

THE GAP ANALYSIS OF
TURKISH STATE’S CHILDREN POLICIES AND THE AGENDA OF
CHILDREN-BASED CSOs BETWEEN 1990s-2018 IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This research compares the agendas of civil society organizations facilitate in Turkey in the field of children and the policies of a state institution responsible for children, the Family and Social Policy Ministry operating between the years of 2011-2018. The study is based on gap analysis to examine the differences between the agenda of nongovernmental organizations and the agenda of the ministry responsible for developing and implementing social policies in the field of children. The research design based on multiple data collection methods. First of all, in-depth interviews were conducted with experts working in the field of children. Within the scope of this study, a database of 4490 CSOs including associations and foundations working for/with children was aggregated and a sample of 500 of these CSOs were analyzed. The sample represents the research population with $\pm 4,13\%$ error of margin. In addition, the MFSP news related to child work were scanned from the official website of the ministry. The main finding is although there are common issues between the state and the CSOs, the child agenda of the ministry responsible for the child is not as diverse as that of the CSOs. CSOs can be categorized into three categories: stakeholders that have access to the information and financial resources

of the state, CSOs that cannot benefit from these resources and are seen as distant, and other mainstream CSOs. The issues that CSOs work on differ in themselves. The ministry responsible for the child operates in the field of child protection. CSOs which are close to the state's resources mostly work in the fields of family, education and disability. The agendas of CSOs with little or no access to state resources are highlighted as violence against children, children in the judicial system, child labor and poverty. Mainstream CSOs work on women, disadvantaged children and health. The children's rights agenda in Turkey is discussed by a limited environment. The main argument of the research is that the difference between the children's agendas of civil society and the state should be to a certain extent and that the state should be more active in order to close the gap in the field of child policy agenda by increasing the dialogue with different non-governmental organizations.

Keywords: Children's Agenda, Non-Governmental Organizations, State Policies Related to Children, Rights-Based Children Policies, Gap Analysis

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE 1990-2018 YILLARI ARASINDA DEVLET KURUMLARININ VE ÇOCUK ODAKLI ÇALIŞAN SİVİL TOPLUM KURULUŞLARININ ÇOCUK GÜNDEMLERİNİN BOŞLUK ANALİZİ YÖNTEMİYLE KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

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Bu araştırma, çocuk alanında faaliyet gösteren STK’ların gündemi ile çocuk alanında sosyal politikalar geliştirip uygulamaktan sorumlu olan bakanlığın gündemi arasındaki farkı incelemek üzere boşluk analizine dayanmaktadır. Bu amaçla, sivil toplumun ve 2011-2018 yılları arası faaliyet gösteren Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı’nın çocuk gündemleri karşılaştırılmaktadır. Araştırmada niteliksel ve niceliksel veri toplama yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Çocuk alanında çalışan uzmanlarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmış, çocuk odaklı çalışan 4490 adet dernek ve vakıfı içeren bir veritabanı oluşturulmuş rastgele seçilen 500 STK analiz edilmiştir. Örneklem, araştırma evrenini $\pm 4,13\%$ hata payı ile temsil etmektedir. Bakanlığın çocuk gündemine ilişkin paylaştığı haberler ise bakanlık websitesinden taranmıştır. Araştırmanın bulgularına göre, bakanlık gündemi ile sivil toplum gündemi arasında ortak konular bulunsa da çocuktan sorumlu bakanlığın çocuk gündemi STK’larındaki kadar çeşitli değildir. STK’lar devletin bilgi ve finansal kaynaklarına erişebilen paydaşlar, bu kaynaklardan yararlanamayan ve muhalif olarak görülen STK’lar ve anaakım STK’lar olmak üzere üç ayrı kategoride ele alınabilir. STK’ların çalıştıkları

konular da kendi içinde farklılaşmaktadır. Çocuktan sorumlu bakanlık koruma alanında faaliyet gösterirken devletin kaynaklarına yakın olan STK’lar en çok aile, eğitim ve engelli çocuklar alanlarında çalışmaktadır. Devletin kaynaklarına az erişen/çoğu zaman erişemeyen STK’ların gündemleri çocuğa yönelik şiddet, adli sistemde çocuklar, çocuk işçiliği ve yoksulluğu olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Anaakım STK’lar ise kadın, dezavantajlı çocuklar ve sağlık alanında çalışmaktadır. Türkiye’de çocuk gündemi haklar çerçevesinde yaygın değildir ve sınırlı bir çevre tarafından tartışılmaktadır. Araştırmanın temel iddiası, sivil toplum ile devletin çocuk gündemleri arasındaki farkın belli bir ölçüde olması gerektiği ve devletin farklı STK’lar ile diyalogunu artırarak çocuk politikaları gündemi alanındaki boşluğu kapatmak için proaktif olması gerekliliğidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çocuk Gündemi, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları, Çocukla İlgili Devlet Politikaları, Hak Temelli Çocuk Politikaları, Boşluk Analizi

For the Best Interest of All Children

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|--|
| CRC | Children's Rights Convention |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| INGO | International Non-governmental Organization |
| MFSP | Ministry of Family and Social Policies |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Literature on childhood studies accepts childhood as a modern concept. The modern understanding of childhood is an approach that treats the child as a separate social category (distinguished from adults) and makes the family and the state responsible for its protection. Since then, the well-being of children is an important issue at the intersection of sociology, social services, and social policy disciplines. The welfare of children, or "children issue," is also a controversial subject in Turkey's human rights agenda, often a predominant topic in the ideological debate. Just as in the area of human rights, child policies and services offered directly or indirectly to children are not independent of the socio-political conjuncture. How children are perceived varies among different actors of the welfare-mix where the state, the market (or the private sector), the families and civil society are involved. In these networks, it is determined whether the activities carried out in the field of civil society for childhood are concentrated in particular themes, whether children are defined as "future citizens" as "hope of the future" or as "risk factors" for the society. CSOs' and actors' understanding, priorities and descriptions provides useful information for policy makers and human rights advocates.

As a former volunteer in the civil society organizations who worked with and for children, and as a researcher specialized in the field for six years who works for and with the private sector, public sector, CSOs, and INGOs facilitate in Turkey, I have observed a perceived and real gap between the public sector and the civil organizations in the issue of children. Their different focuses and approaches towards children create a gap in the policy-making processes. This gap causes disadvantageous conditions for the children since these policies are far from meeting the actual needs of children and supporting their rights. Besides that, I am concerned about the consequences of the lack of advocacy-based children CSOs who works for

Children's rights and monitoring the agenda of different forms of child abuse and neglect – many who had been shut down during the state of emergency declared between 2016-2017. The withdrawal of these actors from the scene deepens the gap between the agendas of the public and CSOs in children area. Children rights became more and more invisible and state institutions cannot distribute resources to every child in need properly. Besides, the difference in approaches leads to problems in the equal and fair distribution of financial resources and provision of services.

Therefore, this research aims to present a current situation analysis of the public sector position on children and children CSOs. Focusing on the children agenda of these two influential actors: state/government and CSOs is vital to understand their approaches on children policies directly or indirectly affecting children's lives.

The primary purpose of the research is to cast a picture of the focus in the public sector and civil society up to present in relation to children and policy. I will analyze the similarities and differences between CSOs' and the state/government's agenda towards children based on the data collected. I will also discuss the different and sometimes conflicting approaches of the children-based CSOs and public sector and the outcomes of these conflicting approaches.

The main research questions of this thesis focus on the similarities and differences between the state's children policies and the approaches of children-based CSOs in Turkey after the 1990s. A gap analysis is conducted to understand the scope of approaches of these two different agents. Using the gap analysis, the research addresses some sub-questions such as:

- What are the themes promoted and supported by the public sector?
- What are the themes promoted and supported by the children-based CSOs?
- How are the activities of civil society organizations diversified?
- How much do the agenda of civil society organizations and the public-sector coincide?
- What are the obstacles against developing and supporting policies for children's rights? How do these obstacles differ for different actors?

- The impact on social policy and how this leads to current and future policies?

The research has a descriptive and exploratory nature to understand the works and approaches of CSOs and the state/government in the field of children. It discusses the aims and outcomes of existing policies by taking into consideration the possibility of an egalitarian child policy in Turkey. This research investigates the policies of hitherto since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The operational areas in the provision of services and distribution of resources are considered in the CSOs and public sector's agendas. This study has potential to contribute in the development of child policies which aim to empower children and youth and support their rights, autonomy, and independence.

Childhood is considered t as a modern concept in many studies. The definition of the child has change in different eras. The scope of this definition is broad from "little adults" to "in-need" and "future citizens." However, the contemporary definition mostly refers to the latter. Child welfare has been threatened by the capital-oriented economy where children are objectified. Children rights movement has emerged and developed as a result of social problems such as child abuse, child labor, orphanage and so on of modern times.

The definition of childhood is closely linked with the issue of age and highly debatable. The lack of consensus deepens the vulnerable positions of children. According to Ariès, the concept of age as we know it, it's a modern construct. It was different as in premodern societies. Recording dates and calculating ages began with the modern state related to account-keeping tasks. The chronological age of individuals today defines who are citizens and who are not. This is at the very core of the discussions of childhood. In modern states the chronological age determines who has access to rights, who can work and marry.

Today, different state institutions have different age definitions in Turkey. According to Article 3 of ILO's Minimum Age Convention No. 138, the minimum age for admission to any employment or work that may jeopardize the health, safety or morality of young people in terms of their nature or circumstances shall not be

less than 18 years. This convention was approved by Turkey in 1998. However, Regulation On The Procedures And Principles Of Working Child And Young Workers (2004) defines a person who has completed the age of 15, but has not completed the age of 18, as a young worker; and a person who has completed 14 years of age, has yet to completed 15 years of age and has completed primary school is defined as a child worker. On the other hand, according to Article 14 of the Marriage Regulation no. 2169, with the permission of the male and female guardian, who has completed the age of seventeen, with the permission of the guardian or guardianship authority if there are no parents; Men and women over the age of sixteen may marry with the permission of the judge. According to the Rights of Elections, Elections and Political Activities, every Turkish citizen who has reached the age of eighteen has the right to vote, as it is stated in Article 67 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey.

How these legal documents define the ages between 15 and 18, remain as a grey zone. There is no common understanding between the state entities regarding what age constitutes a child. The fact that different institutions differ in defining the age that makes a child creates legal confusion, leaving open doors to child rights violations especially related to child marriage and child labor. This age definition issue is a very controversial field, full of dilemmas and it is problematic.

Within this problematic area, how the child-focused CSOs and state entities working in Turkey, can be mapped through their approaches and their work/activity toward children? In this research, civil society organizations working in the field of children in Turkey and their target audience, are one of the main subjects. This study aims to build a database disaggregated by their approach to children's issues. However, mapping the actions of a variety of CSOs is not an easy task. The civil sector is not a homogeneous entity, and the themes that they focus on are. In order to show the diversity within the civil society and compare the civil society and the state, this study adopts an approach that categorizes the agendas and positions of the children-based CSOs and the State.

The state actor in this study is the ministry responsible for children policies, and in this case, it is the Ministry of Family and Social Policy (MFSP) which was active between the years 2011 and 2018. There are many children-based CSOs, in order to examine them analytically I categorized these organizations according to the state's approach towards them. These categories differ from each other with regard to their position vis-à-vis the state/government and to the extent which they reach the financial and informational resources provided by the state/government. The first category I observe is the CSOs who benefit from the financial and information resources of the state/government. These CSOs are explicitly announced as the legitimate partners of ministry on the ministry's website. I prefer naming these actors as **pro-government CSOs**.

On the other hand, there are CSOs that the state's information and financial resources are not transferred to these entities. These CSOs are perceived as the opponents, and the state agents punish them by withholding resources, even some of these organizations face severe hindrances by the state/government, including closure. I call these CSOs as the **advocacy-based CSOs**.

The final group of children-based CSOs is the ones who are neither encouraged nor supported regularly by the state. The State supports and partners with these CSOs occasionally. They are perceived neither as a threat nor an allied by the state. These CSOs hold a grey area in a sense. This category will be called as **mainstream / ideologically neutral CSOs**. This category is strategically important for the state/government to be perceived as neutral and open to dialogue and collaboration with civil society in the eyes of INGOs and other international stakeholders.

So, within the scope of this study, the approaches towards children issues of these four different actors: three CSOs categories and the state agent/the ministry, will be taken into consideration.

CSOs have a role in supporting and strengthening national child-sensitive policies. At the world level, UNICEF is the key actor working with and for children. It underlines the critical roles of CSOs from advocacy to monitoring, providing spokesperson against violations, to events for awareness raising, providing direct

services and implementation of policies. UNICEF believes the role of a competent and politically oriented civil society sector is vital to robust society respecting child rights (Muzzi, 2017; Vuckovic Sahovic, 2010). CSOs play a crucial role in supporting and strengthening national child-sensitive policies. CSOs can contribute to policy-making processes by research, analysis, evaluation, advocacy, lobbying, monitoring the implementation and delivery of social protection (ACPF, 2014).

This study aims to understand the gap between the state's children policies and the agenda of children-based CSOs in Turkey and to question whether an egalitarian policy which considers the different childhood cases is possible or not. The gap between the children agenda of the public sector and the civil sector will be identified. Secondly, the social, cultural, political and economic factors that create this gap will be elaborated. Finally, the thesis will question how this gap can be diminished in the current socio-political context.

Overall, the study focuses on a specific time period after 1990s. This study presents a snapshot for this critical time frame of Turkey. For the scope of this study 1990s was chosen due to two main reasons: first, many resources emphasize 1990s as the time when the number of civil society organizations in Turkey started to increase expanding into many realms. Secondly, Turkey signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child during the first half of the 1990s. The civil advocacy attempts and actions in Turkey in the issue of children's rights were concentrated during this period too. The findings of the literature review phase and of the in-depth interviews with the child work experts had also led me to limit the time period of the focus of this thesis. The 1990s were a turning point for the children's rights agenda in Turkey.

This research has both exploratory and descriptive aspects. A mixed method with both qualitative and quantitative analysis approach has been adopted in the study. The research model is based on a comparison of the children's agenda themes from different resources, from key experts in the field of childhood studies, from the CSOs' websites and from the MFSP's official documents. MFSP's online news bulletins and official documents were downloaded from the official website of the

MFSP in 2017. The 1190 news published between the years 2012-2017 were aggregated in a database. Each news was categorized with regard to its content, by doing so I was able to identify the activities of MFSP related to children. The titles of the news were analyzed via a word cloud, so the most frequent words were able to be analyzed with regard to their frequency of appearance. These two-analysis provided us with information about the main themes related to State's children agenda and approaches.

In order to assess the work of the pro-government and the mainstream CSOs, I built a database of a children CSOs operating in Turkey. The list of the CSOs working in the field of children was gathered from different online resources including the General Directorate for Foundations, Directorate of Associations databases. Besides these, databases on children CSOs were prepared and shared by the International Children's Center, and the Development Atelier was used as well within the scope of this study. Hence, I was able to build a comprehensive database of children CSOs in Turkey. After I gathered all the names of these CSOs, I accessed the information about these CSOs from their official websites. I categorized each CSO with regard to their main area of work. Then, the frequency of these themes was elaborated and represented. The main themes worked by the advocacy-based CSOs were discussed with the experts working in the children's area. I compared the featured themes of these four actors: MFSP, pro-government CSOs, mainstream CSOs and advocacy-based CSOs, as the final part of the analysis.

The flow of this thesis is based on six chapters overall. In the second chapter, I will present background information on the children policies and the children agenda of the state and the civil society in the welfare states since the nineteenth century. In this section, development of the children policies in Turkey will also be elaborated. In here, I develop a modest attempt, to sum up the transition and the changes by the time in the topics related to the children's agenda, and I present it -as a visual. The chapter aims to reveal and show the problem-free and conflicting areas in the children's agenda of the state/government and CSOs. The third chapter explains the methodology of the research which adopts a mixed methodology by using both

quantitative and qualitative tools. Sampling strategy, data analysis strategy, and the ethical considerations will be issued in this chapter as well. The fourth chapter is where the research findings are presented. In here, the gap between state's children policies and the agenda of children-based CSOs in Turkey will be discussed with regard to the findings based on the database analysis and the content analysis. This section elaborates the significant themes that are worked on by the different CSOs working in the children field and the themes of the former MFSP separately. I allocate chapter five for a discussion on the reasons for the gap in children policy in Turkey and how to overcome this gap. I hope this discussion may contribute to the future children policies and give some courage to the CSOs who want to work for and with children to fill the gaps in the field of Children's rights and children policies.

CHAPTER 2

A BACKGROUND INFORMATION: STATE, CIVIL SOCIETY AND CHILDREN POLICIES

Children policies in the western countries has historically emphasized the issues of child labor in agriculture, manufacturing and at home. Children as child laborers, orphans, apprentices, child housemaids were the ones exposed to different forms of child abuse.

When we look at the brief history of the child welfare issues, we are met with issues from abortion, infanticide, and abandonment, to child labor and education. The development of reform in the United States shows us that the first attempts for child-based work and protection were civil efforts. The development of the child welfare policies in Turkey resembles this flow as well. In this chapter, I will discuss the transformation of the agenda in the child welfare issues to provide a background for the further analysis of diverse agendas and priorities in the Turkish case.

This chapter is built upon three pillars. The first pillar is about the western welfare states and the state of Turkey's children policies from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Concepts like protection, welfare, which come to the front in policies, will be detailed, and the turning points in children policies will be presented. The second pillar, touches upon the issues of children-based CSOs. Questions like when and for what reason CSOs started to work with children, the approaches they support in Turkey so far will be detailed. The third pillar is a discussion regarding the problem-free and compatible areas between CSOs' and the state's children agenda. The prominent subjects, the tension areas in particular and the children related themes that differentiate between the state and CSOs will be discussed in this section.

2.1. Children Policies after the Nineteenth Century

In this section development of children policies in the world will be elaborated. First, the history of the development of child politics in the welfare states from the nineteenth century to today will be detailed. The mainstream themes related to the child politics of this period in the West and the United States will be presented. In the second part, the development of children policies in Turkey since the Tanzimat period will be examined. Finally, I will compare themes discussed in Turkish and Western child policies and approaches.

2.1.1. Development of Children Policies in Welfare States

The concepts of child and childhood have always existed in all societies, but the meaning attributed to childhood has varied considerably in almost all societies and historical processes (Onur, 2007). Literature on childhood studies accepts childhood as a modern concept. The modern understanding of childhood is an approach that treats the child as a separate social category (which is distinguished from adults) and makes the family and the state responsible for its protection. The introduction of this argument of childhood as a modern concept is based on Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962), in which Ariès argues that childhood as a social construct is a concept that emerged after the middle ages. He defines the childhood as a modern discovery. In premodern societies children were seen as miniature adults, and they were blended in the adult world of work and leisure. The acceptance of childhood as a developmental stage and psychological state of life has begun in the nineteenth century. Social transformation with industrialization and with the establishment of modern states totally changed the definition of childhood. With mechanization in industry, children have been left out of the labor force, and processes have become focused on adult male labor. On the other hand, with the establishment of the modern states and raising the citizens in line with the ideology of the nation-state has come to the agenda. With the introduction of compulsory education for children, childhood is completely separated from the adult world.

