter 2, as the general framework for it has been drawn⁸⁹. However, based on these criteria, the detail of regime attributes, sphere of care and care work have been explained in this chapter. In addition, the portion-relating women in the social security system were explained in order to develop a link with entitlements, basis of entitlements, and recipient of benefits. Consequently, Turkey was classified under 'male bread winner regime'.

⁸⁹ Detailed information about gender policy regimes (Sainsbury 1999) was given in chapter 2. For more information see chapter 2 'Gender Policy Regimes'.

Conclusion

In this paper, using two different models, an attempt was made to explain care policies and their importance from a gender perspective. The hypothesis of the paper presents that, the “state is a great influencer persuading and affecting the behaviors of its citizens. Therefore, if the state is committed to providing gender equality, policies can be used as an important element to accomplish this equality. However, the policies cannot be effective alone since state should internalize the understanding of gender equality as it looks at every aspect of its action. Moreover, one, for there to be proper implementation of policies in practice, the consistency within regulations continuously needs to be addressed. Therefore, the needs and inadequacies for gender equality should be very carefully analyzed and determined from the smallest unit of society, the family, to a much larger unit of society, the state level, more so, the state mentality. Herein, care policies appear as one of the most important factors in helping to provide gender equality. Notably speaking, without solving the domestic inequality issues within the household, as well as those non-domestic inequality issues in different parts of societal life, such as the labor force, tax system and social security system, overall gender equality cannot be solved.

Comparative welfare state studies had a huge impact and provided the needed information and data. Although, Esping-Andersen’s comparative welfare state studies paved the way to many more studies in terms of understanding the nature of welfare states, the gender perspective was missing in the original study of Esping-Andersen. Sainsbury (1999), who is one of the critics of the Esping-Andersen’s study due to neglected gender

perspective, developed the gender policy regimes as an alternative perspective. In light of this study, there can be found answers making clear why governments implement certain policies and why some policies are ignored. In addition, the need of urgent policies can be recognized in different societies in terms of the level of need for providing greater equality.

According to the discussions in this paper, one can infer that the development stages of a state cannot be determined, without looking at it from a gender aspect, the level of welfare that state provides. Therefore, the examination of a state from a gender perspective is crucial to understand the distribution of wealth and to see the issues of injustices deeper, for this point is missing in the mainstream comparative welfare state classification. Further analyzing this point, Sainsbury's study gender policy regimes (1999) efficiently fills in for this deficiency, allowing for the ability to evaluate states' and their policies in terms of gender perspective. Therefore, gender policy regimes were used as a main reference point for to examining the care policies within the two different models.

In this study, implementation of care policies in two different countries was explained as it was based on Sainsbury's (1999) 'gender policy regimes' approach. With the light of this approach, one would see how traditional gender roles are embedded and encoded into society from the smallest union the family and how this encoding strongly correlates to state mentality. Therefore, understanding the care policies in terms of the gender policy regimes is crucial in helping to see the complex correlation between state and implementation of policies.

As one of the selected countries for this study, the implications of care policies in Sweden were examined within the context of gender policy

regimes. According to Sainsbury's (1999) original study, Sweden was already classified under 'individual earner-carer'⁹⁰ category. However, Sweden had classified under 'separate gender roles' regime until 1970s, with the several policies, Sweden later shifted to 'individual earner carer' regime. The tax act in Sweden (1971) made a significant impact on the changing the roles in families and also in the citizen understanding from a gender equality perspective. With this act, since 1971, individuals have been taxed income separately in the family. Therefore, regardless of their position in the family, women and men have been recognized as an individual citizen respectively⁹¹. Following, implementation of the parental leave policy, (1974) as the first country in the world, was the next powerful reform to aid in the achievement of more gender equality in society. Afterwards, several reforms and policies were pursued for the sake of gender equality. In light of the data that was given in chapter 3, which is about benefiting from gender policies in Sweden's society, one can infer that gender friendly policies can affect men and women's behaviors and society as well. It is more likely, even though the social state understanding has shifted globally, the awareness to social needs is fairly high in Sweden when it is compared to the rest of the world⁹². Yet gender equality is not a static situation. As it was seen in Sweden's case, even though great effort has been put forward to provide gender equality, the gender segregation issue in terms of work choices of women still remains to be tackled. Despite this fact, Sweden is ready to meet the needs of human beings as it relates to equality; however it must also be mentioned that they do so to create an improved societal environment to increase productivity thus the overall economy of the states.

