

Women Employment and Family in Turkey: A Comparison between Perceptions and the Theory

Türkiye'de Kadın İstihdamı ve Aile: Algular ve Teori Arasında Bir Karşılaştırma

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Women Employment and Family in Turkey: A Comparison between Perceptions and the Theory

Türkiye’de Kadın İstihdamı ve Aile: Algular ve Teori Arasında Bir Karşılaştırma

Varol DUR*

ABSTRACT

There are different approaches about where Turkish welfare regime should be placed among welfare models in the relevant literature. That being said, especially when taking women's and family's position into consideration, Turkey shows similar tendencies with South European Welfare Regimes' (SEWR) characteristics. In this paper, a questionnaire has been developed within the scope of a framework that is based on the literature on Turkey's membership to SEWR. The questionnaire aims to test compatibility between SEWR characteristics put forward in the related literature and Turkish citizens' perception about welfare state. Cross-tabulation and regression analysis were used to evaluate results of the questionnaire. The results of the analyses show that, while the respondents about perception on sole breadwinner – dual breadwinner and, perception on women employment were not compatible with the literature, perception on who can be trusted in case of urgent crisis and, perception on the most important insurance branch were in parallel with the literature. Since the transformation from sole breadwinner to dual breadwinner has serious effects on both labour market and family structure, it was chosen as dependent variable for regression analysis. The analysis indicated that perception about women employment is the most powerful predictor of the dependent variable.

Keywords: Turkish welfare state, south europe welfare regime, family, women employment, regression analysis

ÖZ

Türk refah rejiminin, hangi refah modelinin içinde yer aldığına ilişkin literatürde farklı yaklaşımlar mevcuttur. Bununla beraber, özellikle kadın ve ailenin konumu dikkate alındığında Türkiye'nin Güney Avrupa Refah Modelinin (GARM) belirleyici niteliklerini taşıdığı göze çarpmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin GARM dahil olduğu görüşünden yola çıkarak belirlenen çerçevede bir anket hazırlanmıştır. Hazırlanan anket, literatürde kabul edilen GARM' özellikleriyle, Türk vatandaşlarının refah devletine dönük algısının uyumu test edilmiştir. Anket sonuçları çapraz tablolar ve regresyon analizi kullanılarak değerlendirilmiştir. Neticede, tek gelir getiricili – çift gelir getiricili aile yapısı ve kadın çalışmasına bakış açısı noktasında literatüre uymayan cevaplar alınırken, ani krizlere kime güvenileceği ve en çok güvenilen sigorta kolu hususlarında uyumlu yanıtlar alınmıştır. Literatürde tek gelir getiricili aileden çift gelir getiricili aileye geçişin hem işgücü piyasası, hem de aile yapısı üzerindeki büyük etkisine yapılan yaygın vurgu nedeniyle bağımlı değişken olarak seçilmiştir. Analiz neticesinde, bağımlı değişkenin en önemli tahmin edicisinin de kadının çalışmasına dönük algı olduğu tespit edilmiş, toplumsal bir dönüşüm yaşandığı ortaya konmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Türk refah devleti, aile, kadın istihdamı, güney avrupa refah modeli, regresyon analizi

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I- INTRODUCTION

Since its publication in 1990, Gøsta Esping-Andersen's Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism has grabbed great attention over the comparative analysis of the welfare states. The major reason of this ongoing popularity is its strong empirical support for regime clustering of welfare typologies in the Western democracies. Esping-Andersen's work has allowed researchers to examine the underlying logic of his clustering, which focused on Western Europe and other advanced capitalist economies, and facilitated the development of new hypotheses about new typologies and consequences of social policies (Scruggs & Allan, 2008: 642). Esping-Andersen's study aims to underline essences of social and historical backgrounds of the countries and to construct typologies by blending them with empirical analyses. Without doubt, typologies reflect ideal situations rather than real world. Yet, according to Esping-Andersen (1990), this is a desirable situation, since typologies are the tools used for seeing the big picture.

Still, it can be claimed that typologies can be used to define the boundaries of more limited studies such as the ones that examine a specific country's policy in one specific area (Bambra, 2004). In that sense, identifying one country's belonging to a welfare state typology provides comparative context to analyse that country's specific particularities. There are two main benefits of these studies. First one is to test compatibility of actual country policies to a typology. In that way, while researchers can observe specific country's situation in a comparative manner with other members of that cluster, they also have a chance to test and improve validity of the typology. Yet, due to fact that ideal types are mainly a production of "*complex processes and successive steps of social and political engineering and incidence in the history of democratic industrial capitalist societies*" (Arts & Gelissen, 2002: 139), path dependency has occurred and it gives rise to recreation of historical power relations and social structures (Wood & Gough, 2006). In this scope, the second benefit is that the studies which focus on correct time interval in a specific area and/or a country make it possible to identify shifts in the path dependency. This is important because these kind of shifts are generally associated with some conflicts in the society.

In that context, this paper aims to identify and test Turkish citizens' perception on Turkish welfare state regime while focusing on family and women employment. In doing that, the assumption of Turkish regime's membership to

South European Welfare Regimes (SEWR) will be used as a framework. This framework is important since it puts characteristics of welfare state in multinational comparison and, in this way, it can be utilised in identifying presumptions about particularities of the Turkish welfare state. When using SEWR literature as a framework, a necessity of reaching static definitions was raised. In that sense, SEWR will be evaluated from more static point of view for the sake of determining common features and countries' individual developments about women employment and family, and effects of these developments on SEWR as a model will not be discussed in detail.