Children policies of the welfare states lay back to the nineteenth century industrialization and development of modern state. The most crucial child policy area developed in this era is related to child labor. Children needed to work because of several reasons such as parents needed their wages and the need for the market of small stature and figures, as they could do things that adults cannot do. The industrial revolution in this century incorporates children into the labor market as workers in cities. The first practices that are based on a legitimate and institutionally started in child labor (Sunal as cited in Mamur Işıkcı, 2013).

Children were starting to work at the age of 3-4 in their own homes and five years old in manufacturing in the nineteenth century. The generally accepted starting age was 7 or 8. The working times were 12 hours in many places, but this could be 15, 16 and 18 hours. Children were generally working as much as adults did (Uzun as cited in Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). These hard conditions became the first topics to be addressed in the state's children policy. Afterward, legal restrictions on the working conditions of children were established as a result of these policies. The most impactful was the "Health of Apprenticeship" law enacted in England in 1802; children were banned from working at night.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the first legal arrangement to regulate the work of children in factories was in Connecticut in 1813. Another example is the first Act on the Regulation of Cotton Woven Fabrics dated 1819, which raised the working age of children to 9. It was followed by a regulation limiting the daily working period to 9 hours and the weekly working period to 48 hours for children aged 9-13 working in the weaving industry in England in 1833 (Tuna and Demir as cited in Mamur Işıkcı). Later, in 1841, the first law regulating children's working life was introduced in France. With this law, while children under the age of 8 were banned from working, the working age of 8-12-year-olds was limited to 8 hours, and the working period of 12-16-year-olds limited to 12 hours. Besides, children under 13 have been banned from operating at night in factories and child workers were allowed to have a weekend holiday (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). The Commission on Employment of Children Report of 1843 presents working conditions in various manufacturing fields

such as printing cloth, lace stockings, metal, glass, paper, and tobacco (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013).

Besides the subject of child labor, first institutional attempts including health issues had started as a part of child protection policies. The first child nursery was opened in 1881 by local public authorities in Finland. Thus, institutional care of the state towards children started to be an issue in the children's policies in the early 19th century.

Meanwhile, regulations for child labor were taking shape in the United States. A remarkable step in this regard was the Factory Act, which happened in New York in 1886 as the result of the reformist efforts. Under this law, children under the age of 13 were prohibited from working in factories in the United States (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). In the field of child labor, the regulations increase the working-age and decreases the daily working period for children.

Another aspect of child protection risen at the end of the 1880s was child abuse. In 1874, Mary Ellen case in the United States brought forth child abuse and recognized it publicly for the first time (Markel, 2009). Mary Ellen used to be an orphan who was abused and neglected by her mother. Mary Ellen case led the foundation of New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children which was founded by philanthropist John D. Wright in 1874 (Markel, 2009). When there was a significant increase in child neglect and abuse, legal arrangements were made to strengthen the father's authority and to gain child's custody from their parents when necessary. The law, which came out in 1889, stipulated that "alcoholism, bad reputation and negative actions or maltreatment of mothers and fathers who put their children's morality, health and safety in jeopardy" could lose their custody over their children. Then, with the law coming out in 1898, judges were given the authority to appoint a guardian for children whose parents were custodians (Karatay as cited in Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). These steps were significant developments in the area of child protection.

Another significant development that emerged in the protection of children in the 19th century is the establishment of "juvenile courts." The first attempt in this regard

was the "Children's Court Act of Illinois" issued in 1899. Thus, the first child court was established in 1899 in Chicago, USA (Bloch and Flynn as cited in Mamur Işıkcı). The children's courts established in the United Kingdom after the establishment of the United States, were later accepted as a model in Western European countries such as Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy (Uluğtekin, 1994).

Another problem were the street children for the western states. From the middle of the nineteenth century, public institutions were opened to solve this problem. For example, in the US in 1910, a total of 150,000 children in need of protection were looked after in institutions (Cunningham as cited in Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). The second massive opening wave of the children's house coincides with the post-internal war in 1928 (Kempainen et al. as cited in Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). Karatay (2007) defines the end of the 1920s as the era of "establishing institutions."

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many initiatives in the name of children's rights have begun to emerge. The first was the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was adopted in 1924 by the League of Nations. The declaration states that children should be kept in a safe and healthy physical and mental environment; have benefited from nutritional and health care services (Mamur Işıkcı, 2016). Health issue becomes the primary topic of the social policy in this period of time.

One of the most significant improvements in terms of children's rights happens in the 1940s. In 1946 the UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund was founded. When UNICEF was founded, they focused on providing food, clothing and health care to children who had been affected by World War II, famine and diseases in Europe (UNICEF, 2003). The issues that UNICEF had been focused on in the 1940s and 1950s are related to the health and health care provision. A decade later, they started focusing on education issues. In 1948 United Nations published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and following this in 1959, the United Nations Charter on children's rights was approved. Child labor continued to be the hot topic of the children agenda of the welfare states. In 1973,

the International Labour Conference agreed on the Minimum Age for Admission Employment document. Six years later, International Children's Year was declared in 1979.

From the mid-40s to the end of 1980s there were many cornerstones related to Children's rights in the realm of welfare states. In 1983 is the year when ILO shared its child labor report. 1989 is the turning point for children's issues. . That year The United Nations approved the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) took place. A reference document still in use, CRC is the most important document related to children's rights to date. Another critical paper which has had an impact on today's children policies is the ILO's convention No.182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor which was declared in 1999.

Children and conflict became another issue supported by UNICEF in the second half of the 1990s. The report on "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children," a study conducted by UNICEF during this period. n the 2000s, UNICEF's areas of focus are related to the issues of child protection and social inclusion, children with disabilities, child survival, education, emergency, humanitarian action, and gender equality. With the impact of INGOs like UNICEF the content of it has been expanded.

To sum up, the themes aroused by the western states in the field of child policies, while the nineteenth century emphasized the child labor and protection of the children in need issues were common. With the industrialization process, policies on child labour are followed by health and protection policies. Later, policies including education and social inclusion for disadvantaged children are developed. After the 1980s the children's rights topic became visible in the policy field, while child labor is still one of the hot topics being worked on. In the next section, development of the children policies in Turkey since the Tanzimat period will be elaborated.

2.1.2. Development of the Children Policies in Turkey

As seen in the previous section, child labor was one of the primary policy fields in the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, during the Ottoman period, the state did not include children in its policies until the nineteenth century, specifically at the Tanzimat Reform era. This era is considered the starter of the modernization process in different layers of social formation, and it brought children's issues to the front as a part of the reconstruction of the modern state.

Like in the Western world, Child labor was a significant topic in Turkey's history, despite the social and economic contextual differences. Even though there was not experienced industrialization in the Ottoman Empire during same period of time, child labor was still an issue for the Ottoman State. Furthermore, child labor problem when back to earlier times of the empire, such as the seventeenth centuries' guild system. In the guild system, children worked as apprentices and were sent to the apprenticeship by their families when they reach 5 or 6 years of age (Özkaya, 2017). We also need to take into consideration the fact that during the Ottoman era the first institutional ventures were the workhouses and the School of Industry (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). So, apprenticeship is an important phenomenon affecting children directly during this time. Also, children used to work in agricultural production and the state-owned factories known as *riştehane-i âmire* (Özkaya, 2017). Reforms were made to improve the working conditions after the Tanzimat era (Özkaya, 2017). However, the working conditions of children were not considered an issued in Turkey as it was in the western world. Although the working conditions were seriously bad and dangerous, the regulations in working conditions would not be made until the 1930s These developments will be elaborated later on.

The wars do not only lead to the participation of children in the labor force in greater numbers, but also made the orphanage issue a priority due to parental loses or abandonment. On the other hand, the modernization of the state, which redefines the concept of citizen, brings children as an element of state policy for the first time. In this era, the concept of protecting children by making them workers was formed; .

the “poor and needy” children were “protected” by families as "housemaids" was a common phenomenon.

The first initiative concerning children in Turkey was the child care system called "child rehabilitation houses" which are established in 1868 by Mithat Pasha, the governor of Tuna. The purpose of these organizations was to integrate orphaned children to society and to teach them a profession or trade. In the following years, children with single parents, children who were in need, and children involved in crime were started to be protected by these institutions (as cited in Gökçearsan Çifci, 2009). Unlike in the States, child abuse had yet to become an issue at this time. In 1895 II. Abdülhamit the II founded Darulaceze in his reign. Up to 400 orphan children were taken under protection and care in this institution. Darulaceze was not just a child-centered institution, it included all people in need. Another organization established by the state for the hosting of war orphans is *Darüleytam* which means orphan homes (Gökçearsan Çifci, 2009). These orphan homes were officially established in 1917.

In 1921, in the War of Independence, Himayet-ül Etfal, the current name of the Child Protection Society, was established to provide a shelter for children who lost their parents. With the establishment of Modern Turkey, the Republic of Turkey, the state became the "father to the child" and practices became more systematically and continuously towards children (Çelik, 2001). As Çelik (2001) mentions, the concept of childhood was also defined as one of the major responsibilities of the state at this time. State get involved in the children's rights issue by supporting and sustaining free and secular education, improving the health and health-related conditions and by the recognition of children's social and cultural existence. This period was also the period of the new legislation. "Himaye-i Etfal Association" turned into the institution of Child protection as it was mentioned before in the previous section. Responsibilities of the state was extended. During this period, there was progress in the children's rights area. In 1928, the Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child was signed by Turkey's President, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, four years after the document was drafted (Libal, 2001).

In Turkey, at the nation-constructed process, population growth and education of the child were the fundamental matter of policy. Beyond this main scope, child poverty, child labor, hunger, misery, and raising children with new republic values, were the main aim of this period in the field of child policy at this time (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013). Educating children with regard to the new republic's values was much more specific in Turkey's context compared to others in the world. However, the topic of child labor, parallel to the international agenda, was also on the agenda of Modern Turkey. This topic came to the agenda again in 1930 with regard to the Law of *Umumi Hıfzıssıhha* which set direct limits to the working hours and conditions of young individuals. The law prohibited children from working in mines and several craft workshops and reduced the working hours of young people age of 12-16 to 8 hours. The law also banned the night work shifts for children (Mamur-Işıkcı, 2016).

In 1935 the name of the *Himayet-ül Etfal* association was changed to "Child Protection Agency," and the institution became an official entity. All the needs of the orphan children from the streets and the war zones were satisfied in this public guest-house for the children which was directly connected with the administration center (Sarıkaya, 2010). The first attempts to protect children were civil efforts. This civil institution, later on, became state-owned entity.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the main aim of the child policies was population growth. In the 1940s several magazines were issued supporting the "raising kids for the sake of the future of the republic" (Mamur-Işıkcı, 2016). Population growth and raising healthy kids by supporting them with the education of the new republic's values, were the most important issues dealing with children. Between 1923 and 1945 the new official identity took place in the Civil Code, the Municipal Law, the Labor Code, and the Criminal Code and was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Libal, 2001). With these laws, the protection of children was separated from voluntary and religious organizations, and scientific, rational and legal approaches were adopted.

In the 1950s, the Child Protection Agency¹ face the need to increase its protection of children in need, and the government finally understood the need for state intervention. The first comprehensive special law was enacted for the care and education of children in need of protection, law no. 5387, enacted in May 1949. Due to this law, services for children in need of protection were provided by the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance. Accordingly, the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance was responsible for the care and rearing of children between the ages of 0-6 and, the Ministry of National Education for the care of children between the ages of 7-18. (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013)

In 1963, the General Directorate of Social Services affiliated to the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance was established to be responsible for all social services and continued until 1983. In the fourth year Annual Development Plan (1979-1983), social services and social assistance were provided to the elderly, the disabled, the homeless, the children in need of protection, the youth with social problems and other disabled groups. For this purpose, nursing homes, kindergartens, rehabilitation and other facilities were established. With the development of social service facilities started, the establishment of a Social Services Authority was secured (Mamur Işıkcı, 2013).

The concept of Children's rights did not rise as a topic until the 1960s in Turkey's. The role of international non-governmental organizations was apparent during this period. UNESCO proposed Turkey to work on a draft law by using Charters of Children's rights in the 1960s. As a result of these studies, the "Turkish Children's Rights Declaration" was prepared by the Board of Directors of UNESCO Turkish National Commission and accepted on 28-30 June 1963. In the 1970s media and cartoonists started criticizing the issue of celebrating "Children's Day" by mentioning the moral hypocrisy behind it while so many children struggle with poverty (Libal, 2001).

¹ In Turkish: Sosyal Hizmetler Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu (a.k.a. SHÇEK)

The 1980s were when many regulations took place related to the lives of children in Turkey. In 1983, the establishment of “Social Services and Child Protection Agency” a public legal entity by the Law on Social Services and Child Protection Agency was transferred to the SSCPA General Directorate. The entity worked under the responsibility of voluntary organizations and local government units for the children in need of protection, it seems that the provision of services was state-owned, but the result and the application were not (Mamur-Işıkçı, 2016). The 1980s are also the time when the SSCPAs was inclined to work on subjects like protective families and to foster.

When we come to the 1990s, we again met with the role of international NGOs in the children policy field. In 1989 The United Nations Universal Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), was drafted. The Turkish state and children’s rights advocates (from both national and international organizations) supported signing the CRC soon after it was completed (Akgul, 2014). Following the World Summit on Children on 14 September 1990, the Convention was signed. Then, President Turgut Ozal attended the United Nations Children’s Summit in New York on September 30, 1990. This summit was the first UN summit where the “child” was to be the only item on the agenda. Over the next four years, children’s rights advocates lobbied Turkey’s parliamentary body, the Grand National Assembly, to ratify the Convention. (Akgul, 2014).

As Libal (2001) mentioned, in the 1990s, criticisms also aroused in media and academia. These criticisms show us that children’s rights was showcased in the mass media. Journalists and cartoonists continued to display images of children to emphasize social injustice in society. There was an increase in interest in children’s rights in other sectors of society as well. Turkish parliamentarians, human rights advocates and scholars, also social welfare experts lobbied the state to formalize and expand the programs dedicated to children. During this time, child welfare aroused as an essential aspect in the process of European Union membership for Turkey. According to children activists, Turkey would gain membership only if the state took up a proportionally more significant share of the financial and human costs of

addressing child welfare (Libal, 2001). The European membership process and its debates brings children issues on to the public agenda.

The historical state position on the centrality of children for the good of the nation-state meant little, unless the government, in cooperation with UNICEF and other non-governmental organizations, was able to mobilize more resources and personnel to address critical issues in the late 1990s comprehensively. Endorsement of the Children's Rights Convention (CRC) was seen as the first step in this direction (Libal, 2001). The Turkish state and children's rights activists from the national and international organizations supported signing the CRC just after it was completed. According to Libal (2001), ratification of the CRC made a major step in the movement to recognize the vulnerabilities of children in terms of poverty and unequal access to education, health and accommodation services. Turkey ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1995 and the Turkish government signed the European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights in 1999. This was the time that the children's rights attracted the most attention in Turkey's history.

Another critical improvement, once again due to INGOs, in the children's agenda in Turkey were on the topics of child labor and vulnerable children exposed to different forms of neglect and abuse. The Worst Prohibition of Child Labor Form and on the Elimination of Emergency Action ILO Convention, was approved by the Parliament of Turkey in January 25, 2001. In November 2004 Turkey also approved the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. The Optional Protocol, the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and the European Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified. Turkey also approved 56 ILO conventions in which six of it were directly related to children.

In the second part of the 2000s, the impact of European Union membership process was outstanding. The progress of relations with the European Union made it necessary to make amendments to legislation, especially concerning the trial of children. In this context, the Turkish Criminal Code, which has a critical place in society, was renewed with the Criminal Procedure Code and Execution Law. In this process, the Law on the Establishment, Duties and Trial Procedures of Juvenile

Courts No. 2253, which regulates procedures for children, was abolished and replaced by the Child Protection Law.

The regional conflicts in the 2000s also bring some legislation related to the children. One example of these legislations is regarding juvenile justice, after the amendments to the Anti-Terror Law, the Criminal Procedure Code and other legislative acts in June 2010. According to these legislations, children would not be punished for their resistance to law enforcement or criminal acts of propaganda in demonstrations supporting terrorist organizations, terrorist crime or terrorist organization membership (Mamur-Işıkçı, 2016). According to Mamur-Işıkçı (2016), although this arrangement is a welcome development in terms of children's rights, it has yet to be fully implemented.

International migration affected the children policy field as well. In 2013, the concept of unaccompanied children was part of the Law of 6458 Foreigners and International Protection. At the same time, the General Directorate of Child Services published the Unaccompanied Minors Directive in 2015 (Mamur-Işıkçı, 2016). Although the 2000s have been dealt with different components of children's rights for years, children's participation into the social life and child justice had not significantly progressed. On the other hand, the war orphan's issue has turned into the issues of children in conflict zones and unaccompanied minors.

The second part of the 2000s was also the time when the institutional care models was changed. In this time Children's Houses started to be open instead of the dormitory type of institutional care by the MFSP. Also, foster families were supported in this period by the MFSP.

What makes the 2000s different then the hitherto implications are related to several reasons. One of them is the European Union membership process. This is also the period when the rights-based approach finds itself at the discursive level. The 2010s, on the other hand, is the time when the government disregarded the EU membership process. With the war in Syria, the Syrian migration crisis became an important topic in Turkey's agenda. Hence the children agenda is affected by this migration wave. To sum up the overall agenda of children approaches in Turkey, I organized and

visualized the development of the themes related to the children's agenda of the state and CSOs especially after the 1900s by referring to the literature review, in the Figure 1 below.