⁹⁰ For more information see, Sainsbury D. 1999, "Gender and Welfare State Regimes", Oxford University Press, UK

⁹¹ For more information see Eduards (1991), (Sorensen & Bergqvist 2002)

⁹² Ranked as 4th country in the world in terms of providing health and wellness, ranked as 9th in terms of personal right; <http://www.socialprogressimperative.org/data/spi-map/countries/com9,dim1,com1,com2,com3,com4,dim2,com5,com7,com8,dim3,com9,com12>

It encourages them to make provisions in the regulation of policies to provide reconciliation for labors between their work and life. Thus, from the smallest unit of society to the state level, the need for gender equality is standing out as an essential ingredient for economic development.

Within the context of gender policy regimes', Turkey has not been placed in Sainsbury's (1999) original study. However, in this paper, an explanation of Turkey's position in the gender policy regimes was attempted according to Sainsbury's original study. Here Turkey was placed as 'male bread winner regime' according to criteria. Nonetheless, very fruitful information was acquired from these different studies⁹³, classifying Turkey as male breadwinner model. In the case of Turkey, there are structural problems that leap out given the rigorous traditional gender roles. However, Turkey's approach to gender friendly policies specific to care policies does not seem to prioritize providing gender equality as an essential component. With great demand from the women's movement, along with the external force of EU integration process, Turkey introduced many policies and changes to legislation. For instance, removing 'bread winner' terminology in civil code (2001) and preventing the firing of a woman from work because of pregnancy⁹⁴ gave hope to the possibility of achieving gender equality, moving the state one step further. On the other hand, with the great effect of neoliberal policies and the surge of conservatism, Turkey continues to lose the welfare state feature by cutting the social expenses. The majority of the cuts involved regulations in care policies and the social security system. An example, with the new policy regulation, if needed, women would take the responsibility of elder care or the care of disabled persons within the family unit and as a result the state would pay out a cash benefit for this

⁹³ For more information see the references; Dedeoglu 2009, Bugra & Ozkan 2006, Ozar & Cakar 2013

⁹⁴ This change implemented in labor law, number 4857, article 18 in 2003. For more information visit; <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k4857.html>

responsibility, In looking at this regulation, the very conservative nature of the state is revealed. What is revealed is the way in which the state encumbers the care tasks to women. Therefore, the state of Turkey extinguished the hope of achieving gender equality with these biased policy changes in the social security system and in the employment field. More so, these changes fed the inequalities and the social norms that already exist, in the end, putting more of societal work on women. These regulations also have been excluding women from the active labor force more. Considering all of this, Turkey from an employment perspective does not show a desire for women to be involved in economic activity, even if it were to lead to more productivity. In this situation, Turkey needs to take more action in establishing consistency in terms of gender equality, especially regarding the issues centering around the lack of work life balance policies. This not only affects women's lives, it also affects society as well as the economy as a whole.

It is crucial for countries to be aware of their specific realities, becoming more aware of the traditions, cultures, and belief systems that have shaped the life of their society. It can be noted, whatever the situation, policies have huge impacts, as well as traditions, culture, and belief systems. Taking all of these pieces into consideration, the state should be consistent regarding its implementation of policies, and in providing welfare and justice to its citizens. However, while doing that it should not favor one piece over the other. The states should define the main goal concerning what they want to achieve with the policies they implement. It is with great hope; the main goal would be to achieve gender equality thus preventing traditions, cultures or belief system from influencing a continued injustice towards both men and women.

Lastly, the important highlight for this study is being only beginning for the advance studies, which can be done in the future in terms of Turkey's position within the gender policy regimes study. With the limitation of master dissertation, the classification of Turkey according to Sainsbury's study only implemented with the observation of main criterions. Therefore, the great hope for this study is to provide opportunities for more and detailed studies of criterions to show how Turkey is placed under 'Male Bread Winner' regime.

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