Based on common characteristic of SEWR, the author of this paper prepared and implemented an online survey for Turkish citizens to capture street level perceptions about Turkish welfare state. With the help of the survey, it will be possible to compare well-established literature about SEWR and real world reflection about Turkish welfare state. The survey contains seven questions and it was answered by 784 individuals. Due to its importance in areas like labour market, family structure and welfare arrangements in SEWR discussion, focus point of the paper is the perception on sole breadwinner model (male breadwinner-female caregiver model) in Turkey. In this regard, the perception about sole breadwinner model will be analysed with cross-tabulation and logistic regression.

The paper is organized in three sections and a discussion part. First section aims to identify characteristics of SEWR and Turkey's position in SEWR. By providing background information, this section will allow to identify framework of the survey and to facilitate discussions in the following sections. In second section, methods for data collection and quantitative analysis are explained in detail. Not only technical aspects of survey and logistic regression, but also limitations of the research and ethical issues are discussed in this section. Third section is allocated for results of two and three-way cross-tabulations derived from raw data and logistic regression analysis.

As it is underlined in discussion part, while the responds given to questions about the perception of women employment and sole breadwinner are not compatible with SEWR literature, responds given to questions about familiasm and public social security schemes are parallel with the literature. Yet, when considering demographic variables, clear indication of a shift from sole to dual breadwinner model can be observed in Turkish society. In addition, logistic

regression suggests strong predictable power between this shift and perceptions about women employment.

A- Turkish Welfare State in South European Welfare Regimes in Terms of Women and Family

1- Women and Family in South European Welfare State

One of the main critics about Esping-Andersen's seminal welfare state typology based on decommodification and social stratification is to absence or misconception of Southern European States in the welfare discussion. There are two main approaches about existence of SEWR (Papadopoulos & Roumpakis, 2013: 205). According to first approach, welfare systems of the countries in this region contain rudimental features, which look like to conservative welfare system. Either SEWR is accepted as member to Conservative Welfare Regime (CWR) (Esping-Andersen, 1990 (mainly Italy); 1999 (Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece) or it is assumed that they will eventually catch up with CWR. The common characterises of these two groups of countries can be identified as follow (Andreotti & others, 2001: 43; Klose & Moreno-Fuentes, 2013: 477):

1. High importance of family as key player in the decommodification of family members.
2. State interventions are limited with only when family fails
3. Importance of sole (mainly male) breadwinner position.
4. Strong relation between employment status and entitlements of social rights.
5. Relatively high level of unemployment and low level of women participation rate.
6. Traditional roots of high level of employment protection.

In contrast, second approach claims that SEWR shows distinctive features as a typology and should be accepted as the forth category, due to not only member countries' regional proximity, but also similar historical processes of industrialism, alike labour market and similar social structures. This approach argued that Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece are the main member of this distinct welfare model. However, some authors accepted the other countries from the region such as Cyprus, Israel, Malta, Turkey (Gal, 2010: 283), Croatia and Slovenia (Moreno, 2006: 74) in this model.

It is possible to say that despite the existence of some common features, important differences can be observed between CWS and SEWR. Ferrera (1996) underlined that SEWR's dualistic, almost polarized, insufficient and fragmented social protection systems cannot cope with income inequalities within these countries. He also mentioned absence of safety nets especially for the persons who are positioned as an "outsider". In that sense, most of deserving beneficiaries (such as orphans, widows, disabled, long term employed or informal employed) effect negatively from these inadequate social protection systems (Klose & Moreno-Fuentes 2013: 478). Patriarchal-clientelistic applications in social policy are also very common in these countries. Public institutions, which are responsible for welfare implementations, are open to political influence of ruling elites and corruption. Also, the importance of late and low level of proletarianisation and high level of self-employment in SEWR countries are underlined. These factors have created a large group of people who have not access to main benefits deriving from labour status. On the other hand, as a result of sole breadwinner model in the family, large group of people are dependent to working member of the family (most likely male) for current and future financial resources and social security rights. So, while individualism of social rights is very low, dependency to family income for survival is very high (Andreotti & others, 2001: 44; Karamessini, 2008: 46).

Familistic side of the SEWR has been widely discussed in the literature. High level of informal employment, prevalence of low income jobs, gender inequality in labour market and lack of public care arrangements (in other word, dominance of traditional woman led child and old age care) are the main reasons behind male breadwinner model and relatively low level of women participation in labour market. Due to lack of formal social safety nets, families' importance has increased as an initial, main and sometimes unique responsible unit for coping with a large number of risks (Papadopoulos & Roumpakis, 2013: 210).

Either existence of self-reliance families or higher level of moral responsibility against family members or belief that family can provide better service than state, family networks are very important in SEWR. The Mediterranean governments lean on and support (mostly discourse level) these strong family support networks and they do not feel obligation to produce high level of social programs. As a mutual process, relatively weak state support against certain risks forces to individuals to rely on their family and kin networks for ensuring

their security. Combination effect of family solidarity/risk sharing and traditional family roles has caused dual labour markets where while males have rare protected and regular jobs, women, young and migrants suffer from high unemployment or have jobs in informal sectors (Leon, 2002: 74; Moreno, 2006: 87; Moreno & Mari-Klose, 2013: 496).

Naturally, traditional family roles have direct effects on female participation to labour market. For taking care of the family, women's opportunities to access the labour market or to sustain their positions are diminishing. As a welfare policy, familiarization, implemented sometimes in the framework of informal rules, has led to a distinctive gender regime in which females are considered as caretakers in a traditional family role and single earner families are promoted. The low female employment rates in Mediterranean countries are accepted as a "*self-evident consequence of these familistic arrangements*" (Tavora, 2012: 64). However, again, a major change in the extended SEWR can be observed related with the increasing women's participation rates in the formal labour market even if 2008 crisis hit some Mediterranean countries labour market very badly.