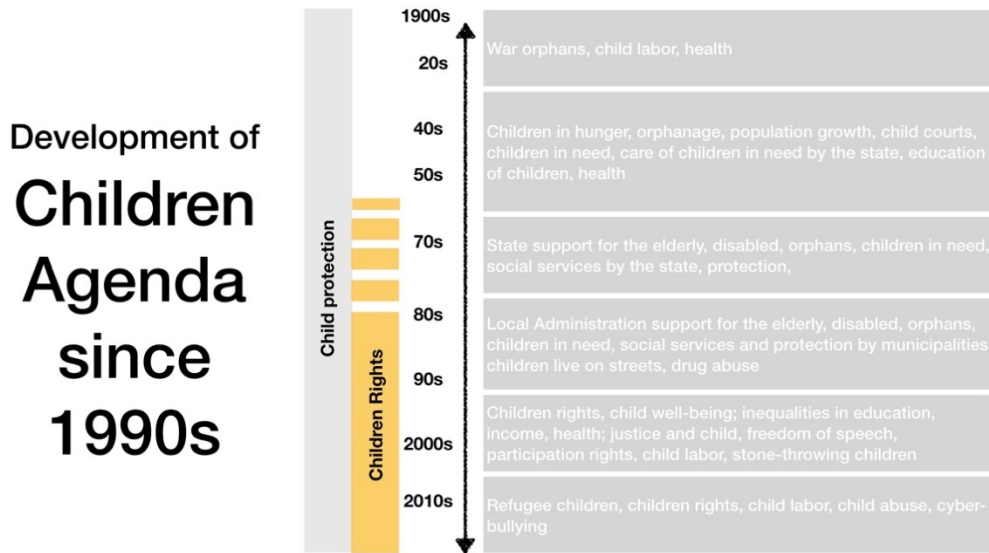


Figure 1. Development of Children Agenda in Turkey

The development of the children's agenda in Turkey has similarities with the transition of these agendas in the western world. I try to present these improvements through two different axes: children's protection and children's rights. The end of the nineteenth century was a time of wars; thus, the war orphans and famines were the issues of the state and voluntary organizations. Child protection gain importance in this regard and still a dominant approach of the state and CSOs. From the 1970s to 1980s there was a notable shift, with the effect of neoliberal economic shift, local administrations and municipalities started having more responsibility in social services provisions at this time. My own findings during the interviews with stakeholders support this. Studies on the transfer of administration of the social services to the local authorities were conducted to discuss the topic after the former prime minister's speech in 2011. For instance, Kesgin's (2016) study on the "decentralization of social services and the expanding role of local government," and

Genç and Barış's (2015) article called "the functionality of decentralized management in the reconstruction of social services" can be given as examples of these studies. Later on, the former MFSP minister Fatma Şahin declared about this transition².

Other the other hand, child labor is the topic of all times since the legal regulations were published but still an ongoing subject of the children agenda. As it has been mentioned above, the apprenticeships of the children, the children in agricultural work and children those work in state-owned factories since the seventeenth century was continued to be the issue of child labor in the 1900s.

Children's rights did not start to be discussed until the mid-1960s with the influence of the UN entities. However, until the late 1980s, no specific steps were taken. CRC, as an essential document became a reference paper of the advocates of the children field and a guide for legal arrangements of the state.

Regulations in the juvenile delinquency area are, relatively, a new topic compared to other topics like health, education, and children in need. In the field of justice, social policy practices for children were started in the second part of the 2000s in Turkey. The establishment of juvenile courts in Turkey lay is contemporary. The first law on the establishment of juvenile courts was issued in 1979 and executed in 1982, and the Law on the Establishment, Duties and Trial Procedures of Juvenile Courts has undergone a complete change in 1993. Under the Child Protection Law, child courts should be established in 81 provinces. In provinces where there are no such courts, children are prosecuted in courts for adults (Mamur Işıkcı, 2016). The Law on the Establishment, Duties and Trial Procedures of Juvenile Courts No. 2253, which regulates judicial proceedings, were replaced with Child Protection Law. This law was put into force during the European Union membership process.

In June 2010, after the amendments in the Anti-Terror Law, the Code of Criminal Procedure and other legal arrangements, the children could not be punished for being

² See. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/bakan-sahin-sosyal-hizmetler-belediyelere-devredilecek-22507135> (Retrieved in 09.03.2019).

guilty of terrorism or being a member of a terrorist organization if they acted in a crime of propaganda against demonstrations supporting terrorism. The law also provides that the aggravating circumstances are contained in the Anti-Terror Law will not be applied to children and that children will only be tried in juvenile courts or juvenile penal courts (Mamur Işıkcı, 2016). This regulation is a very important development for children's rights, yet it has not been fully implemented. As a matter of fact, the juvenile courts that operate in the field of juvenile justice could not be established throughout Turkey. In provinces where there are no juvenile courts, children are tried in adult courts (Mamur Işıkcı, 2016).

Another contemporary topic which affects the children's agenda is the Syrian crisis began in 2011. This crisis has brought the refugee children into the agenda of CSOs and the state and related to the education of the Syrian refugee children, health concerns, child labor and early marriages raised as important topics which mostly taken action by the CSOs. These are still contemporary issues.

2.2. Children Agenda of The CSOs

Before elaborating the children agenda of the CSOs, the definition of the CSO/NGO will be discussed in the first part of this section. Sibling terms of the CSOs and the different types of CSOs touching their working area and their target groups will be presented. The civil topography study of Yeğen et al.'s (2012) study an important source which I use in my analysis. In the second part of this section, development of the civil society in Turkey will be considered and the development of the children CSOs will be discussed within this framework.

2.2.1. A Brief Definition of CSOs

Civil society refers to volunteer organizations, associations, foundations and professional organizations, mass media, labor unions and other components of the intersection of citizens living at the public sphere. Today the term Non-governmental organizations, NGOs, refers to voluntary initiatives who acts on a nonprofit base.

This term also has a sibling term: Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) which is defined vis-à-vis the market and government, defined as the third sector, compared to for-profit organizations. Another sibling term is TSOs which corresponds to Third Sector Organizations which differs the organizational status from the public and private by adding a third dimension as citizens. Lastly, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) has been used and mostly adopted by the universities, chambers, local governments and by the UN agencies (Akyüz, 2010). The common purpose of CSOs is to achieve social good and social goals (Kuruvila, 2015). These organizational structures act on social issues, environmental issues or targeting vulnerable groups exposed to problems. They are formal organizations following the set of rules and registered under laws (Kuruvila, 2015). In the scope of this study, the term will be used as CSOs for the reason why it's widely used and its reference to the position vis-à-vis the social policy agent: the government.

The Study of History Foundation (Gönel, 1998) defines CSOs in a broader aspect including: associations (*dernekler*), foundations (*vakıflar*), trade unions (*sendikalar*), Cooperatives (*kooperatifler*), professional organizations (*meslek kuruluşları*), chambers of industry and trade (*Sanayi ve ticaret odaları ve borsaları*), union of chambers of merchants and craftsmen (*Esnaf ve sanatkar örgütlenmeleri*) and bar associations (*Barolar*). The broad definition aims to provide a holistic look over organized civil society (Gönel, 1998). In the scope of this study, the term is limited with associations and foundations.

CSOs take place in different social spheres (Gönel, 1998). Basically, CSOs are based on two groups of people: the ones who run the activities and facilities and the target group. In most organizations, the responsible/volunteered ones and the target group refers to the same profile. In some cases, these two differ; organizations work for and with children are a typical example of this.

In Turkey there are few studies aim at categorizing CSOs. One of these studies is Civil Topography of the Voluntary Organizations in Turkey, 2012.³ The study clusters the types of the CSOs by their working area, their target groups and the reason for their existence. "Civil Topography Categorization," which we have formed by evaluating the organization's foundation story, objectives, and activities, presents a more analytical picture than these types of descriptive categorization. At total, the study comes up with 13 categories at the total. These are:

- Advocacy-based/Advocate CSOs
- Charity-based / Philanthropist CSOs
- Clubs
- Founding – Sustentation
- Hometown Organizations
- Market-oriented CSOs
- Occupational/Sector oriented
- Politics oriented
- Professional CSOs
- Protectionist
- Self-organized
- Socialization oriented CSOs
- Subsidiary organizations

Advocate or Advocacy-based CSOs targets the victims of a right; natural environment. The founders of these organizations are the rights' advocate citizens. Objectives of the Advocate CSOs are raising awareness; rights' advocacy; improvement of the policies and reforming of the implementations.

Charity CSOs targets the groups who are consisted of the poor people, victims and people in need. Founders of the charity organizations are mostly philanthropist

³ Yeğen, M. Keyman, F. & Tol, U. (2012) "Türkiye'de Gönüllü kuruluşların topoğrafyası." Tübitak 1001 http://uvt.ulakbim.gov.tr/uvt/index.php?cwid=9&vtadi=TPRJ&ano=155372_337cf65c3f0b8420003f8c41b81eb128 Retrieved in 12.07.2018

citizens. Main objectives of the Charity organizations are providing in-kind or monetary aid for a societal benefit or poor or disadvantaged people.

Clubs are the organizations consisted of the sportsmen/women, artists and active members are mostly again the sportsmen/women, artists, and sports lovers. Objectives of the clubs are participating in competitions, leagues, tournaments or various national or international activities. The most prevalent in Turkey are sports clubs. Soccer, for instance, being in the first place among these clubs.

Founding-Sustentation organizations are targeting philanthropists and the people of the neighborhoods. Active members are mostly the residents of the neighborhood, philanthropists of the neighborhood. Objectives of these organizations are improving, constructing or preserving a building, a site or a neighborhood.

Target group and the founders of the **hometown** CSOs are the fellow townsmen, people who share one geographical or cultural origin that lives in another geography or another culture. Objectives of the hometown organizations are ensuring the socialization of the members, fulfilling their longing for their origins; ensuring services for their hometowns and ensuring they can deal with problems in new environments.

Occupational/ Sectoral CSOs targets colleagues, and sectoral stakeholders mostly owned by corporations. Objectives of these type of CSOs is ensuring the promotion and development of an occupation or a sector and the benefits of individuals in this perspective.

Politics-oriented CSOs' target groups are the politicians, political networks or society. Active elements of such organizations are the political networks, politicians. Objectives of the politics-oriented CSOs are Promoting or disseminating a belief or a philosophy, taking a side in national issues, organizing activities, meetings, or communicating statements to influence the public.

Protectionist CSOs' target Group is A disadvantaged group or groups, sensitive natural areas or species. The difference of the protectionist CSOs from the self-organized CSOs is that the founders are the relatives of the disadvantaged group or the experts of the area. Main objectives of Protectionist CSOs are protecting the

disadvantageous group from harms, improving their condition, creating awareness in the society.

Self-organized CSOs were targeting at the disadvantaged group. The Founders/active elements of the organization are the target group itself. Objectives of this CSOs are sustaining socialization of and solidarity among target groups/members, improving their own status, advocacy of their rights.

Socialization based CSOs are targeting people with hobbies, alumni, fellows and the founders of these CSOs are also people with hobbies, alumni, fellows. Objectives of such organizations are getting together with fellows of similar age, occupation or cultural perspective for a hobby, to perform recreational activities

The target group of the **Specialist CSOs** is the decision makers, experts, politicians, opinion leaders. Founders of these organizations are mostly the specialists themselves. Objectives of these organizations are generating information, obtaining outputs based on information, calling out to the public through the produced information.

Subsidiary CSOs have belonged to another institution which works for the disadvantaged groups, society, and CSOs. Main objectives of these CSOs is implementing the activities which an institution can not realize itself because of legal, economic or ethical reasons. Some of them are founded under a different bylaw or a legal decision. Social Cooperation and Solidarity Foundations can be shown as examples of these CSOs.

According to Yeğen, Keyman and Tol's (2012) study, the majority of CSOs consisted of hometown CSOs, and it is followed by the Founding-Sustentation organizations and socialization based CSOs (see Figure 2). These three CSOs make up 40% of all CSOs.

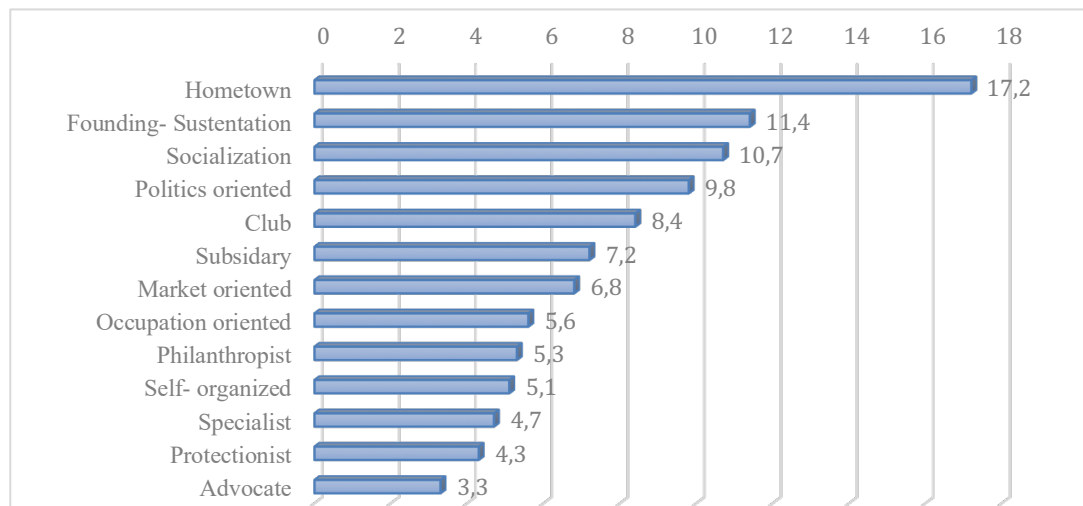


Figure 2. Civil Topography Categorization by Percentages (YADA Foundation, 2015)

Politics oriented CSOs composed 10 percent of all CSOs facilitate in Turkey. Clubs are mostly sports clubs, and these CSOs are 8,4 percent of all. Subsidiary, market-oriented and occupation-oriented CSOs are 20 percent of all CSOs.

As I observed during the database building process of the research, the CSOs working in the field of children are mostly the philanthropist, specialist, protectionist or advocacy-based organizations. However, these kinds of CSOs are the minority of the civil sector according to the Yeğen et al.'s (2009) study. Especially advocate CSOs are only 3 percent of all, while protectionist CSOs are 4 percent. Specialist and philanthropist CSOs are 5 percent of the civil sector. We can say that the children-based CSOs are mostly the ones working as either advocate or, philanthropist, professional, protectionist CSOs and at a minimal amount, self-organized CSOs. Here we will be mentioning about a minimal and limited field within the civil society who works on the subject of children.

The scope of the study does not contain an elaborated debate on what NGO is or is not but working on civil institutions requires a brief definition and their position vis-à-vis the market, state, and community in the welfare mix. There is considerable debate on the conceptualization of CSOs, but it is out of the scope of this study. For

defining the term, a brief definition of it will be considered. Development of the sector will be limited to the development of the NGO sector in Turkey. In the next section, the development of civil society in Turkey and the development of the children CSOs will be detailed.

2.2.2. Development of Civil Society and Children CSOs in Turkey

Keyman (2004) underlines the resemblance of civil society development in Turkey and in the world, which has parallel processes. He based the history of civil society upon the 1200s and 1300s when the people did not use the term civil society but solidarity, fraternity, and so on. As Çelik (2001) emphasized in the community level in the Ottoman period; for instance, there was a tendency to support solidarity through the mechanisms based on religious principles. *Fütüvvet* ideology is one of the examples of this kind of mechanisms (Çelik, 2001). This ideology based on the idea of solidarity and fraternity among believers, and the foundations and communal funds of this period played an essential role in the protection of widows and orphans in need. There is a common approach to the culture of *vakıf* as the legacy of Ottoman culture. About the charity organizations, there is a two-sided debate on this culture whether it is the legacy of the Ottoman Empire or a tradition prolongs before the Ottoman empire (Yıldırım, 2017). The foundations have played a vital role in this sense. Some of the critical cornerstones are as far back to the end of the 1200s. There was an institution founded near Tebriz for orphans in 1271-1304 in the reign of Gazan Mahmut Han. This example can be considered as an ancient form of *vakıf* culture of the Ottoman (Çelik, 2001). When we look at the Ottoman period, sultans carried the tradition of foundations, starting with Orhan Gazi. Almost all of them used to have foundations take care of the poor and children in need. One example of these foundations is the *Avariz Vakfı* which aimed to protect the poor, widows and orphans who are the victims of natural disasters. Another famous example is *Fatih Sultan Mehmed's Foundation*. This foundation used to work in the field of financing the educational expenses of the orphans and children experience poverty by giving grants to them (Çelik, 2001). As Çelik interprets that the basic understanding of these

example foundations was based on the "philanthropy" originating from the traditional and religious basis. All these examples are the philanthropy-based traditional and religious organizations. At this period the role of the state institutions was limited for children. Such functions were fulfilled by communal, traditional, religious, occupational and voluntary organizations (Çelik, 2001).

In the pre-Tanzimat period, besides the state institutions and family, another important actor used to be the “*ahi*” organizations in children's life. Ahi organizations are the occupational institutions besides having a dominant religious identity. Functioning as training centers, these organizations were the prototype of today's occupational organizations. Apart from the *medreses*, *sıbyan mektebi*, *enderun mektebi*, ahi organizations can be considered as civil organizations, that the state and family also recognize their existence (Çelik, 2001). The state involved in the subject of the protection of children in need with the Tanzimat period. The state defines its role in the area of the welfare services aimed at children.

Darüşşafaka, Darülaceze, Kızılay were also the essential foundations of this period. The leaders of the state also established these voluntary organizations. Some have been active for a while like Darülaceze, and some are still active like Darüşşafaka and Kızılay. However, the founders of the Turkish Republic avoided using the term *vakıf* because of its religious reference. Between the years 1926-1967 is the silent period for *vakıf* organizations (Keyman, 2004). After 1980 the number of foundations risen after the coup and the number of organizations with the establishment of *Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıfları* caused a foundation boom. The 1984-1988 period witnessed an association boom on the other side of the CSOs (Akyüz, 2010).

Keyman (2004) suggests that instead, the civil society history back to mid-1970s in general whereas it flourishes after 1980s in Turkey. A turning point for Turkey's civil society leans back to the 1990s. With the increase in funding by international organizations in the 1990s, the field of CSOs expanded and become a career option by creating a new sector (Akyüz, 2010).

Researches on civil society cumulate at the end of the 1990s till mid-2000s. Neoliberal shift at the global scale does have an impact on the development of civil society in Turkey. Both *vakıf* culture and civil society are related to the accumulation of the capital. After 1980s identity-based demands of citizens from a different ethnic background, the Kurdish question and the rise of political Islam created a space of demands between the state and citizens (Keyman, 2006). Besides the demands and needs of democratization increase after the 1980s and during 1990s.

The 2001 economic crisis also affected the relationship between the state and civil society. The need for more transparent, accountable, democratic state understanding had risen against corruption (Keyman, 2006). That was one of the arguments which played a role in the development of civil society. Another factor is related to the process of membership to the European Union. Deepen the relations with the European Union, create a stronger and quantitatively more significant number of CSOs. This period can be considered as the golden times of the civil society, I suggest. Because the beginning of the 2000s is the time of funding supports civil society from abroad. At this time, networks on the subject of children and especially networks on violence against children were established with these aids.

After the second part of the 2010s news related to the neglect and abuse of children broadcasted on social media a lot and rose public attention. Women organizations embraced these judicial cases and followed these cases very carefully. As it was observed in the isolated incidents like the murders of the children Leyla and Eylül in 2018⁴, and early marriages cases, women's movement is closely related to children issue in Turkey. They became advocates of children's rights in terms of the human rights of the women.

When we go through the children CSOs by numbers today, in the study of History Foundation (1998), it was found that among the CSOs in Turkey 0,6% signify their purpose on the issue of children, which means 305 organizations in the sample of the mentioned study (p.23). The same study of the History Foundation classifies

⁴ <https://www.gercekgundem.com/guncel/23604/eylul-ve-leyla-icin-29-stkdan-ortak-bildiri>
Retrieved in 06.03.2019

women and children organizations together. That is a conscious choice for the reason why women organizations are the supporters of the children agenda as well in Turkey.