2- Women and Family in Turkish Welfare State

Turkish case in welfare state regimes is disputable. Even if Turkey is one of the founder member of OECD and has showed high level of growth since 1980, it is mostly invisible in comparative welfare state studies due to several possible reasons, such as its low level GDP relatively to other OECD members, its different cultural and religious background or low level of social spending (Kittae, 2015: 313; for similar comment on such countries please look, Hudson and Kühner, 2012). In the limited number of studies, different scholars have put Turkey in various welfare state clusters. Other than Gal and his extended Mediterranean family (2010), for example, Grütjen (2008: 128) accepted Turkey in SEWR in his analysis. On the other hand, while Aybars and Tsarouhas (2010: 761) classified Turkey between Middle East and Southern European countries (however outlier for both cases), Sharkh and Gough (2010:38-39) underlined high level of informality and patriarchal-clientelistic characteristic of Turkey and similar countries and clustered them under name of informal security regimes.

However, the undermentioned list, interpreted from Karamessini (2007: 5), about similar features of SEWR shows great resemblance with Turkish welfare

state and very suitable to use as the theoretical framework to test Turkish welfare regime particularities in a comparative perspective;

1. Family is not only care and social solidarity provider, but also is main source of financial support and employment creation. Subsidiarity principal applies in social benefits. Main responsibility against risks lays on families. State intervenes only after families exhausted.
2. Mothers and grandmothers take care responsibility for children and old family members as unpaid family work.
3. Sole breadwinner (in most case, mature males) has more regular and protected jobs. Informal and precarious works are common between women and other disadvantaged groups. Sole breadwinner model is prevalent way of provision social security to family members via social security arrangements based on working status.
4. Unemployment insurance and occupational trainings are residual. Segmentation in labour market creates large groups that are not covered by formal social security system.
5. In general, objectivity and efficiency of welfare state is open to discussion.

As stated in the literature, with its low-level women participation, high-level household final consumption expenditure in GDP, its patriarchal social structure and low-level public care arrangements, Turkey shows closer characteristics with SEWR. Even if female unemployment rate is not very high when compared with male unemployment rate (ratio was 1.12 unemployed woman per man in 2015. In Greece, this ratio was above 2 for same year), women participation rate is very low in comparison with other Southern European countries. With its 33% participation rate, Turkey was nearly 23 percentage points behind the second lowest, namely Italy. However, a dramatic upward trend can be observed from Turkish data. This trend separates Turkey from other Middle East countries and converges to SEWR. Women participation rate has soared between 2005 and 2015 by 33% increase despite 2008 crisis. One of the explanations of this increase can be low starting point of Turkey. However, in addition to long lasting characteristic of this upward trend, taking into consideration of striking decrease in NEET rate for woman (62.13% in 2005 and 45.97% in 2014) and rising in mother employment rate (20.9% in 2005 and 30% in 2015) and women part time employment (13% in 2005 and 18.99% in 2015), this increase proves serious changes in Turkish labour market structure and families' position about sole breadwinner model. Thanks to

increasing in women participation rate, gaps between genders about participation and employment rates have tightened. As it seen in the graph 1, both women employment and participation rates were around 35% of man's same rates in 2004. However, with steady increase after 2004, while women participation rate reach just above 45% of men participation rate, women employment rate increase 44% of men participation rate (OECD, LFS Database).

In a contrast with this development, institutionalisation of childcare is still dramatically low when compared with other OECD countries and it did not support women activation in labour market. Only 20% of 3-4 years old children attend nursery in 2014 (OECD, Education at a Glance 2016). This shows that women's care responsibility as mothers is still predominant role for them.

Graph 1. *Gap Between Women and Man Participation and Employment Rates for 15-64 (2000 - 2015)*



Prepared from OECD data by the author (OECD, LFS Database).

The figure about number of births according to age group is also important indicator for understanding the change in Turkish family structure. Although the predominant political leaders accept decreasing birth rate as a most pressing social treat (for detail comments on this: Ulutaş, 2015; Nişancı, 2016; Turğut, 2016), striking decrease in birth rate and increasing in number of births in further ages have been observed as a longstanding trends in Turkey.

Table 1. Number of Births According to Age Groups

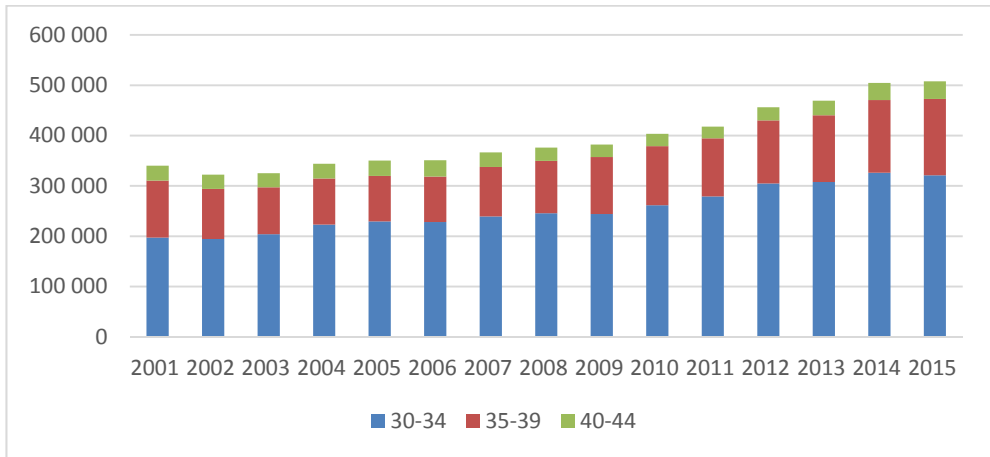
	<15 - 24	25 - 39	39-50 +	Total	Ratio in total number of births		
					<15 - 24	25 - 39	39-50 +
2001	593618	684298	40717	1 323 341	44,86%	51,71%	3,08%
2002	546591	640923	38044	1 229 555	44,45%	52,13%	3,09%
2003	518442	642202	36354	1 198 927	43,24%	53,56%	3,03%
2004	520617	663216	36727	1 222 484	42,59%	54,25%	3,00%
2005	517178	687131	37475	1 244 041	41,57%	55,23%	3,01%
2006	503294	710702	38428	1 255 432	40,09%	56,61%	3,06%
2007	499126	752798	34299	1 289 992	38,69%	58,36%	2,66%
2008	496037	763946	31127	1 295 511	38,29%	58,97%	2,40%
2009	470534	758543	29216	1 266 751	37,14%	59,88%	2,31%
2010	447008	775957	29365	1 261 169	35,44%	61,53%	2,33%
2011	429878	781489	27563	1 248 550	34,43%	62,59%	2,21%
2012	425176	826168	29854	1 292 380	32,90%	63,93%	2,31%
2013	411311	838445	32090	1 294 088	31,78%	64,79%	2,48%
2014	411675	885473	37068	1 345 286	30,60%	65,82%	2,76%
2015	392271	885224	37850	1 325 783	29,59%	66,77%	2,85%

The changes between 2001 and 2015 by age group (2001 = 100)

66,08 129,36 92,95

Prepared from TurkStat birth data by the author. The category of “unknown” was not included to calculation.

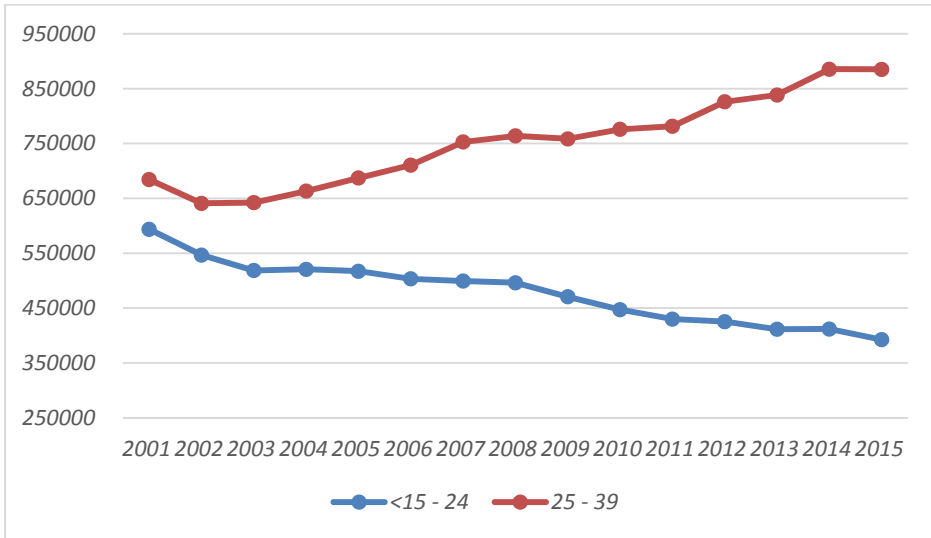
Graph 2. The Number of Births Between 30-44



Prepared from TurkStat birth data by the author.

The transformation in the last 14 years is dramatic. As it seen in the table 1, when 2001 is accepted as basis year (100), the number of births in the youngest cohort decreases to 66, number of births between 25 and 39 increases to 129. When look at the ratio in total number of births, this transformation can be followed year by year. Breakdowns of the middle age cohorts also give interesting information. As it seen in Graph 2, the number of births in this age cohorts have increased steadily. If, again, 2001 is taken as basis year, number of births between 30 and 34 reaches 163 in 2015 and same number increases to 134 for 35-39 age cohort which is accepted as a late age for giving a birth, medically and traditionally. These figures are parallel with increasing higher education levels, increasing in employment participation rate or increasing the number of women who are unwilling/not ready to taking family responsibilities. As it seen in graph 3, the trend is continuous and despite the dominant discourse, the gap between age cohorts has widened. The trend, also, is compatible with European countries.

Graph 3. *The Number of Births According to Mother’s Age Group, 2001-2015*



Prepared from Turkstat data by the author.

As one other important indicator, informal economy and employment can be accepted high in Turkey in comparison with EU countries, despite continues downward trend from above 50% to 30% in last 15 years. However when compared with other developing countries such as Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, India or Indonesia, Turkish informal employment rate is closer to Southern European countries such as Italy (ILO, 2014). High level of informality has

direct effect on trust towards formal social security arrangements and families' position about risk management.

B- Data and Empirical Strategy

The data used in this paper taken from an online survey conveyed by the author between March 2016 and February 2017. Original aims of the survey are to learn Turkish citizens' perceptions about certain features of Turkish welfare state policies and to produce data to make comparisons between street level opinions collected from Turkish citizens and general features of SEWR taken from the literature. As for this paper, the data was used to answer this research question: "What are the most important determinants of the perception on sole breadwinner model in Turkish Welfare State?" (For formulation logic of the question: Osborne, 2014:245). Six null hypotheses were tested in multiple logistic regression for analysing this question.

1. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and general opinion on women's position in labour market.
2. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and the city resident.
3. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and gender.
4. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and age.
5. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and who do you trust in case of financial emergency.
6. H_0 : There are no relations between perceptions about sole breadwinner model and trust to social security arrangements.

1- Data Collection Methods and Limitations

Two methods were used to collect data. Firstly, simple random sampling was employed via inviting any willing person to answer the online questioner. However, at this stage, the researcher used his own direct connections via social media to collect data. Due to that, the risk of collecting answers from the persons who are in more or less similar social circle and have same opinion on the subject have been occurred from the raw data collected during the first phase of data collection. As a precaution against this risk, snowballing method was employed in second phase of the research. Initial points of snowballing were chosen among individuals from different background. As second phase of data collecting, snowballing method was initiated after around first 300 responds. In this stage, questioners were sent to individuals coming from different backgrounds and asked them to share it with their contacts who have

no connection with the researcher at all¹. Thanks to these methods sample size reached 810. For increasing data quality, possible duplications and the responds with missing answers have been eliminated. After data clearing, the analyses have been conducted with n=784. According to common sample size calculation method, this sample size can be accepted as sufficient in 95% confidence interval and 3.5% margin of error and represent whole Turkish population (Yazıcıoğlu & Erdoğan, 2004; The Research Advisors, 2006).