According to the findings, 62% of the women and children CSOs have association status, whereas 27% is the foundation and 11% have civil initiative status. An interesting finding of women and children CSOs in the 90s in the study is among all civil initiatives, these women and children organizations make up the 41%, while among associations only 7,2% and among foundations 6%.

10,9% of the women and children organizations were established between 1924-1960, 20% 1961-1980, and the majority 69,1% were established between the dates 1981-1996 (History Foundation, 1998). This trend is parallel to the trend of the formation of civil society. Keyman (2004) mentions that civil society in Turkey formed after the 1980s and the number of foundations skyrocketed at this period. As it was mentioned before the 1984-1988 period witnessed an association boom of the CSOs (Akyüz, 2010). The increase in the children-related associations is affected by this boom inevitably.

According to the official statistics of General Directorate for Foundations there are 4747 foundations in action in Turkey wide by 2016.⁵ When it is looked through the field of activity of these foundations, 75 % of them have stated that the children along with youth as their target group. These 3566 foundations who stated their target group as children/youth are added to the database of this study. Children are somehow at the focal point of the foundations in Turkey.

Formal classification of associations registered in Department of Associations with regard to their facility areas by numbers is at the following.

⁵ <https://www.vgm.gov.tr/Documents/webicerik309.pdf> Retrieved in 16.03.2018

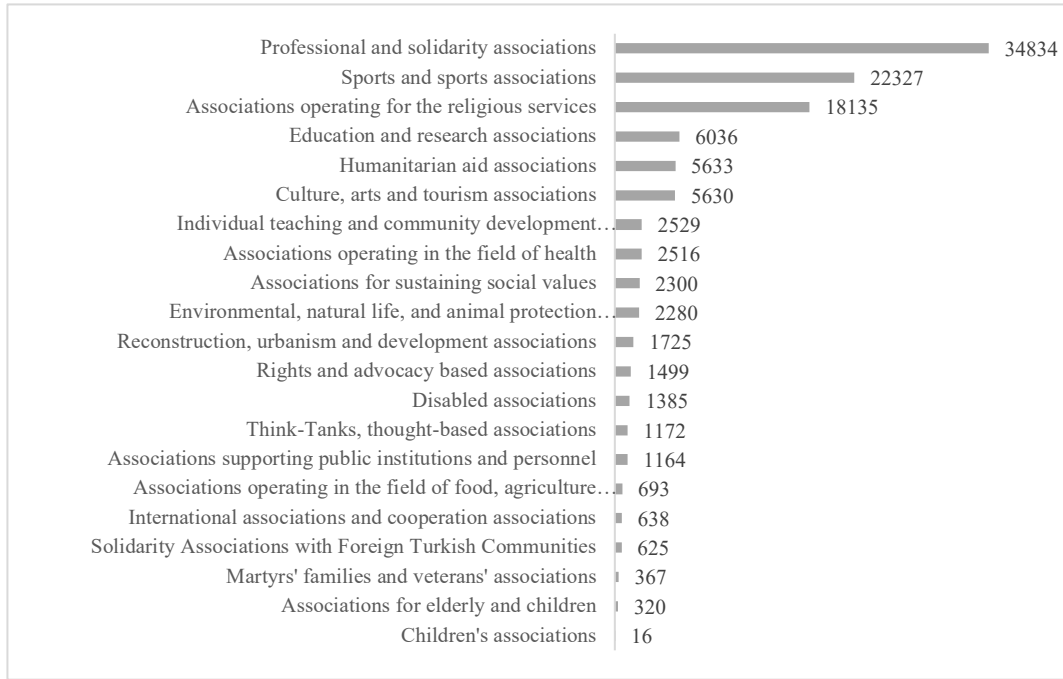


Figure 3. Distribution of Associations by Activity Areas⁶

Compare to the foundation's statistics, statistics of the association shared by the Directorate of Associations about children-based associations are less informative. The first obstacle is that the directorate shares the categories of the associations and children as a category of NGO work field together with youth and elderly. The second problem is about the categorization itself. They are not representable enough to describe the subcategories. The statistics of the Directorate of Associations did not take children and elderly as separate groups. That also reflects the state/government's approach on children as well as the elderly. The state/government perceive childhood and the period of late adulthood as the life stage of the people in need. Children are perceived as in-need, obviously.

In the study of Development Atelier, it is seen that development targeted CSOs also work on or with children. Through the statistics of the Directorate of Associations,

⁶ <https://www.dernekler.gov.tr/tr/AnasayfaLinkler/derneklerin-faaliyet-alanina-gore.aspx> Retrieved in 16.03.2018

we cannot tell how many of the other CSOs work on different subjects also work for children. That is another limitation of the statistics of the directorate.

According to the statistics of the directorate, the total number of the associations targeting elderly and children is 320 while children's associations are just 16, which are founded by children themselves who are at the age between 15-17.

We can take a closer look at the distribution of the associations in Turkey by their activity areas by percentages in Figure 4.

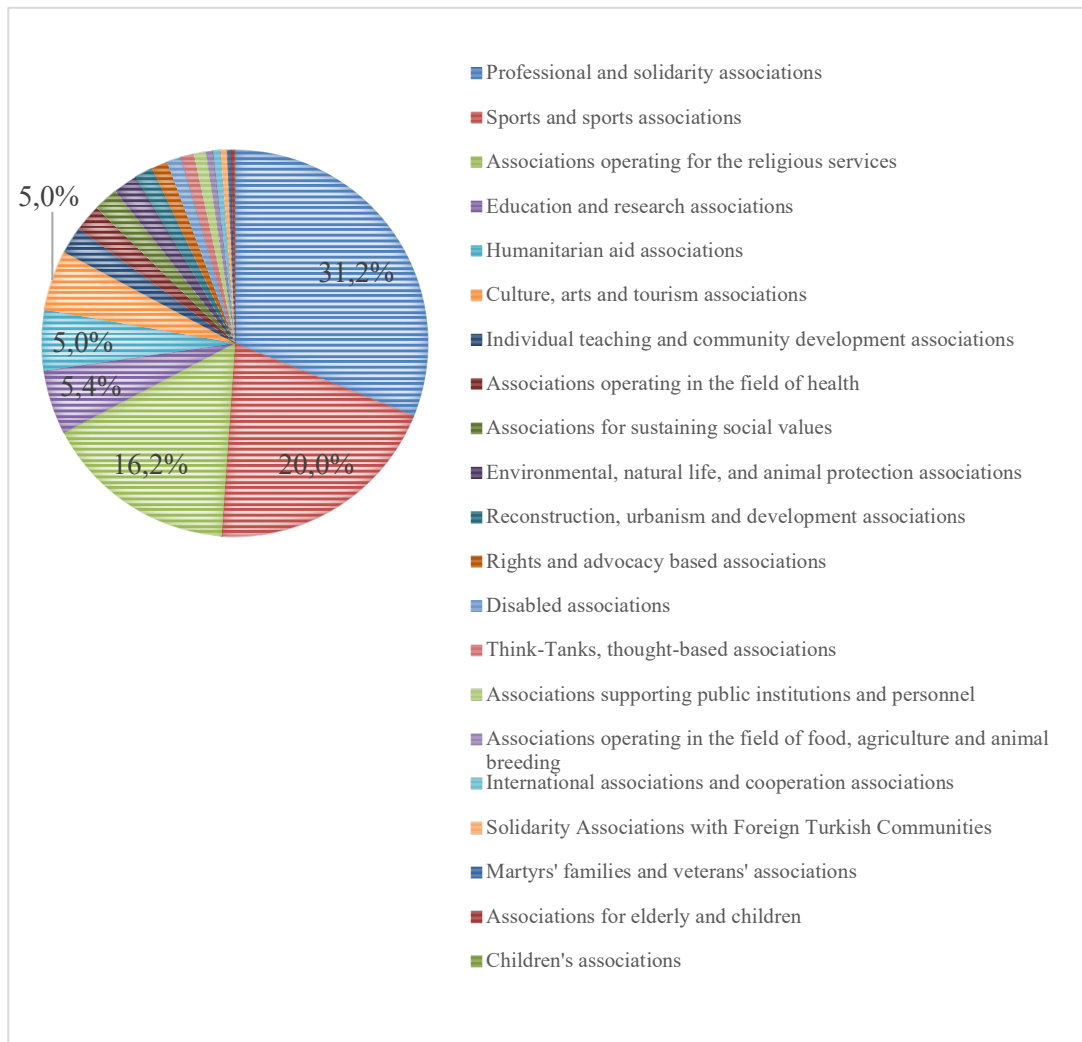


Figure 4. Distribution of Associations by Activity Areas (%)

The majority of the associations almost one-third of all (31%) have consisted of the professional and solidarity-based entities. Sports and sports-related associations make 20% of all and are followed by religious associations. Elderly and children-based associations consist only of 0,3% of all associations (see Table 1). I regroup the directorate's categories and end up with seven main categories.

Table 1.

Recategorization of the Directorate of Associations' Categories

| | | | |
|--|--|-------|-------|
| Solidarity and support based professional | Professional and solidarity associations | 31,2% | 33,3% |
| | Associations supporting public institutions and personnel | 1,0% | |
| | International associations and cooperation associations | 0,6% | |
| | Solidarity Associations with Foreign Turkish Communities | 0,6% | |
| Sports and culture | Sports and sports associations | 20,0% | 25,0% |
| | Culture, arts and tourism associations | 5,0% | |
| Social and religious values | Associations operating for the religious services | 16,2% | 18,3% |
| | Associations for sustaining social values | 2,1% | |
| Education, research and knowledge generation | Education and research associations | 5,4% | 7,8% |
| | Rights and advocacy-based associations | 1,3% | |
| | Think-Tanks, thought-based associations | 1,0% | |
| | Individual teaching and community development associations | 2,3% | |
| Health and Humanitarian aid | Humanitarian aid associations | 5,0% | 7,3% |
| | Associations operating in the field of health | 2,2% | |
| Environment, urban and rural development | Environmental, natural life, and animal protection associations | 2,0% | 4,2% |
| | Reconstruction, urbanism and development associations | 1,5% | |
| | Associations operating in the field of food, agriculture and animal breeding | 0,6% | |
| Self-organized disadvantaged groups | Disabled associations | 1,2% | 1,9% |
| | Martyrs' families and veterans' associations | 0,3% | |
| | Associations for elderly and children | 0,3% | |
| | Children's associations | 0,0% | |

The majority of the associations in Turkey are the solidarity-based professional organizations who aim to support its members. Sports and culture-oriented associations are at the second. Civil works on social and religious values are also

common in the field of civil society education, research and knowledge generation facilities run by the associations are not exceed the 7,8 percent. Health and humanitarian aid are the fields need specialization in this specific area of work. Seven percent of the associations work in these fields. Associations working in the issues of environment, urban and rural development consist of less than 5 percent of the overall associations. Self-organized associations such as disabled associations, children associations and martyrs' family's associations remain at the last and grouped. This group shows us that children are not the main agenda of the associations likewise the agendas of disability and families and children affected by the results of the conflicts.

According to Oğuz Polat (2006), CSOs working on children are not as organized and efficient as the CSOs working in the environment or on women's issues. The lack of productive activities of CSOs working on street children, child abuse, crime committed children, working children and children exposed to natural disasters can be observed. Polat (2006) explains this insufficiency with the reason for the low number of CSOs working in this field. Polat (2006) also states that the number of CSOs working on the issue of street children is much higher than the others in the 2000s. However, he does not share numbers related to this argument.

A critical study was conducted on the subject of children CSOs by Ankara University' ÇOKAUM's research in 1997. The research aimed to prepare a guide of child-related public and civil institutions. The study is based on three different guides of CSOs also the study of itself by collecting data via surveys from the children-based CSOs.

The first guide this study elaborated is the **“The Guide of Voluntary Organizations in Turkey” (1997)** of Türkiye Çocuk Vakfı (TÇV). According to the analysis of the list of CSOs by TÇV, the children related CSOs mostly working in the field of Women, Children, and Family (13 institutions take place in this list). Education is the dominant category among the children-based CSOs. The work of organizations for or with children embrace the subject of education. 19 institutions take place in this list related to this category. Health and health-related services are other

significant categories in the field of children CSOs. Social services and solidarity are other topics related to the children based civic organizations and 5 out of 49 institutions are working in these fields. Science is the least popular topic among the CSOs only 2 of the institutions work on this field. Most of these organizations listed by TÇV appear to be involved in education, social protection, and health.

The second guide which presents the CSOs working in the area of children is the **“The Guide of Civil Society Organizations” (1996)** of the History Foundation. In this guide, there are 69 institutions related to the children field and 26 of them directly work on the subject of children whereas it is 40 at a total. Education again is another relevant field of the work area where 13 CSOs were active. Orphans are the third conventional subject among these children CSOs, and 14 organizations work in this field. Health and Medicine related institutions make up 15 out of 69 institutions with the focus of children. Children involved in crimes is another subject of these CSOs in the list, and 3 of them work in this field according to the guide. Women, interestingly, is the topic which children CSOs also work with. Two organizations were working in this field according to this guide. Here, protection and education-related organizations seem to be the main focus.

“Social Ankara-Ankara Social Organizations Guide” (1998) of Social Services Research and Documentation Education Foundation is another document that involves children related institutions and organizations. In this paper, there are 18 children associations and seven foundations working in the children’s field. All are active in Ankara and work in the fields of protection, health, and education.

“Foundations Related to Public Institutions” (n.d.) of General Directorate of Foundations presents 50 associations and foundations related to the field of children. Twenty-three of them were working on protection and aids, while 15 of them worked in the subject of education, 10 of them on health and 2 of them work on culture and children . Again, the presence of CSOs working in the field of health, giving importance to the protection and education of children,

“Child Related Institutions and Organizations Directory in Turkey” (1997) of Ankara University Children's Culture Research and Application Centre built a

database consisted of 143 CSOs working in the field of children. Fifty-six of this organizations are working in the field of Protection / Service / Aid, 47 of them are active in the fields of Education / Science / Culture, 35 of them are in the field of Health, and 5 of them work in the fields of Family/ Women. In this guideline, we see that organizations working in the mostly protection area is involved, followed by education and health-related organizations.

Studies on children in Turkey reveals that civil society in general. When we look at these studies, we see that protection, education, and health topics are most prominent in organizations operating in the late 1990s.

2.3. The Problem-Free and Conflicting Agendas of the State and CSOs

We can sum up, the children issues in the nineteenth century used to be issued under four categories: apprenticeship or child labor, orphans, housemaids and students in education. Each category refers to contemporary names of the same problematic issues. Apprenticeship is directly related to child labor. Child labor is one of the critical topics which come to today's policies. This ongoing phenomenon still an issue of the child policy. Another example is that the housemaid issue refers to child neglect and abuse and as well as the orphans' issue. Besides, this topic refers to early marriages as well since the young girls who bear the responsibility of the house, child, elderly and sick care as a result of the marriage. Housemaids' issue has changed at the discursive level, and now this issue is proclaimed as the concept of early marriages which come to the agenda by the CSOs. While some stakeholders issue the early marriages within the scope of child abuse, the state/government had attempted to legitimize the early marriages by declaring one-time exemption for the marriages at the past which was criticized by the many women organizations⁷ while the pro-government news sources supported the same legislation⁸. That shows us that early child marriage is a conflictual area between the state/government and the

⁷<https://www.evrensel.net/haber/371042/tbmmde-erken-yasta-evlilik-icin-af-yasasi-hazirlaniyor> (Retrieved in 16.02.2019)

⁸<https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/erken-yasta-evlilik-affi-sonunda-geliyor-magdur-ailelerin-yuzu-gulecek-586965.html> (Retrieved in 16.02.2019)

CSOs. On the one hand, there are women organizations take the issue from the perspective and the wellbeing of children and on the other hand there are CSOs and agents support the victimization of the adults.

So, child labor/apprenticeship, housemaids or early marriages and the juvenile delinquency are the conflicting areas between the CSOs and the state/government. While the state does little, CSOs adopt these agendas more. The issues of orphans, students (or education), and health, come to the front as the common concerns of both CSOs and the state.

These two actors, orphans and students (as the citizens to be) through a philanthropist perspective. In terms of the orphans, the reasons behind the orphanhood status have changed a bit. Orphans in the nineteenth century referred to the children who lost parents in greater wars like World War I or II, and in the twentieth century this phenomenon has changed and started referring to the children who lost their parents in the regional armed conflicts. Moreover, the content of the meaning of orphan has been expanded. This category turned into the concept of children-in-need, which refers to children needs protection for lack of parental support independent from whether the child has a parent or not. Orphans issues as well are taken into consideration in today's child policies. The nineteenth centuries' concept of war orphans turned into the concept of children in conflict zones and as the concept of "unaccompanied minors" issues instead. However, it can be said easily that this orphans issue still comes at the first play in child politics of the state. Social protection is the field the state takes action the most.

Education, on the other hand, has always been a matter of children related issues. The modern states especially give importance to raising children with the values of the nation states. Education as a means of child development is a common field of work even though this subject is an ongoing conflicting area not only in between the state and CSOs but also within CSOs. Child education is seen as a prominent area for child development, but the meaning of education and the methods of education differ among the different actors. Each actor support and take action towards their understanding and value set about the children's education.

Health area as a social policy topic is one of the non-conflicting areas between the state and CSOs. Child mortality and mother and infant health are the concerns of both the state and professional CSOs working in the health field. However, adolescent sexual health-related topics remain in the grey zone. Protection of the physical health and the physical wellbeing of the children is the common point every agent supports.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the children policies of the state and CSOs in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries in the western welfare states and Turkey. The term civil society organizations, CSOs, refers to voluntary initiatives who acts on a nonprofit basis. CSOs are based on two groups of people: the ones who run the activities and facilities and the target group. The study of Yeğen et al. (2012) provides a comprehensive categorization of the CSOs facilitate in Turkey. The children-based CSOs are mostly the ones working as either advocate or, philanthropist, professional, protectionist CSOs and at a minimal amount, self-organized CSOs.

The State and CSOs as two actors of the social welfare have similar positions in the field of child protection while they have different approaches toward Children's rights . On the one hand, state adopts the understanding of the protection of the children while giving little or no reference to Children's rights ; CSOs, on the other hand, especially the ones work on rights-based approach brings the Children's rights to the forefront. Children's rights and children related policies in Turkey are administered with the impact of the membership process of the European Union, especially after the 1990s and with the impact of international organizations since the 1960s.

There are conflicting areas and problem-free agendas between the CSOs and the state/government. Health is the only non-conflicting areas which all actors take similar positions towards a reduction of the children's mortality rate. Education is a

conflicting area since different CSOs take different positions towards the problem of how to educate the minors, so does the state. Child labor is a field where many legislations have been made by the impact of INGOs and international amendments. The early marriage issue is another contradictive topic in current Turkish agenda.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction and Research Question

In this section, I will present my research area, methodology and data collection stages in detail. First, research questions will be specified. Secondly, the research method will be elaborated.