Raw data, options for each question and the recoding processes for regression analysis can be seen in Table 2. As it seen, limited number of straightforward questions has been asked in the questioner. Aim of limitation of questions was to increase return rate of survey and to prepare responder friendly questioner to get answers from every class and every education level. This method has proved its efficiency when considering how responders distributed all over Turkey (there are at least one responders from 51 of 81 city of Turkey). Thanks to straightforward and user friendly style of questioner and the correct persons as initial point of snowballing technic, survey can reach high number of people without financial costs.

Based on the feedbacks coming from individuals, preparation style of the survey (short, straightforward and low number of question, simple interface to answer question and easy and various sharing options) is the main reason that survey could achieve high number of responders from various groups without cost. However, due to low number of short questions, analyse ability of the research remained limited. Especially, lacking more detail demographic questions such as the ones about occupations and incomes confined analyse ability of the research. In that sense, talking about a trade-off between extending population coverage and deepen of knowledge acquired from the population is possible for this research. Since the author aims to understand practical reflection of Turkish society on welfare state particularities, reaching as many individual as possible to draw generalizable picture of perceptions was chosen as a goal of this study.

As another down side of making online survey, the people who have no access to internet have been excluded. This problem is visible especially in the oldest age group. Limited number from this cohort is especially important since it restricted analyse ability of research on people who above 65. In that sense, intergenerational comparison will be made between wider age groups as it seen in the analysis section.

¹ In this way, the author could reach very different groups, such as a conservative political party's Ankara women organization, a sport club's fan association (which known their libertarian and secular attitudes), a public institution's provincial staff from all over Turkey and a small city's chamber of industry and commerce.

2- Ethical Issues

The research did not have any fund and, in that sense, there is no conflict of interest. The survey has been implemented via using Google Forms without asking registration from responders and there is no possibility to learn identities of responders from questioners or via the software. This situation was clearly indicated at the introduction part of survey. In addition, the aim of survey and usage method of data derived from survey was explicitly stated. After the certain number of responds, initial raw results of the survey was shared with public via social media.

3- Questions

In addition to three demographic questions (age, gender and permanent residence as cities), following four thematic questions were asked to capture perceptions on different aspects of Turkish welfare state.

1. If one of the partners make enough money, is working meaningful for the other partners? : Aim of the question is to understand reflection of the society on sole breadwinner model². This question was asked genderless on purpose to prevent biased answer that may come from women and to discover existence any pre-determined idea about the gender of the sole breadwinner.
2. Which social security benefits are more important for you? : The question has two aims. Firstly, the tendency between old age pension (long term) and unemployment and working accident benefits (short term) were measured. Traditionally, long term social security benefits are more developed in SEWR. Secondly, level of individualism and distrust to state arrangements have measured by adding last choice; “I only trust my accumulations”.
3. If you suddenly lost your job, whose help you trust? : Aim of the question is to observe importance of family in comprising with state, private, and voluntary organisations in case of emergency. As widely accepted in literature, family is the first and, for some cases, unique unit to relief members from pressures caused by social risks in SEWR.
4. What is women position in labour market? : As contrast with first question, this question aims to observe directly gender based opinion about women labour market participation. Four choices provided aim to measure different position from “women work for herself” to “women should not work at all”. Traditionally, women participation is low in SEWR. Nevertheless, this phenomenon has changed due to upward trend in women participation rate in the region.

² In that sense, the people who support dual breadwinner model are also in favour of individual employment no matter how high family income.

4- Method

Since welfare states constitute from systematic integrity of different social policies and implementation ability of these policies in coordinated manner, changes and improvements on one arrangement in a welfare state effects the other areas. In that sense, due to each thematic question of survey represent one part of the welfare state, interactions among them are expectable. For example, it may be expected that a change in family solidarity has effect on perception on female employment. On the other hand, different demographic groups have various perceptions on welfare state and they have different expectation from it. Based on assumption of this relationship between different parts of welfare state, a regression analyses could be accepted as a good solution to predict, explain, and control effects of various perceptions on the different parts of the welfare state that investigated (Huizingh, 2007: 9).

Due to given importance to sole breadwinner model in SEWR and changing in this model via higher level of women participation to labour market, first thematic question, which is dichotomous variable, of the survey has been chosen as Dependent Variable (DV). The other three thematic questions and demographic questions were used as predictor (independent) variables. Since all variables that used in this paper contains categorical data, logistic regression has been used to describing/predicting relations between DV and predictor variables (Peng & others, 2002: 4)

5- Relationship between Variables

Chi square test is implemented to understand whether there is a significant difference between the expected frequencies and the observed frequencies in one or more categories and, as a standard procedure. It is also used to understand whether variables fit in logistic regression model. (Cross-tabulation between dependent and independent variables (IV) can be seen at table 2). In this paper, chi square test has been executed for this purpose. The results shows that the p value is below 0.001 for all variables but age ($p=0,497$). Due to this result, age variable was not included to regression analysis due to fact that there is no statically significant differences between age and DV and 4th H_0 cannot be rejected. However, there is one issue about 5th H_0 need to be scrutinized. Even if there is statistically significant relation between this IV (If you suddenly lost your job, whose help you trust?) and DV ($p<0.001$), their linear by linear relation is not significant ($p=0.266$). This problem reflected on p value in logistic regression. As a solution, the variable re-recoded (this time, linear by linear relation is $p<0.001$) as in Table 3.

Table 2. *Descriptive Statistics per Question*

Questions	Answers	Number of responder	of	Recoding for regression
1. What is your age?	Under 18	19 (3%)		Due to low number of responders, “under 18” was merged with “18 – 25” and “65 and above” was merged with “45 – 65”
	18 – 25	100 (13%)		
	25 – 40	435(55%)		
	45 – 65	223 (28%)		
	65 and above	11 (1%)		
2. What is your gender?	Male	400 (51%)		N/A
	Female	384 (49%)		
3. Which city you live in?	3 biggest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir)	491 (59%)		For the sake of simplification, two bigger groups has been formed via merging Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir under “the biggest 3 cities” and the remaining cities under “the other cities” ³ .
	Other Cities	293 (31%)		
4. If one of the partners make enough money, is working meaningful for the other partners?	Individual working is important no matter how family income high	590 (67%)		N/A
	if there is enough income, the other partner should take care domestic responsibilities	194 (33%)		
5. Which social security benefits are more important for you?	Old age pension	480 (61.2%)		N/A
	Unemployment or working accident pension	102 (13%)		
	I only trust my own accumulations including private pension	199 (25.4)		
6. If you suddenly lost your job, whose help you trust?	Family members	609 (77.7%)		Due to low number of “voluntary organizations ” , last two category was merged under name of “Banks and voluntary organizations”
	State's social security institutions	144 (18.4%)		
	Banks	28 (3.7%)		
	Voluntary organizations	3 (0.3%)		
7. What is women position in labour market	A woman should work for self-satisfaction and personal income security.	601 (76.7%)		Last two category was merged to reach more meaningful simple size. Also, this two choices are compatible each other, since both of them indicate unnecessary of women employment.
	A woman should work for supporting her husband	99 (12.6%)		
	A woman should left labour market after having a child	51 (6.2%)		
	Women are not work at all	32 (4%)		

³ This kind of clustering is also theoretically meaningful due to social economic convergence between these three cities when compared withwhen compared with other cities. The reflection of this difference can be observed on raw data in the scope of this research (table 2).

Table 3. Associations between Dependent and IVs

Questions	Answers	If one of the partners make enough money, is working meaningful for the other partners?	
		Individual working is important no matter how family income high (coded:0)	if there is enough income, the other partner should take care domestic responsibilities (coded:1)
What is your age?	Young (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	85 - 73.3% 87.5	31 - 26.7% 28.5
	Middle Age (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	333 - 77.1% 325.9	99 - 22.9% 106.1
	Advanced Age (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	172 - 73.5% 176.5	62 - 26.5% 57.5
What is your gender?	Men (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	271 - 67.8% 301.0	129 - 32.3% 99.0
	Women (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	319 - 83.1% 289.0	65 - 16.9% 95.0
Which city you live in?	3 biggest cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir) <i>Expected Count</i>	408 - 83.1% 369.5	83 - 16.9% 121.5
	Other cities (total) (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	182 - 62.1% 220.5	111 - 37.9% 72.5
Which social security benefits are more important for you?	Old age pension (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	342 - 71.3% 361.4	138 - 28.7% 118.6
	Unemployment or working accident pension (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	71 - 69.6% 76.8	31 - 30.4% 25.2
	I only trust my own accumulations including private pension (Real count) <i>Expected Count</i>	175 - 87.9% 149.8	24 - 12.1% 49.2
If you suddenly lost your job, whose help you trust?	Family members and other private networks (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	497 - 78.1% 478.6	139 - 21.9% 157.4
	State's social security institutions and others (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	93 - 62.8% 111.4	55 - 36.6% 36.6
What is women position in labour market	A woman should work for supporting her husband (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	49 - 49.5% 74.6	50 - 50.5% 24.4
	A woman should work for self-satisfaction and personal income security. (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	535 - 89.0% 452.9	66 - 11.0% 148.1
	A woman should left labour market after having a child or not work at all (Real count - %) <i>Expected Count</i>	6 - 7.2% 62.5	77 - 92.8% 20.5

To examine any possible perfect linear relation between two or more variable that may distort the results of logistic regression, collinearity diagnostic has been implemented checked via linear regression by dummy variables. As it seen in the table 4, all individual tolerance values are well above 0.1. Even if VIF (variance inflation factors) average slightly higher than 1, there is no very serious doubt on multi-collinearity problem in the model. However, additional controls will be conducted against multi-collinearity during the regression analyses.

Table 4. Collinearity Diagnostic

	Tolerance	VIF
<i>3 biggest cities</i>	----	----
Other Cities	0.926	1.080
<i>Men</i>	----	----
Women	0.967	1.034
Old age Pension	----	----
Unemployment or Invalidity Pension	0.942	1.062
I only trust my own accumulations	0.897	1.115
<i>State's social security institutions</i>	----	----
Family and private networks	0.940	1.064
<i>A woman should work for self-satisfaction and personal income security.</i>	----	----
Woman should work for supporting her husband	0.929	1.077
A woman should left labour market after having a child or not work at all	0.910	1.098
a. Dependent Variable is "If one of the partners earn enough money to live, should the other partner work"		

B- Analyses

1- Cross Tabulation

Before starting regression analysis, examining two and three-way cross tabulations would be beneficial for understanding data's nature (table 3). Firstly, even if age variable and DV are not statistically associate according to chi square analysis, other two demographic variables indicate interesting differences between population groups' perceptions on sole breadwinner model. In that sense, while women (83.1%) are more prone to dual breadwinner model than man (67.8%), the ones who live in the three biggest cities' support (83.1%) is considerably higher than the ones who live in the other cities (62.1%). When considered women who live in one of the three biggest city, the support ratio to dual breadwinner model hits 90.2%. On the contrast, same ratio is 54.2% for men who live in the other cities. Two results can be derived from this analysis. Firstly, even for the demographic group with the lowest support ratio, the support of dual breadwinner model is higher than 50%. This result is not compatible with classic (or in another word, traditional) SEWR definitions but it is parallel with the development observed in Turkish labour market and in society in general. Secondly, striking differences between demographic groups according to gender and/or place of residence indicate ongoing transformation process. When considered long lasting demographic change of Turkish population/family structure and developments on women employment during

last decade, it is highly probable that a future study about same topic will show reduction of the gap between groups.