This study aims to explain the children's agenda in Turkey and to present how different agendas take place in the public and the third sector. What kind of effects are causing these differences in the agenda? What are the dynamics that lead to differences (or overlaps) on the agenda of public and civil society in Turkey? Also, whether or not can we mention about a children's rights-based policy field?

The first dimension of the research is to cast a picture of child CSOs in civil society, and public agenda is the primary aim of this research. Following the description of this framework, at the second dimension, a discussion and comparison of the differences, gaps and overlaps between these two agendas will take place. The last dimension, I discuss how these different agendas affect existing social policies in Turkey and future policy. How to overcome the gap between these two agenda will also be issued.

This kind of knowledge is vital for developing child policies which should aim to empower children and youth and supporting their autonomy and independence.

3.2. The Methodological Approach

The primary motivation of this thesis is to study the current situation of child policies in Turkey, and the question of "how and why does, this system as a whole function as it does? (Patton, 2002)" is at the core of the study. Since this study is a social policy thesis including policy analysis, it requires a holistic and interdisciplinary

approach to understand the complexity of this system. The reason why this study is adopted "a systems perspective" for several reasons. First of all, systems theory is essential in dealing with, and understanding real-world complexities and can be very helpful in framing questions and making sense of qualitative data (Patton, 2002).

(...) systems thinking has profound implications for program evaluation and policy analysis where the parts are often evaluated in terms of strengths, weakness, and impacts with little regard for how the parts are embedded in and interdependent with the whole program or policy (As cited in Patton, 2002; Patton 1999, p.120)

Systems thinking provided another way of looking at the world instead of trying to understand something by studying it in isolation.

Systems scientists of the social sciences study the interaction between the parts of a system rather than the parts in isolation to understand the complexity of reality better. (Lalande and Baumeister, 2014)

Many different system theories exist including physics, psychology, sociology and other fields (Lalande and Baumeister, 2014). Developmental systems theory (DST) is found useful in the formulation of social policy (Ford and Lerner, 1992). In the scope of this study, I instead use system theories in sociology and social policy. Its interdisciplinary aspect is an advantage for the study since the children policies field has interrelatedness with other policy fields such as foreign policy, fiscal policies, education policies and are affected by these fields.

Adapting systems theory is a challenge for social policy. Adopting a systemic perspective on policy problems would appear to offer a useful way of correcting deficiencies (Stewart & Ayres, 2001). Systems theory advocates that the researcher treat systems as wholes (Stewart & Ayres, 2001). According to Leighninger, two striking characteristics of systems theory are prominent: a concern for wholes and interrelatedness (Leighninger, 1978). Stewart and Ayres (2001) also mention about two main ways of using systems analysis which is applied to policy-making. First one is "systems analysis of policy" which is used as a way of understanding what is

happening when a policy is made. Moreover, the second one is "systems analysis *for* policy" which can be used as a way of creating concepts, ideas and modes of action when policy-makers try to make recommendations about policy problems (Stewart and Ayres, 2001). This study adopts the latter approach.

In this study the children agenda of the public sector and CSOs are taken as system environment. Even though the word 'system' is used to describe the assembly of organizations which are found in a given policy field, such as the "health system" (Stewart and Ayres, 2001), or "social security system," the only system refer to children is the "system of care." That is one of the limitations of the study. However, children policies can be taken as a unit of analysis and this study will to do so.

The system of children policies field has many actors. Children in the community as individuals have bounds with families, state, CSOs and the private sector with different aspects. Moreover, when we look at the child policies area, we are mentioning about a multi-actor field, including state, CSOs, the private sector, academia, education institutions, and ICSOs. In the scope of this study, the state and CSOs are taken into the core of the study. These two actors, CSOs and the state, neither have equal power nor the equal power of sanction. On the one hand, there is the state which has financial, legislative, institutional and other sources of power; on the other hand; there are CSOs with limited but qualified human resources. These actors do not equal to each other because of having limited resources and access to resources. Depending on the interactions and relationalities between these actors the resources are sharable. The distribution of the resources does not happen in equal conditions. First of all, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter CSOs are not a homogenous group. CSOs diversified concerning their different target groups and with different purposes. This diversity affects CSOs' capabilities, access to the resources. Some of the CSOs have a higher income than others. Another condition that creates a difference of power is, of course, the closeness to the state. The relationship established with the state determines the power of all the actors.

In the scope of this study, the interrelatedness and the interactions between the state and CSOs working on children's agenda will be the focused. The state is represented

and limited by the ministry responsible for children policies. CSOs in this sense can be classified under three categories on the closeness of their relations with the state. These categories differ from each other with regard to their position vis-à-vis the state/government and to the extent which they reach the financial and informational resources provided by the state/government. I suggest classifying CSOs as.

- (i) Pro-government CSOs
- (ii) Advocacy based CSOs
- (iii) Mainstream and ideologically neutral CSOs.

CSOs as the state's legitimate stakeholders or the pro-government CSOs are the ones who have close relations and organic bounds with the state entity responsible for children policies. These are the CSOs who benefit from the financial and information resources of the state/government. These CSOs explicitly announced as the partners of ministry according to the ministry's website.

Advocacy based CSOs are the ones who support different agendas of children, mostly children's rights-based organizations and bring the issues neglected by the state on the agenda. These organizations time to time experience conflict with the state, mainly related to the issues regarded as red lines by the state. These red lines can vary from the Kurdish question to religion-based issues. These are the CSOs that the state's information and financial resources are not transferred to these entities. These CSOs are perceived as the opponents and the state agents withhold their resources from them, even some of these face shut-downs by the state/government. Other mainstream CSOs, on the other hand, are the ones working in the field of children, neither experience conflict with the state nor have lots of support from the state. This final group of children-based CSOs is the ones who are neither encouraged nor supported regularly by the state. State prefer to support and do partnerships with these CSOs occasionally. They are perceived neither as a threat nor a stakeholder by the state.

Along with the state entity responsible for children and three different CSOs classified above, this study will focus on the relations, agendas and impact areas of these four actors.

3.2.1. The Research Method

This research has both exploratory and descriptive aspects; the reason why a mixed method with both qualitative and quantitative analysis approach has been adopted. The research model is based on a comparison of the children's agenda themes from different resources, from key experts in the field of childhood studies and CSOs, from the CSOs' websites and online documents and the MFSP's official documents. The detailed model explained in Figure 5, at the following:

Research Methodology

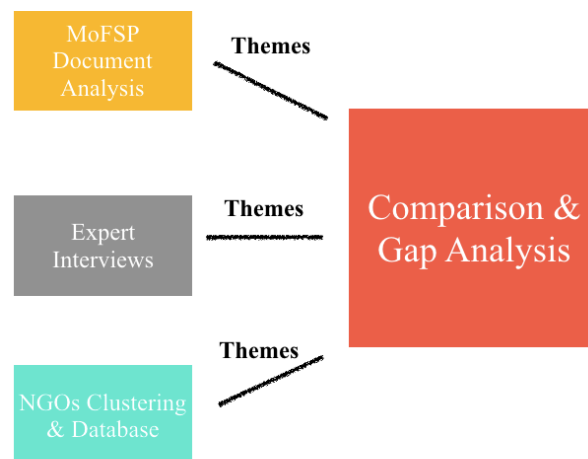


Figure 5. Model of the Research Methodology

At first, content analysis on policy documents of the former MFSP's, which make the qualitative phase of the research will take place. Secondly, the themes and keynotes from the expert interviews will be elaborated. Lastly, the CSO database aggregated for the sake of this research will be analyzed, and themes will be operationalized. Through these three stages, a comparison and a gap analysis are conducted.

Research has a qualitative approach and aims to discover the themes from the MFSP's online news bulletins and official documents. Each document was downloaded from the official website of the MFSP in 2017. Content analysis is a useful tool for such a task. At the second phase, classifying the CSOs by their field of activities for or with children was aimed. At this classification of the CSOs phase, a database was established, and each CSO was examined through them up to three major fields, their year of establishment, and their legal status. For collecting such data, official websites of the CSOs, internet news and press bulletins were used. There has been a process of quantification of the qualitative data. The third phase of the research aims to dig and to conceive critical themes of the field of Children's rights -based work through interview in-depth. The qualitative study does not exclude the researcher's personal experiences and insights that are derived from personal interaction in the field. The natural, flexible and open structure of the qualitative study provides an exploratory content where a researcher can discover essential themes and patterns (Patton, 2002). Interview-in-depths were conducted with six experts/academicians from Ankara and Istanbul. These experts were professionals and academicians who work on child labor, child poverty and children's well-being and being productive in reporting about child-related issues.

This study puts children as individuals in its core and tries to understand the perception of CSOs and the state towards them. CSOs will be investigated related to their reason of existence and the state's actors, former MFSP in this case, will be elaborated via its communication strategies by looking at the news and news bulletins.

The themes gathered from three different sources will be investigated through a gap analysis. The gap analysis has been used in management, biology, sociology, and other different disciplines. The gap analysis involves the comparison of actual conditions or performance with potential or desired conditions. If an organization, institution, policy or any other unit of analysis does not make the best use of current resources, it may produce or perform below its potential. The gap analysis is a useful tool that reveals the current agenda differences in policy. The gap analysis will also

be helpful to understand the question of "What does the gap between the two actors tell us about the child policy?" which the core problem of this thesis is.

3.2.2. Sampling Strategy

Since this study has a mixed model and triangulation of the different resources, it has several sampling strategies for each.

In order to specify my sample for this thesis, I use purposeful sampling in general. The main reason why I picked this purposefully and strategically is for selecting information-rich interviewees/professionals working in the field of children-based CSOs. In qualitative inquiries, sample size depends on the purpose of the inquiry what will be useful and what will have credibility and what can be done within the available time and resources (Patton, 2002). I limited the number of these interviews whenever the same concepts and themes started to be repeated by the participants.

For the document analysis, I used criterion sampling. After reviewing and studying process, criterion sampling enables the researcher to pick cases that meet some predetermined criteria. In this case, these are the MFSP's activities, circulars, and other official documents.

For the CSO clustering, the database containing more than 600 CSOs having child names in it which was shared by the International's Children's Center (Ankara) by special request was used. The list was taken by the Directorate of Associations at the second part of the 2000s thus needed to be reviewed, and well-known CSOs had no "child" term in their names in the field was checked whether they were on the list or not. By adding these CSOs up to the database, Children's rights platforms and networks were investigated, and the members of these institutions were added to the database too. At last but not least a list of foundations working in the field of children and youth from Directorate of Foundations was demanded and was provided by BİMER.⁹ Finally, the CSO database shared by the MFSP in which CSOs who had

⁹ BİMER, 2017 <https://www.vgm.gov.tr/Documents/webicerik309.pdf> Retrieved in 8.11.20017

been made a partnership or to be listed by the ministry were included.¹⁰ The final list contains 4490 CSOs, and 500 of it was chosen as a sample through purposive sampling. The sample consists of children's rights based working organizations, CSOs take place in the list of MFSP and random selection of associations and foundations.

3.2.3. Data Analysis

In order to analyze the data, three different analysis strategies were used. The key expert interviews were transcribed. Throughout the reading process, I made some notes to remember what important themes had aroused during the interviews. I made notes and highlighted areas that respond to my research question. I wrote common major and minor patterns that pop up in different data sets. I tried to make a map to see potential comparisons between those patterns. When I separate my data into categories, I tried to achieve internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity in my data to finalize my categories. Patton (2002) defines internal homogeneity as a situation in which all data under a specific category refers to the same theme. External heterogeneity, on the other hand, refers to that all categories are different from each other and speaks about different subjects without overlaps. This step was a crucial part of my data analysis to design the outline of my findings as well.

Also, I examined the documents of MFSPs. The website of the ministry was used as the primary resource. The news bulletins and the legal documents were downloaded during November 2017. The news between 2011-2017 were included in data collection.

After this process, a database has been established containing 502 CSOs. Field of work of them has been analyzed and categorized in their major working areas. Up to three major areas were included in the database. CSOs which were in the list of MFSP were included in the database.

¹⁰ Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları Veri Tabanı, <http://www.aile.gov.tr/stk/> Retrieved in 2.11.2017

3.2.4. Data Quality, Reliability, and Ethical Considerations

Researcher's positionality is an essential dimension of the methodological approach of the study since the trustworthiness and reliability of the qualitative study is highly dependent on the researcher (Patton, 2002). As a researcher, I should be aware of my position towards the children, child policy issues, civil society in Turkey. Besides, I should be aware of my worldview, how I perceive and give meaning to the lives of children.

Before the interview's permission was taken from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of METU and the questionnaire form was approved by the committee. Besides the approval, a consent form was prepared and used before the interviews. The related documents are presented in the attachment sections.

During the interviews, some difficulties happened. First of all, the experts time to time confuse their roles while answering whether sharing their opinions as their institution represented or as themselves. Institutional approaches may differ from their thoughts. In this regard, the own thoughts of the stakeholders were mattered and had been asked. Secondly, the time limitation makes some interviews hard to do or complete. The places interviewed were most convenient, but the ones at the public spaces experienced some interruptions.

Building a database was the most laborious process while writing this thesis. The lists of foundations were shared in different document format and needed to be adapted for the MS Excel program. Besides, there was no categorization of the CSOs as their field of work. So, I categorized these CSOs. The database was aimed to be comprehensive. Double writings were dismissed. However, some of the organizations may still not be included in the database.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the findings based on these in-depth interviews with experts and the database analysis through the document and content analysis.

3.3. Conclusion

The chapter describes the methodology of this study and the research questions are presented here. Research method uses different techniques within a mixed-research perspective. Semi-structured in-depth interviews aim to explore the dominant themes in the area of child studies in the eyes of the experts working in the child field academically. Through a document analysis the themes supported by the state institution, in this case, it is the former Ministry of Family and Social Policy, related to the children field is discovered. Thirdly, the database of children-based CSOs has been aggregated.

The methodological approach of the study is based on systems theory. Systems theory is useful for this study for its characteristics which enables us to understand a policy field through an interdisciplinary perspective. In this study children, the agenda of the public sector and CSOs are taken as a system environment. In the system of child-related policies there are four different actors we can mention. These actors are the pro-government CSOs, advocacy-based CSOs, mainstream and ideologically neutral CSOs and the ministry responsible for child politics.

After the research method, the sampling strategy of the different tools that the study used are presented. For the in-depth interviews, I used purposive sampling. For the document analysis, I used criterion sampling. A database was aggregated for this study, and the database consists of all children-based CSOs taken from different sources such as BİMER, ICC, and Directorate of Foundations and Development Atelier. The sample consists of children's rights based working organizations, CSOs take place in the list of MFSP and random selection of associations and foundations from the database. In order to analyze the data, three different analysis strategies are used and described. The gap analysis was used to interpret the data. Data quality, reliability and ethical concerns were taken into consideration. For the interviews, ethical permission was taken from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of METU.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: THE GAP BETWEEN STATE'S CHILDREN POLICIES AND THE AGENDA OF CHILDREN-BASED NGO'S IN TURKEY

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter shows us the children agenda in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in general. In the 1990s and 2000s, the themes have aroused in children politics area are child labor and child protection, children victims of armed conflicts, early marriages of young girls and boys, and juvenile delinquency.

In this chapter, the analysis is based on the in-depth interviews and the database aggregated for this study. The agenda of the four actors, three types of CSOs and the state agent, the ministry, will be detailed. A discussion and comparison of the differences, gaps will be held. Also, the overlaps between these agendas will be discussed. This chapter aims to explain the children agenda in Turkey and to present how different agendas take place in the public and the third sector.

In the next section, themes supported by the state/government will be elaborated by using the document analysis of the former Ministry of Family and Social Policy. The section will give us a clue about the public's children agenda at the overall.

4.2. Themes of the State

The Ministry responsible for children is the Ministry of Family and Social Policy (MFSP), it shares publicly the news of their institutions on their website. A database was created by taking compiling this news altogether. News belonging to the period of 2012-2018 shared in the website of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy aggregated in a database. At total 1190 news from the media, scanning was collected and categorized between 2012 and January 2018.

To have an insight into the children's agenda of the MFSP a content analysis is applied. The most repetitive words take place in the headers of the news shared by the ministry is displayed on a word cloud. The bigger the word size means the word was repeated more, and smaller the size means repeated less. The same technique was used for the mainstream and ideologically neutral CSOs in the following sections. So, in Figure 6. here the headings of the news of MFSP are analyzed via the word cloud. The larger the word is in the cloud, the more it is mentioned at the headings. The smaller the word is in the cloud, the less is mentioned at the title of the news.

In Figure 6. the most repetitive words in the titles of the news are represented. The most repetitive words of the title of the news are the child, protector/foster and love. Province and the family also the other prominent words take place at the header of the news. The term love in this sense refers to the "Sevgi Evleri" which are the separate houses run by the state for children under state protection and care mostly away from the city. These houses are with security, and unlike "Çocuk Evleri" they are single houses within a site. "Çocuk Evleri", on the other hand, are the houses within the city and are in ordinary apartments. Each house has "bakıcı abla" female caregiver for the girls and boys working with shift based. The term Orphanages has been replaced with these two concepts. "yetiştirme" and "evleri" has similar sizes compare to each other. "Koruyucu" protector/foster term is one of the most repetitive words. MFSP promote foster families and give many news bulletins related to this subject. "Gönül" and "Gönül Elçileri" are the other concepts repeated many times. This term refers to meaning in between heart, mind, and soul. In here is context "Gönül Elçileri" refers to a volunteering program for promoting foster care and volunteering in state protection services. "Aile", family, is another term repeated in the titles of the news together with foster, and foster family as well as the return to the family policy.

The term Mayor was often repeated regarding the news about visits of the city's mayors to the children houses and orphanages. Championships also another concept in the word cloud. Championships referring to sports event are also popular among the news of MFSP. Children who live under state protection are seen as a pool of potential sportspersons. Also, state perspective aims to engage the children under state protection with sports for the sake of children.

The "state" is also another important term in the word cloud: state support, protection, and care are issued in the news the most. The term orphan repeated a lot too in the headers of the news. Province-based news were also dominant the reason why the name of the province's name and the name of the Directorate of the related province take place. The term "İl", the province, comes from "İl Müdürlükleri" instead.

The word cloud tells us that volunteering campaign of the MFSP towards orphans is the dominant idea in its media output. Foster families and "gönül" ambassadors "elçileri" are the prominent projects of the MFSP.

In below these categories are elaborated in a more detailed way. Table 2. shows the main subjects of the news under the categories. I tried to represent all the topics worked by the ministry responsible from the children, so this table is an informative finding. Later on, I will re-group these categories to deepen the analysis.

Table 2.