Secondly, question five and six (please check table 1) produced similar consequences in terms of perceptions on sole breadwinner model. The common feature of these two questions is that their options other than “I only trust my own accumulations including private pension” for fifth question and “Family members and other private networks” for sixth question are related with state arrangements. In that sense, they aim to measure trust (or distrust) towards public social security regimes. The responders who chose “The one who care his/her own accumulation over state social security arrangements” and “who trust family in case of sudden unemployment” support dual breadwinner model around 16 percent point more than other groups as it seen table 2. Reversely, the ones who trust state arrangements “in case of sudden unemployment” or “in general” are in favour of sole breadwinner model when compared with the other options. It should be noted that, again, in every case support to dual model is higher than 50%.

Lastly, responders established very clear connection between perception on sole breadwinner model and perception on women employment. As stated, DV’s question is asked without gender on purpose. However, nearly 90% of the responders in favour of dual breadwinner model are also support women employment for self-satisfaction and income guarantee. In that sense, the responders who believe that woman should not work or withdraw from labour market after giving childbirth strongly against dual breadwinner model. The half of responders who choose the option designed as middle point (A woman should work for supporting her husband) support dual breadwinner model and half of them against it (respectively 49.5% and 50.5%). 95.1% of women and 87% of men who live in one the three biggest city and support women employment are in favour of dual breadwinner model. Same ratio is 91.8% for women and 75.3% for men from the other cities. In this case, geographical difference has more strong effect on the perception than gender.

2- General Logistic Regression Model

Three binary multiple logistic regressions have been implemented to describe relationship between perceptions on sole breadwinner model and different sides of welfare policies. More specifically, the models predicted likelihood supporting or opposing the sole breadwinner model based on opinions about

social security, woman employment and familialism in relation with demographic variables. In that sense, gender and location variables as important determinants of individual perceptions added to each models with one thematic variables. In this way, importance of individual thematic variables were tested.

There is no single answer for the question of “which method should employ to assess overall regression model”. Even if SPSS provides Nagelkerke R Square and Cox and Snell R Square values in addition to -2 Log-likelihood (-2 LL), some scholars underline that both methods are contradictory and problematic. However, Nagelkerke R Square has more general acceptance, thus, it reported in table 3 with -2 LL. On the other hand, compering differences between chi-squares and-2 LL are accepted as efficient methods to make comparison between models (Menard, 2011: 48; Osborne, 2014: 47-52) .

Table 5. *Key Indicators for Regression Analyses (Ref value is “individual working is important no matter how family income high” coded=0)⁴*

	Model 1 - Familialism <i>P<.001 df:4</i>	Model 2 - Social Security <i>P<.001 df:3</i>	Model 3 – Woman Emp. <i>P<.001 df:4</i>
Log-likelihood – Block 1 (Demographic IVs)	863.195	847.702	596.365
Log-likelihood – Block 2 (Demographic IVs + Thematic IV)	801.267	784.628	572.744
Difference between likelihoods	61.928	63.074	23.621
Chi-Squares – Block 1 (Demographic IVs)	14.125	25.687	278.158
Chi-Squares - Block 2 (Demographic IVs + Thematic IV)	76.053	88.761	301.779
Nagelkerke R Square (Block 2)	.137	.160	.475
Hosmer-Lemeshow Test	.891 (obs.70, exp. 71.847)	.016 (obs.66, exp. 69.479)	.664 (obs.99, exp. 98.475)
Overall percentage (from classification table)	75.6	75.7	85.8

In this scope, it is clear from table 5 that Model 3 – Woman Employment can predict perception about sole breadwinner model in Turkey, due to its considerably lower block 1 -2 LL value (596.365 relatively to 863.195 and 847.702) which is indicate better prediction of DV (Menard, 2002:20-21). The

⁴ Overall percentage (from classification table) of baseline line model is 75.3%

chi-square of Model 3's first block is, also, considerably higher than Model 1 and Model 2. With these results, perception on women employment variable should be accepted as most powerful predictor among other IVs.

However, the Model 3 represent relatively low level improvement in fit after adding demographic variables with initial -2 LL of 596.365 and final -2 LL of 572.744 (difference is 23.621). Low-level increase in -2 LL in model 3 may indicate higher-level correlation between demographic variables and the thematic IV relatively the other two IVs. Chi square value difference between blocks of model 3 also indicates some level of collinearity. In contrast, chi square actualized as 67.619 (df=2 and $P < .001$) when demographic variables put alone regression analysis with DV. This value is very close to chi square values' differences of blocks in Model 1 and Model 2 that is indicate low-level collinearity (Osborne, 2014). Despite this fact, level of collinearity in Model 3 could be accepted moderate based on VIF values given before.

According to Hosmer-Lemeshow Test, the p value should be above 0.05 for not rejecting null hypothesis that the model is a good enough fit for the data. In this sense, null hypothesis for Model 1 should be rejected, even if other indicators showed that it is Model 1 has relatively lower block 1 -2 LL value and higher chi square value than Model 2.

3- Odd Ratios

Odd ratios are very useful tools to understand one property over others in the certain variable. Here, they have used to visually quantification of each alternative answer's distance to DV according to the reference answer. In Model 1, the ones who trust state institution instead of family and private networks in case of sudden unemployment 1.834 times more likely to support sole breadwinner model. According to Model 2, the ones who trust public long term and short term social security schemes over their own accumulations over more likely to in favour of sole breadwinner model (odd ratios are 2.747 and 3.085, respectively). In Model 1 and Model 2, the ones who live in the other cities instead of the three biggest cities around 2.8 times and men when compared with women around 2.4 times more likely support sole breadwinner model. Relatively the other two thematic IVs, IV on woman employment has more effects on demographic IVs (men 2.111 and the ones who the other cities 2.206 time more likely support sole breadwinner model in Model 3).

Table 6. *Odd Ratios (Predicted category of DV is “If There is Enough Income, the Other Partner Should Take Care Domestic Responsibilities” Coded=1)*

	B / S.E.	Odd Ratio	Sig.
Model 1 - Familialism			
<i>Men</i>	.907 / .180	2.476	<.001
<i>Women</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Three Biggest Cities</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Other Cities</i>	1.048 / .176	2.853	<.001
<i>State</i>	.607 / .206	1.834	<.01
<i>Family and Private Networks</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
Model 2 – Social Security			
<i>Men</i>	.911 / .181	2.487	<.001
<i>Women</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Three Biggest Cities</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Other Cities</i>	1.063 / .177	2.895	<.001
<i>Old Age Pension</i>	1.010 / .248	2.747	<.001
<i>Unemployment or Invalidity Pension</i>	1.127 / .319	3.085	<.001
<i>I Only Trust My Own Accumulations Including Private Pension</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
Model 3 – Woman Employment			
<i>Men</i>	.747 / .226	2.111	<.01
<i>Women</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Three Biggest Cities</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>Other Cities</i>	.791 / .217	2.206	<.001
<i>A woman should work for supporting her husband</i>	Ref	Ref	Ref
<i>A woman should work for self-satisfaction and personal income security.</i>	1.884 / .247	6.580	<.001
<i>A woman should left labour market after having a child or not work at all</i>	4.494/ .448	89.456	<.001

Positive perception on women employment is direct and considerably strong predictive for perception of sole breadwinner model. As stated before, IV on women employment contains three categorical answers. “A woman should work for supporting her husband” can be accepted middle point. The two ends are “a woman should work for herself” and “a woman should not work after childbirth or not work at all”. In this context, middle point supports sole breadwinner model 6.580 times more likely than the ones who are in favour women employment for herself. On the other hand, the difference between two extremes is 89.466 times.

D- Discussion and Conclusion

Thanks to the data collection method of the research, high number of responders from various backgrounds have been reached. However, same method restricted level of information acquired from responders and, naturally, reduced ability to conduct more complex regression analysis. The research design limited regression model with effects of three thematic and two demographic variables on sole breadwinner model, although various different variables may be used in the scope of welfare state discussion. However, clear relation among perceptions on women employment and sole breadwinner model can be drawn from regression model.

It is a fact that Turkey has low-level women labour participation when compared with European countries. However, the upswing in its women employment related figures and alteration in family structure are striking during last 15 years. These critical changes, naturally, have serious mutual effects with welfare policies in Turkey. On the one hand, increasing women involvement to labour market has altered traditional family arrangements; on the other hand, changing opinions about families' role and women employment have effected state's involvement in welfare provisions. However, it must be noted that it is an ongoing process. Still, a transaction from sole to dual breadwinner model can be observed from data. Even if majority of responders support importance of individual employment in the family, the ratio of persons in favour of sole breadwinner model should not be underrated (table 1). Especially when taking into consideration of cross tabulation (table 2) between DV and demographic variables, this transaction is clearly visible. Women and residence of the three big cities (socio-economically more developed parts of Turkey) are much closer to the idea of dual breadwinner model. These results also reflect to odd ratios derived from the regression analysis. According to regression analysis, the odds of "women" who live in developed cities and who has certain distrust against state social security arrangements, and support "women employment for self-satisfaction" likely have the greatest odd ratio that of the other groups. In that sense, trusting "the family" against unemployment and relying on "own accumulation" rather than state arrangements increase the sense of importance of individual employment especially for women.

Even if Model 1 (except Hosmer-Lemeshow Test) and Model 2 are statistically significant, their predictive powers are weak. However, raw data about both questions and odds ratios of the models are giving two interesting information:

Firstly, Turkish people gave answers parallel to SEWR literature. In that sense, while family is accepted main source against urgent risks, long-term social security branches are overwhelmingly more important than short-term brunches. However, in comparison with state's social security arguments, the number of persons who only trust their private accumulations are also quite high (25%). This result is parallel with insufficient formal social security policies and high-level informality in Turkey and a reflection of low-level trust. Secondly, it is also remarkable that both individualistic and familialistic point of view against state social security arrangements inclines to dual breadwinner model. In opposite to that, the persons who are in favour of state social security system prone to more traditional understanding about family and women employment. Based on this comment, it can be assumed that increasing trust level to state social security arrangement can lead negative perception on individual working. However, this statement is needed further examination that can be done by future studies.

As it proved in regression model, perception on women employment is the best predictive variable by far about Turkish perception on dual breadwinner model. Even if the question about breadwinner model is genderless, responders clearly established relation between women employment and DV. While nearly 90% of responders who support women employment also support dual breadwinner model, same ratio is only 7.2% for the ones who against women employment. Odd ratio between these two groups is more than 80 times according to the regression model 3. In that sense, if dual breadwinner families are desirable as a policy, the state should create an environment in favour of women participation to labour market in Turkey.

Since the pitfalls of the research were tried to discuss, as honest and objective as possible, in the text, it will not be repeated here. As it seen the most part of similar studies, the research for this study was implemented without financial source. Therefore, most efficient way of doing the survey was tried to identify based on feedbacks coming from responders and apply, accordingly. It is to be hoped that further researches using similar methods explore fields that could not be explore in this paper such as effects of education, occupational status, income level and on political view on the perceptions about welfare state arrangements.

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