MFSP Newspaper News Categories

| | Categories | Percentage % |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Foster Family | 27,1% |
| 2 | Orphanages | 21,2% |
| 3 | Sports | 12,7% |
| 4 | Orphan | 8,0% |
| 5 | Culture and Arts | 7,6% |
| 6 | Civil Society | 6,3% |
| 7 | Volunteerism | 5,0% |
| 8 | In need of protection | 3,8% |
| 9 | Philanthropy/Visits | 3,1% |
| 10 | Play/Festivities | 2,9% |
| 11 | Education | 2,5% |
| 12 | Environment | 2,4% |
| 13 | Disabled child | 2,4% |
| 14 | Children's rights | 2,3% |
| 15 | Chess | 2,3% |
| 16 | Success story | 2,2% |
| 17 | Adoption | 2,0% |
| 18 | Employment | 1,8% |
| 19 | Other | 1,4% |
| 20 | Return to family | 1,3% |
| 21 | Refugee children | 1,3% |
| 22 | Foreign Foster Family | 1,3% |
| 23 | Elderly | 1,0% |
| 24 | CSR | 0,8% |
| 25 | Children working on the Street | 0,8% |
| 26 | Disabled | 0,8% |
| 27 | Neglect, Abuse | 0,8% |
| 28 | Child labor | 0,7% |
| 29 | Child policy | 0,7% |
| 30 | Internet cafes | 0,7% |
| 31 | Science | 0,6% |
| 32 | Early marriages | 0,6% |
| 33 | Drug abuse | 0,6% |
| 34 | Women | 0,5% |
| 35 | Working women | 0,4% |
| 36 | Orphanage child | 0,4% |
| 37 | Picnic | 0,3% |
| 38 | Working children | 0,3% |

Table 2.

MFSP Newspaper News Categories (continued)

| | Categories | Percentage % |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 39 | Rehabilitation | 0,3% |
| 40 | The child living on the Street | 0,3% |
| 41 | Paternity | 0,2% |
| 42 | Girl | 0,2% |
| 43 | Nursery | 0,2% |
| 44 | Children dragged into a crime | 0,2% |
| 45 | Homestay support | 0,1% |
| 46 | Juvenile delinquency | 0,1% |
| 47 | Violence against women | 0,1% |
| 48 | Child with cancer | 0,1% |
| 49 | Child in need | 0,1% |
| 50 | Child at risk | 0,1% |

Among the six years of data, the most common topic raised in the news of MFSP is foster family a.k.a. *koruyucu aile*. Foster family is a progressive and most supported project by MFSP. News about foster family stories, rankings by provinces and calls to be a foster family dominated the news of the Ministry.

The second category is about the institutions a.k.a. the orphanages, “yetiştirme yurtları”. By 2013 the news about the abolition of the conventional institutions and establishment of “Çocuk Evleri” and “Sevgi Evleri” had risen. News related to these houses, visits of the influential people, and news about children's success stories from the houses are pretty standard. These institutions stay at the core of philanthropic events and visits. Philanthropy and visits as a separate category were one of the items among the news of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy. This category includes visits of mayors, ministers, or partners of ministers or other decision makers. Gift giving activities accompany these events and most of the tones of the news include "orphan" emphasis. Orphan emphasis as a separate category takes place within news very frequently (8%).

The third most common category in the news is sports. From volleyball to wrestling, from chess to badminton many kinds of sports events and tournaments become the

subject of these news. These tournaments are mostly organized between the state organizations. MFSP take place on the news with those sports activities and the ministry itself to give importance such activities for children in care. Culture and Arts, and sports, are shared among the news. Especially culture visits, art facilities in the state belong houses also take place in the news.

Concepts of civil society and volunteerism are also comparatively common too. The project of “Gönül Elçileri” determines most of these cases. Call for volunteers and collaboration with civil society organizations also take place in the news.

One of the most popular events among the MSFP activities is chess. Chess championships news take place in the news and make the 2,3% of all news. Festivities and activities including play also make the 2,9% of the news.

Success stories of the children who had been in state protection also mentioned in the news. Such content makes up to 2,3 percent. Return of the children to their families is one of the supported subjects by the ministry. Children whose family conditions become stable are sent to their family environment again. This news composed 1,3% of all.

Interestingly the subject of elderly popped up in the news as well. The Directorate of the elderly care and child directorate organize common events, or the spokesperson of the ministry mention children together with the elderly in their speeches. That is why elderly news takes place in the news a lot of the time.

In Table 3 the version of the categories in a merged way is presented. This detailed analysis provides us more holistic approach about the agenda of the Ministry of Family and Social Policy, by categorizing the themes.

Table 3.

Children Agenda of MFSP

| | Categories | % | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|--------------|
| State protection | Foster Family | 27,1% | 57,7% |
| | Orphanages | 21,2% | |
| | In need of protection | 3,8% | |
| | Adoption | 2,0% | |
| | Return to family | 1,3% | |
| | Foreign Foster Family | 1,3% | |
| | Orphanage child | 0,4% | |
| | Rehabilitation | 0,3% | |
| | Nursery | 0,2% | |
| | Homestay support | 0,1% | |
| Activities | Sports | 12,7% | 28,8% |
| | Culture and Arts | 7,6% | |
| | Play/Festivities | 2,9% | |
| | Environment | 2,4% | |
| | Chess | 2,3% | |
| | Science | 0,6% | |
| | Picnic | 0,3% | |
| Civil Society and Volunteerism | Civil Society | 6,3% | 17,4% |
| | Volunteerism | 5,0% | |
| | Philanthropy/Visits | 3,1% | |
| | Success story | 2,2% | |
| | CSR | 0,8% | |
| Children in need | Orphan | 8,0% | 11,2% |
| | Refugee children | 1,3% | |
| | Children working on the Street | 0,8% | |
| | Working children | 0,3% | |
| | The child living on the Street | 0,3% | |
| | Children dragged into a crime | 0,2% | |
| | Juvenile delinquency | 0,1% | |
| | Child in need | 0,1% | |
| | Child at risk | 0,1% | |
| Other | Employment | 1,8% | 4,9% |
| | Other | 1,4% | |
| | Elderly | 1,0% | |
| | Internet cafes | 0,7% | |

Table 3.

Children Agenda of MFSP (Continued)

| | Categories | % | Total |
|------------------------------|------------------------|----------|--------------|
| Accessibility | Disabled child | 2,4% | 3,2% |
| | Disabled | 0,8% | |
| Health | Drug abuse | 0,6% | 0,7% |
| | Child with cancer | 0,1% | |
| Children's rights | Children's rights | 2,3% | 3,7% |
| | Child labor | 0,7% | |
| | Child policy | 0,7% | |
| Family and Domestic Violence | Neglect, Abuse | 0,8% | 2,8% |
| | Early marriages | 0,6% | |
| | Women | 0,5% | |
| | Working women | 0,4% | |
| | Paternity | 0,2% | |
| | Girl | 0,2% | |
| | Violence against women | 0,1% | |
| Education | Education | 2,5% | 2,5% |

Among the news 57% of the contents related to the state protection. 28,8% of the news is related to the activities done by or activities done for children stays in public care. These activities are chess, sports, picnics, play and festivals, science and environment related activities. The third most popular category of news content is civil initiatives. Volunteerism, CSO collaborations, philanthropic activities and visits of influential people are taken under this category. Children in need like refugees, children dragged into a crime, children at risk, child living and working in the streets and orphans make the fourth most significant theme. Health-related subjects are not mentioned much in MFSP's news. The percentage of health-related subjects is just 4%. Children's rights make up to 3,7 percent of the whole news.

Family and domestic violence issues on the other side makes the 2,8% of the whole news. Neglect and abuse, early marriages, women, working women, paternity, girls, violence against women were also classified under this category.

Education is surprisingly not very common topic among MFSP. The education field is adopted by the CSOs instead. It is only 2,5% of all news.

These findings tell us that the state's primary perspective is the protection of children in need and supporting their social wellbeing with different activities such as sports, and festivals.

Other category consists of the subjects of elderly, employment and internet cafes. The case of the elderly has been explained before. Employment news, on the other hand, refers to the contents related to the employment of the children raised in state institutions. Internet cafes is an interesting topic. MFSP decided to interfere with internet cafes to protect children in 2013. Nowadays it is not considered as a popular phenomenon. Below, there is a chart of all categories by the year fraction.

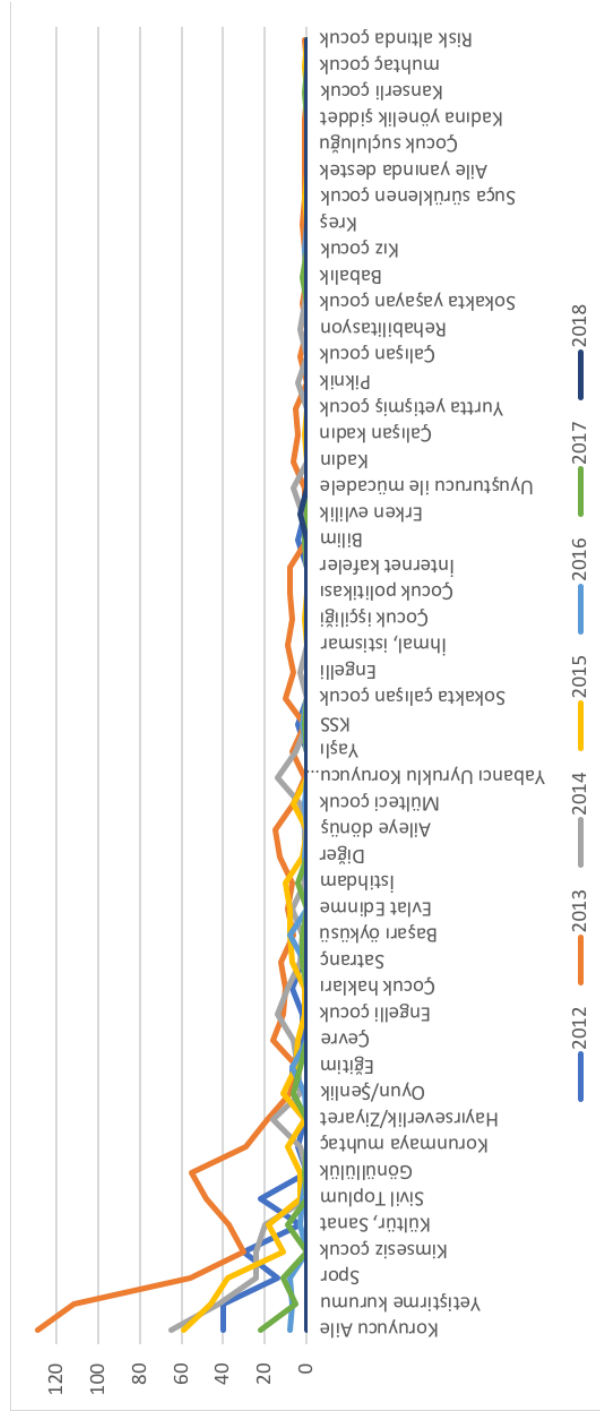


Figure 7. Children Agenda Related Themes of MFSP by years between 2012 - 2018

In the 2010s the hot topics were foster families, sports, success stories of the children under state protection, employment and adoption. 2012 is the year in which foster families, orphanages as institutions, orphans, and civil society were the hot topics. Also, in 2012 MFSP specified children's rights in some of the news. In 2013 is the year which has diverse topics in the news. Especially there was a boom in the news related to the foster families, civil society, volunteerism and return to the family. Children working on the streets, neglect and abuse, child labor, child policy, women and working women are the current categories of 2013 compare to the other years. In 2014 the subject of foreign foster families issue popped up. This issue was about Turkish based children who are under foster family protection in Europe. The minister Fatma Şahin wanted to take the children back from foreign, non-Muslim families and place them with Turkish families' places. Philanthropy facilities and visits were peaked in 2013 and 2014. Foster family subject started to reduce by 2017. News related to science and success stories were issued in 2016.

Neglect and abuse are the themes less presented in the news. However, together with the subject of early marriages, by the end of 2017 and in 2018 these themes have arisen in the agenda of MFSP.

The chart also shows that no headlines have attracted much attention in the last period in the issue of child agenda. This gap can be explained with the impact of the minister of the MFSP. The peak year of the all issues are late 2013 when minister Fatma Şahin made the comments mentioned above. According to the experts, the institutions in Turkey are facilitated with the initiative of a single person, who is mostly in charge, because of the centrality in the system.

“ We have a very central system. It does not go down; it will not give the power down. This is the problem of the local governments and county organizations in Turkey too. The things proceed always goes based on specific people. We saw it in the campaign of "Haydi Kızlar Okula." There were provincial, national education directors working very well.” – Professional CSO

Thus, the interest and efforts of a minister have a substantial impact on the agenda in Turkey.

4.3. Themes of CSOs

In this section, the analysis is based on the findings of the database aggregated. Building a database was not an easy task. At the beginning of the process, the primary objective of this thesis was building a comprehensive database of child CSOs in Turkey and categorizing them according to their field of work. The fundamental reason to build a children-based CSO database was defining the field better from the social policy perspective. However, with the interview-in-depths I met the reality that there were different databases done by different CSOs work on children and each database were used for informative concerns. Merging these databases were not be issued among the CSOs, so each organization keeps its own records. There are separate databases created by different institutions, but these databases are used for each institutional purpose and do not perceive as a major contribution to the field. The reason behind building their own databases varies. First of all, CSOs working in a specific field need to know their working area. The primary aim of building databases is mapping the field to get to know this field better by the CSOs. Another function of building a database is providing a potential network of CSOs. CSOs also tries to reach other CSOs for positioning themselves in the field. Besides, this network provides new communication opportunities with different stakeholders. Above all, the databases shared by the public sector is very insufficient. These databases belong to the state entities to provide little information about the fractions of CSOs. The information that the public sector shares is also insufficient to describe the civil area in Turkey. That leads the CSOs building their own databases. Building a database is not seen as a necessity in the eyes of the experts interviewed:

"Everybody has their own system on the database or trying to create new systems that can reach people. Also, everyone is trying to develop other... " – Children Advocate

For example, Ankara based CSO: Development Atelier has a unique and comprehensive two-volume work on categorizing and describing the development institutions in Turkey, including associations, foundations, institutes, international institutions and development banks and so on. In their work, all these institutions were analyzed by their main field of activity including youth and children in development (Kalkınma Atölyesi, 2005). They analyzed a total of 83 CSOs, 24 of them were working the issues of development and children at the same time. These institutions were also added to the database of this study.

As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, child-related CSOs built up a tiny field. However, many CSOs targeting children even though they are not working only in this field. The total number of CSOs in the database is 4490. The sample size is 500 which represents the whole population at 95% confidence level with $\pm 4,13\%$ margin of error — most of the CSOs consist of the associations in the database.

Next sections will discuss the agenda of the partners of MFSP and other CSOs separately. First, the agenda of the MFSP partners will be detailed. Next, the agenda of mainstream ideologically neutral CSOs will be discussed. Then, the agenda of the advocacy-based CSOs will be elaborated.

4.3.1. Agenda of the Pro-government CSOs: The State Supported Themes

CSOs who are working with the MFSP according to the website of the ministry are included in the CSO databases. Content analysis was used for these CSOs. The aim here is to represent the themes popped up from the agenda of the state's legitimate stakeholders. The analysis is worthy representing each detail of the subjects worked by these CSOs. In Table 3 the categorization of the primary field of activity areas of the pro-government CSOs is represented.

Table 4.

Categories of CSOs Who Have a Partnership with MFSP

| Categories | Sub-Categories | Percentage | Total |
|---|---------------------------------|------------|-------|
| Family and Women | Woman | 50,4% | 57,0% |
| | Family | 5,8% | |
| | Foster family | 0,8% | |
| Disadvantageous children in terms of accessibility and the capability | Autism | 1,7% | 12,4% |
| | Disabled | 10,7% | |
| Child Well-being | Health | 3,3% | 7,5% |
| | Sports | 2,5% | |
| | Culture, Art, Game | 1,7% | |
| Education | Education / Scholarships | 7,4% | 7,4% |
| State Protection and Care | Protection | 0,8% | 4,1% |
| | Children under state protection | 3,3% | |
| Other | Employment | 1,7% | 11,7% |
| | Professional organization | 1,7% | |
| | Assistance / In-kind assistance | 1,7% | |
| | Elderly | 1,7% | |
| | Youth | 1,6% | |
| | Other | 3,3% | |

CSOs who work closely with the Directorate of Child Services of MFSP according to the website of the ministry works the most in the family and women field. This category consists of 57% of the whole topics worked by state-supported CSOs. Especially half of the CSOs work in the field of women as the major area. Women and children rose as the topics which are issued under the umbrella topic of family. This is a reflection of the state/government's children and women's policies at the same time.

Disability theme follows the women theme with 10,7%. Disadvantageous children in terms of accessibility and the capability is another issue that these CSOs issue. Within this subject especially autism and disabilities take place. The subjects related to the child wellbeing such as health, sports, employment, culture, are the other

subjects being worked on by the CSOs close to the state/government. These activities are supportive activities for children. Education is another area considered by the MFSP partners. This topic represents 7,4% of all topics worked by the state-supported CSOs. We need to keep in mind that the understanding of education and how to educate the children differs among the different agents like the government/state and different CSO categories.

Children under state protection are also the subject of these CSOs unsurprisingly. However, interestingly foster family is not a significant phenomenon among children-based CSOs working with MFSP. This ratio is around 1%. However, unsurprisingly family care is the core theme which is supported by these CSOs so it can be interpreted that pro-government CSOs support family-based care and define children only within the family.

To sum up the themes of the pro-government CSOs, these themes are the subjects of the woman, disability and education issues are the ones being worked the most.

4.3.2. Agenda of the Mainstream and Ideologically Neutral CSOs: The Mainstream Themes

In order to understand the content related to the children's agenda of CSOs, several analysis tools have been used. Firstly, for picturizing a descriptive framework word cloud has been used to visualize the most repetitive words in the area of children-based CSOs. Then the categories have aroused listed through the analysis. These categories also grouped to deeply understand which subjects are represented in the field of children CSOs. At last, cluster analysis was applied to data reduction in order to understand the relationality between each category.

To have an insight into the aims and fields of work of these CSOs a content analysis was applied. The most repetitive words take place in the names of the CSOs is displayed on a word cloud. The bigger the word size means the word repeated more, and the smaller the size means it repeated less in the names of CSOs. The Word

Cloud of CSOs work with or for children based on their names is at the following (see Figure 8.)



Figure 8. Word Cloud of the Mainstream CSOs

The most repetitive word is Association "*Derneği*." It follows by the word "child" and "children." We can categorize the following words into two those referring to the child protection services such as the orphanage, children's home, protection, service, raising, child rearing. The second category is those refers to disabilities: such as disabled, special children, mental disability, spastic.

Orphan, street children, support, family, girl, in need, are the other words come to the front, too. Protecting vulnerable youth is one of the major aims of the CSOs. Even only the names tell us the CSOs in Turkey target fragile groups in general. This analysis also tells us three critical outcomes about the child-based CSOs in Turkey. First, the main reason for the existence of most of CSOs is supplying support to the state's social protection services for children. Terms like "hope" and "development" remind us of the perception of the children as "the future citizens" instead of today's individuals. Especially support to child welfare centers for girls run by the public is common. The issue related to the girls also has an important aspect too. The girls, as one of the attention steering group, are targeted more than the children with disabilities or with other vulnerabilities. The concept of girls as a category is seen as the future's disadvantageous women, so the CSOs aims to support specifically this group. Girls are being called along with the concept of child frequently compared to the term "boys".

Another interesting finding is the CSO called KAMER who is specified as a partner of MFSP seems like a frequent word in the word cloud. Though KAMER has several branches/offices in Turkey wide and even though they are working mainly in the field of women along with children, this CSO has risen as an important actor for the MFSP.

The second important finding is that among the fragile groups mentally disabled children are the target group of many CSOs. Besides children with autism, mental disabilities are prevalent as a target group of the CSOs in Turkey. On the other hand, physical disabilities are less emphasized compared to mental disorders. The term "*Özürlü*" which means incapable in Turkish, both refers to physical and mental disabilities, but the analysis is not enough to differentiate these categories clearly.

Another blurred concept is “special” which refers to people, especially children with disabilities. Only the term "*felci*," "*felç*" which means *stroke* gives us a clue about this category. However, children with cerebral palsy are one of the prominent groups among this physical disabilities’ category. In short, it can be said that mental disabilities are more prominent among children with disability category.

Thirdly, we see that street children discourse is still in common among the CSOs. The number of CSOs using the terms “street children” or “children living on the streets” in their names is high. Unattended children are also being emphasized in the names of CSOs in Turkey. One of the experts also mentions regarding this topic on street children. The expert says that the term street children become less used concept, rather children living on the street is preferred.

"The concept of street child... It was discussed in the movement of children's rights. It is also something about the world's children's rights movement, the development of the child rights issue. What the street child is labeling the child in one way or another is that the problem is what causes the real problem to get out of sight. The concept of street children was not used after a while. This situation created a gap in this field. This gap was a matter of the child living on the street. Alternatively, it turned out that the child who actually lives on the street was there. Therefore, there have been organizations working on migration. Here are the organizations working for such as Göçbak, Göçder... So they started to work on children." - Children Advocate

The concepts related to children agenda transforms. We can see this in the example above. CSOs working in different fields may add the children issues into their field of works. Children living on the streets become the subject of the organizations working in the field of migration and domestic migration.

Protection, solidarity, help, support, sustenance are repetitive words along with other categories. In this sense, it can be interpreted that the approach of the CSOs

toward children dominantly parallel with the state's protection approach. Overall, vulnerable children in need of protection are the dominant idea among the CSOs in Turkey.

According to the field of work of the CSOs, 46 categories have been risen (See Table 5.). In here I do have the concern to present the topics raised through the working area of the CSOs. Each item, each subject popped up is essential to understand the agenda of mainstream CSOs working in the children field. Table 5. represents these items separately. Later on, I go on categorizing these topics to aggregate the data and to represent a more general picture.

Table 5.

Categories of Mainstream CSOs by Popularity (%)

| | Categories | % |
|----|---------------------------------|----------|
| 1 | Women | 15,9% |
| 2 | Health | 9,5% |
| 3 | Poverty | 8,8% |
| 4 | Disabled | 8,2% |
| 5 | Education / Scholarships | 7,9% |
| 6 | Children under state protection | 6,5% |
| 7 | Children's rights | 4,4% |
| 8 | Elderly | 4,2% |
| 9 | Culture, Art, Game | 3,8% |
| 10 | Protection | 2,9% |
| 11 | Assistance / In-kind assistance | 2,7% |
| 12 | Other | 2,6% |
| 13 | Neglect, Abuse, Violence | 2,1% |
| 14 | Disadvantaged child | 1,8% |
| 15 | Professional organization | 1,7% |
| 16 | Judicial system | 1,5% |
| 17 | Environment | 1,5% |
| 18 | Refugee child | 1,5% |
| 19 | Family | 1,4% |
| 20 | Sports / Physical activity | 1,4% |
| 21 | Mental health | 0,9% |

Table 5.

Categories by popularity (%) (Continued)

| | Categories | % |
|----|---|----------|
| 22 | The child living on the street | 0,9% |
| 23 | Human rights | 0,8% |
| 24 | Child with cancer | 0,8% |
| 25 | Social rights / Social policy | 0,8% |
| 26 | Informatics, Technologies | 0,6% |
| 27 | Foster family | 0,6% |
| 28 | Family planning and parent-child health | 0,5% |
| 29 | Institution / library, etc. Building | 0,5% |
| 30 | Autism | 0,5% |
| 31 | Motherhood / Maternity Education | 0,3% |
| 32 | Child labor | 0,3% |
| 33 | Early marriage | 0,3% |
| 34 | Employment | 0,3% |
| 35 | Development | 0,3% |
| 36 | Pre-school education | 0,3% |
| 37 | Disasters and child | 0,2% |
| 38 | Mother tongue | 0,2% |
| 39 | Paternity | 0,2% |
| 40 | Child and City | 0,2% |
| 41 | Religious education | 0,2% |
| 42 | Participation | 0,2% |
| 43 | Substance use | 0,2% |
| 44 | Vocational training | 0,2% |
| 45 | Inheritance Law | 0,2% |
| 46 | Life skills | 0,2% |

One of the interesting findings is that CSOs who work with children also describe their field of work as women. Among the sample, 16% of the CSOs are also work in women field. Children agenda are supported by the women organizations the most. This finding is not surprising since the feminist movement is one of the breakthroughs of child politics. Feminist movement by deconstructing the family supported that each member of the family has equal rights, and this movement opened up a space for discussing the individuality and the rights of the child as well (Therborn, 1996). We can tell that the feminist movement has the most substantial impact on the emergence of child politics. These organizations still focus on the

subjects of abuse and neglect, early marriages of girls, working mothers and women employment, besides domestic labor of girls at home. These issues crosscut the gender issue with the children issue. Women organizations take these subjects under the discussion of the human rights of women.

The second prevailing field is health. These CSOs work in the health field are the ones who are the branches or sister organizations of hospitals or medical professions organizations. Infant and children health make most of the child-based organizations. This finding also mentioned during the key stakeholder interviews. Health together with education are two critical issues for the children agenda of the child-based CSOs.

"Health and education are at the forefront in basic things, so to speak, as children. However, in many things the child needs to be mainstreamed"- Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

Poverty and disability are two different subjects targeted by the child-based CSOs. 8% to 9% of the organizations focus on these issues. Disability issue will be elaborated below. However, here poverty issue matters. Let me mention this in a detailed way. Even though child poverty is one of the hot topics in here according to the experts, in the database poverty refers to a condition of the households. However, the concept of child poverty does not take into an account separately. When children are considered only within the family, equalities become invisible for the vulnerable groups. An expert mentions about this issue:

"There is a perception when there is poverty. That is perceived at the level of poverty of households in Turkey ... I do not understand here what I have to do with the child. I am already talking about poverty here, that child is already an individual of that family ... when child poverty so that a separate code in the literature, how poverty of women and children are different, same we know that even if we live under a poor dynasty, we actually experience from different poverty and deprivation, but the child does not evaluate

it as poverty. (...) You do not even investigate the child's deprivation as a child when you evaluate it in the household. Also, you can not develop the politics that you can develop right from that. For example, nutrition can be a bad example, but look at the amount of food entering the house, but how is the amount of food shared between parents and children in the home, and how is the girl shared between the boy and the child. How do you distribute the resources in your hands between the girls and boys, how they divide the small child and the teenager, that you do not look at it, this poor family benefits from social help, you know that this family is poor with various calculations, It is an important assessment to evaluate how the source is shared within the home. Because when you know it, you can develop policy accordingly. But you can not do that. For example, what kind of deprivation does the young adult suffer from? You do not know that.” - Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

Database's restriction is that we cannot estimate how many of them working about child poverty. Education and scholarship payments are two current fields of work of child-targeted CSOs. This topic consists of 7,9% of all topics related to children. Stakeholders from children-based organizations also mention about this subject that the education issue is one of the most popular topics among the children-based CSOs.

"I guess the education and the child are being talked a lot, which does not mean that it is very knowable. however, a topic that is very spoken. -Children Advocate

Children under state protection is also a frequent target group. This category consists of 6,5% of the overall CSOs. In the scope of this category, in-kind aids and benefits provided temporarily directly to the public owned social protection institutions. Many of the CSOs in this category includes the same name as the public institutions.

For instance, "... Çocuk yuvasına yardım derneği." The primary function of these CSOs is providing aids and in-kind aids towards the institutions and children staying in these institutions.

Children-rights is one of the less common topics at the discourse level. 4,4% of the CSOs work in this field. However, still we can mention about a reasonable amount of people, CSOs working in this field. Experts issue that the Children's rights -based organizations even though they are in small amounts, their work is impactful.

"Researcher: So do you think there is an increase in advocacy organizations?"

Expert: Absolutely ... I think it certainly exists. Here is CİSST. CİSST later on working directly with children. Then refugee children, such as the immigration foundation, have been writing reports on rights violations for a very long time, about children ... These are fundamental things. They did not do anything directly with the thing, but they did not make much advocacy, but they were producing advocacy materials, working with children. Then, in the middle of the road ÇAÇA for instance. They were meeting with children who were directly immigrated. So, he was working on violence. Either it is getting more and more different, the issues are different. I mean, because of this need ... or something about life or life, the needs are examined, and the point of view of people is examined. You are looking at how violent the violence is with the medium of 5 media. Then you say we work in domestic violence, then at school, somebody else is working and like. It is a bit about it. Civil society is also about specialization." - Children Activist

Specialization among the children-rights-based CSOs is pretty, and this is evaluated as hopeful progress by the stakeholders. One of the specialization areas is child labor. Child labor on the other hand only makes up to 0,3 % of the overall categories. Even

though Children's rights experts claim that child labor is one of the topics, but the number of CSOs working in this field is not too much. This issue reminds us that the topic of child labor only mentioned within relatively small groups.

"Exploitation of child labor is one of the constant topics of conversation in Turkey. So, to say that you talked a lot about it ... it would be accurate if you talked in certain circles. It's actually a spoken area. There are a couple of CSOs working in that area. We are now trying to prepare a report on the child's violence for the network. I cannot find an employee related to child labor, for example, where I started to make thematic reports there. ¹¹ we included CSOs working with refugees." – Children Advocate

"Interviewee: After the crisis in Syria, there is a little work to deliver services. Hayata Destek association also works in the field of service delivery through collection centers. That is relatively in the field of child labor.

Researcher: Speaking of child labor at the policy level ...

Interviewee: I can say that it is a development workshop. He is already the object of your research. Producing and policy advocacy and policy are made not by trying to influence behold but already we're talking about something that is very small CSOs in Turkey." -Social Policy Maker, INGO Worker

Here experts also underline that there is a small group of CSOs and experts working on Children's rights and the subjects related to this topic such as child labor.

In order to deepen the analysis, all these categories are cumulated at the next step. To do so the dimension reduction method has been used. Factor analysis by grouping these categories gives us more comprehensive categories. When we categorize these

¹¹ <http://www.cocugasiddetionluyoruz.net/1378/turkiyede-cocuga-karsi-siddet-durum-raporu-2017.html> Retrieved in 03.01.2018

46 items, the Rotated Component Matrix gave us five main clusters that come to the front. These clusters can be named as judicial or legal cases, education, children in need, elderly/women and health, and children's rights (see. Table 6).

The limitation of the factor analysis is that the concepts may overlap with another group. However, it gives us a general category related to the children's agenda.

Table 6.

Factor Analysis

| Rotated Component Matrix ^a | | | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | Component | | | | |
| | Judicial cases | Education | Children in need | Elderly, Women & Health | Children's rights |
| Human rights | 0,719 | | 0,114 | | 0,113 |
| Judicial system | 0,482 | | 0,196 | | |
| Substance use | 0,374 | | 0,184 | | |
| Neglect, Abuse, Violence | 0,374 | | | | 0,149 |
| Child labor | 0,359 | | | | |
| Disadvantaged child | 0,322 | | | | -0,146 |
| Early marriage | 0,261 | | 0,108 | | |
| Refugee child | 0,235 | | | | |
| Children's rights | 0,187 | | | | 0,641 |
| Mental health | 0,185 | | | | |
| Informatics and Technology | 0,136 | | | | |
| Social rights / Social policy | 0,108 | | | | |
| Other | -0,108 | | 0,326 | -0,196 | |
| Health / General | -0,124 | | 0,246 | 0,668 | |
| Participation | -0,148 | | | | 0,68 |
| Elderly | -0,156 | | 0,328 | 0,702 | |
| The child living on the street | -0,165 | | | | 0,616 |
| Disabled | -0,179 | | -0,173 | -0,122 | -0,137 |
| Woman | -0,203 | | 0,247 | -0,485 | -0,133 |
| Children / Youth | -0,224 | | 0,591 | -0,301 | -0,137 |
| Poverty | -0,267 | -0,106 | 0,524 | 0,384 | -0,185 |
| Paternity | | 0,9 | 0,124 | | |
| Motherhood, Maternity Education | | 0,892 | 0,126 | | |
| Education / Scholarships | | 0,33 | -0,266 | | -0,11 |
| Environment | | | 0,272 | -0,269 | |
| Professional organization | | | 0,148 | | |
| Foster family | | | -0,117 | | |
| Sports / Physical activity | | | -0,119 | | |
| Autism | | | -0,141 | | |
| Assistance / In-kind assistance | | | -0,242 | | |
| Culture, Art, Game | | | -0,257 | | |
| Children under state protection | | | -0,372 | | |
| Protection | | | | 0,163 | |
| Family | | | | -0,115 | |
| Employment | | | | -0,144 | |
| Mother tongue | | | | | 0,21 |
| Child and City | | | | | 0,21 |
| Inheritance Law | | | | | 0,21 |
| Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. | | | | | |
| Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. | | | | | |
| a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations. | | | | | |

So far themes refer that child-based CSOs, children's human rights are one of the topics risen from different quantitative analysis. This analysis does not answer the question of who, which organizations represent these themes. This is the limitation of the quantitative analysis. Factor analysis can give us an insight into the current condition of the CSOs field who work for or with children. Factor analysis enables us to categorize the various topics under different components. Here in the Table 6 factor analysis provided us five components. Higher the number of the coefficient, the color red it takes. Also, these coefficients tell us which sub-categories are related to each component closely or not. Focusing on reddish color help us to visualize which sub-category defines the component the most. Five themes come to the front in the factor analysis. These components are labeled as judicial cases and children's human rights, social integration efforts and development, protection and empowerment, support for state protection, other individual attempts. Especially, child-based CSOs adopt the issue of child abuse, and other judicial cases and these subjects come along together.

So far, the factor analysis shows us CSOs working with refugee children run social implications like mental health support and introduce children with social activities including technology. Education for children and for parents is another subjects that popped up as a central theme. Poverty and children in need is another dimension come to the front. An interesting finding is that some of the CSOs who work for children also targets elderly or women or integrated with health. This shows us that children are not taken as an individual subject but one of the categories of people in need to help.

The categories of the factor analysis are used to understand the distribution of the CSOs according to their working area. By the guidance of the factor analysis results, I decided to regroup the categories of the factor analysis according to the related fields. Some changes have done in this process. For instance, the category of the disabled, autism and elderly regrouped as the concept of accessibility since these issues related to the accessibility issue rather than being simply health concerns. State protection is taken as a diverse group as well. Because these issues are state

related. The most significant difference has done in the family and mother care field. When we categorize the family related issues, this makes up the largest category in the analysis. This is an exciting finding, so I decided to use this category separately. The categories of judicial cases, education, children in need, and Children's rights remain the same in the new categories.

Table 7.

Categories of Mainstream CSOs

| Categories | Sub-Categories | Percentage | Total |
|------------------------|---|------------|-------|
| Family and Mother Care | Women | 15,9% | 18,4% |
| | Family | 1,4% | |
| | Motherhood / Maternity Education | 0,3% | |
| | Foster family | 0,6% | |
| | Paternity | 0,2% | |
| Children - in need | Poverty | 8,8% | 15,9% |
| | Assistance / In-kind assistance | 2,7% | |
| | Disadvantaged child | 1,8% | |
| | Refugee child | 1,5% | |
| | The child living on the street | 0,9% | |
| | Disasters and child | 0,2% | |
| Health | Health / General | 9,5% | 15,0% |
| | Sports / Physical activity | 1,4% | |
| | Mental health | 0,9% | |
| | Child with cancer | 0,8% | |
| | Family planning and parent-child health | 0,5% | |
| | Substance use | 0,2% | |
| | Professional organization | 1,7% | |
| Accessibility | Disabled | 8,2% | 12,9% |
| | Autism | 0,5% | |
| | Elderly | 4,2% | |
| Children's rights | Children's rights | 4,4% | |
| | Culture, Art, Game | 3,8% | |
| | Human rights | 0,8% | |

Table 7.

Categories of Mainstream CSOs (Continued)

| Categories | Sub-Categories | Percentage | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|-------|
| Children's rights (continued) | Social rights / Social policy | 0,8% | 11,0% |
| | Child labor | 0,3% | |
| | Child and City | 0,2% | |
| | Participation | 0,2% | |
| | Mother tongue | 0,2% | |
| | Early marriage | 0,3% | |
| State protection | Children under state protection | 6,5% | 10,0% |
| | Protection | 2,9% | |
| Education | Education / Scholarships | 7,9% | 9,9% |
| | Institution / library, etc. Building | 0,5% | |
| | Informatics, Technologies | 0,6% | |
| | Pre-school education | 0,3% | |
| | Vocational training | 0,2% | |
| | Life skills | 0,2% | |
| | Religious education | 0,2% | |
| Judicial cases | Neglect, Abuse, Violence | 2,1% | 3,8% |
| | Judicial system | 1,5% | |
| | Inheritance Law | 0,2% | |
| Other | Other | 2,6% | 4,7% |
| | Environment | 1,5% | |
| | Employment | 0,3% | |
| | Development | 0,3% | |

First of all, this analysis tells us that the main concerns of the children-based CSOs are health, women, family and mother care and supports for children in need.

Health category consists of the categories of health in general, sports and physical activity, mental health, the child with cancer, family planning and parent-child health, substance use and professional organizations work in the field of health. Accessibility category, on the other hand, consists of autism, disabled, elderly, mainly the issues related to disability in general. However, disability is a matter of accessibility to the resources — the reason why it has been categorized separately.

The mainstream CSOs are mostly working in the areas of women, health, and disability the most. This finding can be interpreted through the analysis of Therborn (1996). According to Therborn (1996), child politics has aroused with the effect and the efforts of the feminist movement and the movement which supports women rights. Also, the medical field and the rise of pediatrics brought the issues of hygiene, disease prevention for the sake of public health and for healthier nations idea which links these issues to children politics. Feminism and medical approach are the forces that make child politics more visible at the public sphere. The reason why these two topics are still very integrated with the children agenda of the CSOs in the 2010s.

If we keep on looking to the Table 7. the education category can be merged with the category of children-in-need. This was a conscious decision. Education and education related services are mostly targeting children in need in the CSOs sphere. The reason why these two subjects are decided to take place under the same topic. Education facilities can be interpreted as support and assistance. Under this category, education/scholarships, vocational training, life skills take place. Religious education is another category under this group. It shows us that CSOs consider education from different perspectives such as from a secular and religious point of views.

Under the category of children-in-need, there are poverty, assistance / in-kind assistance, disadvantaged child, refugee child, the child living on the street, institution/library construction, disasters and child take place. This category makes 24,7% altogether. Children in need by itself is the third dominant category with 15,9 percent.

The first dominant category, on the other hand, is family and mother care and as well as woman-related issues. Subjects related to Children's rights take fourth place with 12,8%. During the interviews, it has been issued that children agenda of CSOs directly related to the agenda of adults. More specifically gains of the children movement strictly depend on the gains of women agenda. So, it is not possible to support the existence of a separate child agenda.

"If there are those movements, there is not much in the field of children's rights, but if they can, how can they support them? I mean, because they are women's rights, they are a movement, or purple roof, women's rights associations ... They are not doing anything on their own. They all come from one mouth, the capital city women's platform; I do not know what it is all about when it all comes together and starts to push it from the grassroots. – Children Advocate

For instance, issues like early marriage, young girls, attach the children agenda to the women's movement.

" Interviewee: How in the movement of women's rights, someone is related to women now, there is much more about the girls, maybe they can come from the political thing, but still they are so much so ridiculous they go out for a walk in my clothes. Everyone joins because there is something very directly affecting them. It is very heartfelt. Here the girls come out so that they do not get married like this.

Researcher: In sexual abuse, too

Interviewee: yes, they do so much better than child organizations; they are monitoring, or instead doing solidarity, in sexual abuse. We obviously cannot do it as children's rights organizations, including everyone on the agenda, including children. So is it possible to differentiate this not just as a civil society database? Some things could be more like grassroots because it is making an impact. (...) Is the woman's movement, 103 is the woman's movement ... We went to do something, maybe there was no logic behind what they said, there was no quality evidence, but we went there, TBMM. We said that we should go to see this event like this. However, at the end of the day, if it were not for that crying out,

our defendant based on that blood would not go, and our advocacy with all the parties would not work. as long as there is nothing about the child, that is how it is now enough to come from that side." – Children Advocate

The women agenda within CSOs is relatively predominant. This movement takes the responsibility to follow up on the issues mainly related to the neglect and abuse cases. However, children CSOs have been criticized for not following these subjects related to gender, specifically.

"Some of the women's organizations are still pursuing, for example. Other children's organizations do not follow. We support one or two lawyers and others, and besides that, we do not do anything, for example. The agenda boy was there, okay, then he was closed, but he does not follow it before it is closed. So we are not like it. Something vital for the women's rights movement. Behold, it is vital need to create a movement out or something ... so that in the event-related issues so children how to catch the turkey this movement? Sexual abuse can be a subject that is not caused by a subject that people are susceptible to, and it is said. But we can not catch it (...). You can talk about women's rights, you can talk about the environment, a little bit about animals. But can not talk about the child. I think there are other things. Turkey also more difficult for the children about right-elsewhere." – Children Advocate

Capacity for building children's rights-based movement is more difficult than the subject those such as environment, women movements.

If we turn back to the analysis of Table 7, children under state protection or foster care make up 10 percent of the whole subjects. This topic is one of the critical issues and will be considered during the public sector's children agenda in the next section. However, it can be interpreted that the state's agenda also influence CSOs agenda.

Children under state protection are the subjects of CSOs mostly related to the in-kind help and services. “Koruma dernekleri” protection associations play an essential role in this issue.

To sum up, this analysis tells us that the children agenda is just a reflection of the adult's agenda. Adult's priorities on children agenda such as health, education, family, mother care subjects make up the dominant agenda related to children. During the interviews, this issue was subjected by the experts as well. Whenever an adult agenda come to the front, issues related to this specific agenda which affects children as well come to the front too.

“This is very relevant to the change of perception. That's the point. There are two issues. Child perception changes the form of organization. If they see the child as a weak, vulnerable child, they are doing things for like children who need protection. But if they see it as rights-based, they can go to a structure that will hear the children's voices. Alternatively, they can try to put violations on the agenda of doing something. And the current political situations. the Kurdish issue, democratization packages, the rise of the women's movement, the rise of the LGBT movement, the establishment of youth organizations in this area are affecting this, I think.” – Children Activist

“I can only say that the children of the groups that are of interest to adults are visible. If there are Alevism organizations and if they work on the rights of the Alevis, then there may be visible Alevism groups arising from the discrimination of the children about the religious classes. Or if they work with the Kurdish issue, and there is visibility on this issue, then some violations that Kurdish children are experiencing can be more visible. Here is the matter of neglect, exploitation again, that is why the job is still women.

On the agenda of the women's movement, here are the violations that are experienced by the girls.” – Children Activist

The INGOs like UNICEF in the 2000s had supported judicial cases. This category is a small one with 3.8%. Only 3.8% of the CSOs working in this field.

“Again in the 2000s, this was again related to UNICEF and international organizations. The British Council also supported a lot. In the justice system, the child was supported so much that nothing was done about the child victim who entered the justice system. The juvenile justice system was not spoken; the administration of the juvenile criminal justice system was spoken in the 2000s.” – Children Advocate

Another step in the analysis of the mainstream CSOs is the cluster analysis. The CSOs in the sample are categorized by their field of work again. In order to visualize the analysis, dendrogram is used. Dendrograms are generally used in biological sciences but as well as useful in visualization of the data in social sciences. They give us clues about the correlation and similarity between different variables according to the distance between them. The more the two or more variables resembles, the more they get closer to each other. Another useful characteristic of dendrograms is that they show us the linkages between the variables and draw branches to show relationalities.

At the following, the clusters of the 46-different field of work of the child-based CSOs are presented. In order to make dendrogram easy to follow and represent, squares by colors are used (see Figure 9.). Each color of the squares refers to a group and squares at the bottom bring about the larger clusters. The results of our cluster analysis are shared below in Figure 9.

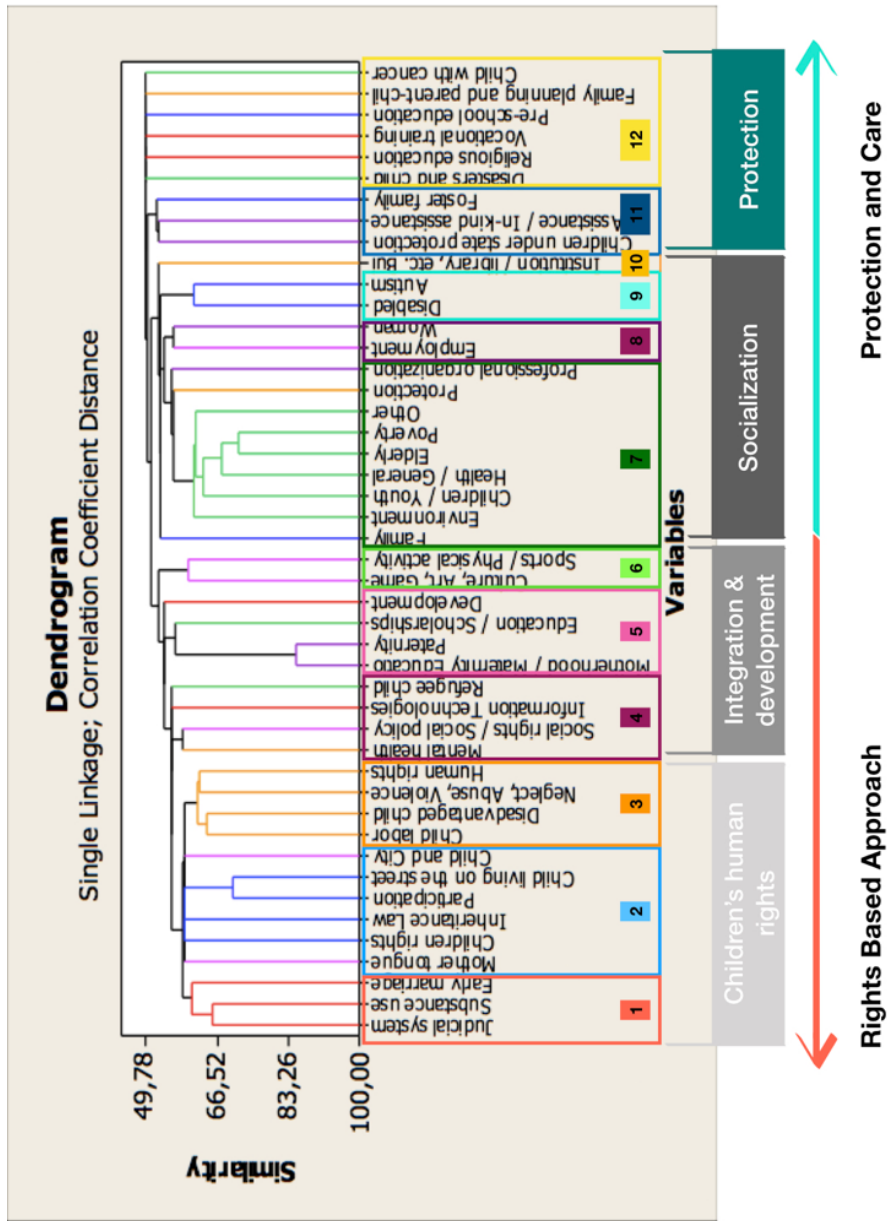


Figure 9. Dendrogram: Children Agenda of CSOs in Turkey

The dendrogram can be read through a spectrum: children's rights on one hand and children protection and care on the other. This is a visible reflection of the children agenda which has been discussed in the literature review. Whereas the international organizations bring the issue of the children's rights into the children agenda, state/government focuses on the social protection and care of children, especially children in need. This spectrum shows us that it is the case for the CSOs field as well.

Dendrogram of the cluster analysis gives us more than 12 sub-clusters those can be grouped under 4 clusters. Remember that is, the CSOs work in one of these fields also works for the following fields as well. Here is how we can interpret the data:

The first sub-cluster represented give use *legal view of children* including the judicial system, substance abuse and early marriages of the youth. There was a common category in the factor analysis as well. The issues such as early marriages of the minors are a Turkey specific case. In the literature of the western welfare states, we have not met with such a subject. Even though child marriage is a truly global problem that cuts across different cultures, religions, and ethnicities, this problem can be found in every region in the world, especially from the Middle East to Latin America, South Asia to Europe. The map of Child Marriage Atlas¹² represents that this social problem is evident in South Asia, middle east, African countries and some eastern European countries and including Turkey. According to the Child Marriage Atlas (2019), Turkey has one of the highest rates of child marriage in Europe, with an estimated 15% of girls married before the age of 18 and 1% married before the age of 15¹³.

Second sub-cluster signified can be called as *children-rights and participation* includes support of using mother tongue, Children's rights in general sense, inheritance law, participation and children living on the streets. The category of child and city is added up to this group. This category mainly represents the problems of

¹² <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/where-does-it-happen/> (Retrieved in 16.03.2019)

¹³ <https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/where-does-it-happen/atlas/#/turkey> (Retrieved in 16.03.2019)

the urban areas as well. This issue limits the discussion on Children's rights in urban spheres. However, the children's rights is beyond the urban areas. The seasonal workers in agriculture in the rural field must be the matter of Children's rights as well. Mother tongue issue, on the other hand, is one of the controversial topics in children agenda which is highly demanding in populated Kurdish provinces. CSOs were working in Children's rights advocacy also work the rights to have education in mother tongue too. This category represents this relation to us.

Third sub-cluster which contains child labor, disadvantaged youth, neglect, abuse and violence against children and human rights develops the cluster of *child abuse* in general. An interesting finding here is that, child labor conjuncts with the issues of neglect and abuse. Child labor is taken as a form of child abuse by advocacy CSOs such as Social Rights Association¹⁴. In their 2017 reports, they claim the child labor and the deaths caused by child labor as a Children's rights violation and as a form of child abuse. The reason why in the cluster analysis this subcategory, the child abuse, is an important component of the children's human rights. Also, it is a good sign that even though children advocacy field is a small field, the ones working on child labor take this issue from the children's human rights perspective. So, these three sub-cluster all together develops one of the more massive clusters in the dendrogram, and we call it **children's human rights cluster** which falls at the Children's rights sphere in the spectrum of the rights versus protection. These clusters are articulated with the children's human rights cluster cumulatively.

The second meta-cluster is the **social integration and development** which covers the clusters number four, five and six in the dendrogram.

The fourth sub-cluster consisted of mental health, informatics and technology, and social rights-social policy categories. We call this sub-cluster as **social implications cluster**. This cluster is also articulated with the *refugee children* which can be

¹⁴ <http://sosyalhaklarnegi.org/shd-2017-ocak-ayi-cocuk-haklari-ihlalleri-raporu/> (Retrieved in 16.03.2019)

interpreted as a separate sub-cluster and as a newly integrated category with the Syrian crises.

Besides the social implications and refugee children cluster, there is a sub-cluster of ***Education, the subcluster number five*** which covers paternal educations, maternal educations, and scholarships along with education itself. Next one is sub-cluster six which is we can call ***Culture and Sports*** in which there are categories of culture, art and games, and sports, physical activity. This subcluster is the closest to the protection are. Culture, art, and sports are popular areas towards the children under state protection as well which we can also observe that in the word cloud of the state/ministry (see Figure 9). Culture and sports are issued not for the wellbeing of the children but as a tool for integration instead.

These sub-clusters, social implications, refugee children, education and culture & sports can be grouped under a larger cluster which we can call **social integration and development cluster**.

Up to now, we have mentioned about six sub-clusters belongs to two larger clusters. These were **children's human rights cluster** and **social integration and development cluster** which are also neighbor clusters, and they build up the most abundant cluster together. These two clusters fit in the rights-based approach of the spectrum where the main concerns are the Children's rights and the child wellbeing.

Another sub-cluster, seventh one, represented is **the cluster of disadvantageous social categories**. Together with youth, children are considered as a target group in this category. Elderly and poverty are the side subjects go along with children. Health category is also belonging to this sub-group. The subject of environment and others integrated into this sub-cluster and made seventh sub-cluster together. Other subjects include fundraising activities, culture-based studies, and activities other than for children. Protection based activities and the activities of professional organizations are added up to this cluster from outside. The eighth cluster is related to women and employment. These CSOs are the ones targeting women but also work for children as well with a family perspective. Ninth subculture is related to disabilities and

autism which are signified with different colors of blue. This three sub-cluster make the third more massive cluster altogether. We can interpret this group as **disadvantageous groups** such as elderly, women, poor and disabled who are supported by civil and the member of professional CSOs mostly with the projects of the library building, in-kind aids, and environment projects (also this category consists the subcluster tenth) for socialization.

The last two clusters are related to **state protection** and **other individual attempts to give protection/aid for children**. This two subcluster together develop the **protection cluster**.

Children under state protection are one of the typical target group among CSOs. However, we cannot tell the quality of the activities and the impact of these institutions. In the cluster of state protection indicated with the cluster number eleven is pointed out to the children lives in public services, CSOs work with or for foster families, and in-kind aids are included.

Vocational training, religious education, disasters related services for children, pre-school education and children with cancer are the subjects taken individually and seems like a single field of work-oriented fields. This separate clusters can be named as **individual attempts towards child protection** and support which make up the cluster number twelve.

So far, we have discussed the themes repeated in the names of the CSOs by using the word cloud, the popular working areas of children-based CSOs, and the relationality between these working areas by visualizing a dendrogram via the factor and the cluster analysis. In the next section, the agenda of the advocacy-based CSOs who are systematically excluded from the state/government's informational and financial resources will be elaborated refer to the expert's perspectives.

4.3.3. Agenda of the Advocacy-based CSOs: The Neglected Themes

In this section, the themes that are neglected by the mainstream children CSOs and the state's legitimate stakeholder CSOs will be elaborated. In order to reveal these subjects, in-depth interviews with the experts of the children field have been used. The advocacy based excluded CSO's are the ones who issue the subjects in the field of children which has been neglected the most. Emergencies become the primary agenda of children-rights based organizations in Turkey. The children advocacy-based organizations take place in a minimal and small field. Thus, the emergency issues become the agenda inevitably to respond to these needs in the field of children immediately.

“When we think about the employees in this area, we are talking about a handful of people. What happens then? Not every group of course, but whoever says what is more urgent, these people tended towards it. In other words, if the number of children in jail becomes too high or if children die in a certain area then the agenda urgently going there.” - Academician

Turkey is a highly populated country, and the problem areas vary. Thus, emergency issues in the field of children vary. Also, there is a lack of knowledge in the field that what is urgent or what is not in this field. Two experts mention these issues as:

“As I said, there are many problems as not all of these issues can be sorted because they are a bit too large both in terms of population and in terms of a variety of problems. There, the urgency is the people's priorities... The urgency or attention of the situation is shifting somehow shifts towards there.” - Academician

“In fact, each issue was started and left on time; each issue emerged as an emergency. I suppose this is one of the biggest problems in front of Turkey. For example, ignorance about the

child with disabilities ... in fact, we do not know what is urgent in what area.” - Children Advocate

The neglected themes in Turkey in the field of children vary according to the experts. These themes mentioned by the experts can be summed up as: The critical areas related to the disabled children, judicial system and the juvenile pushed to crime, violence against children, education-related subjects such as the reasons of drop-outs, child poverty, mother tongue education, children under the "state of emergency", refugee children, and aspects of child labor. Most of the issues among these are the loose ends according to an expert:

“Many fields had been started and left alone. For instance, from the child justice system to the disabled children who had been neglected in the justice system ...” Children Advocate

Children in the judicial system is a vast topic with parts unknown. This issue is the issue of child victims of crime.

“That’s the thing. You know, after that, the draft law just started, the last few years that we are working. We say something that the system of justice we call is a whole child criminal justice system is not just to say, “children in the justice system,” For example, we have made a study. It should also be seen. These children are children who are victimized at the same time. However, the victim, a child who is also a victim of direct crime, they are outnumbered. You know, the number is not a lot to talk about, but on the one hand, 150,000 children pass by the police, 100,000 of them are passed as child victims, and on the other hand, the numbers of children dragged into crime find 75,000. One goes lunatic with these numbers. It is not normal.” – Children Activist

Violence against a child is one of the topics neglected by the mainstream children's agenda.

“We have very little data on violence against children. The data on children of the victims are very few when they are victims of violence. Once we have little knowledge of children’s experiences in the assistance and service systems. How many social workers are there? How many children are directly assisted by a psychologist, a psychiatrist, or a caregiver? And how many are needed, we do not know either of these... (...) We learn about violence against girls in sexual abuse, the data from violence against women, from their research. We do not know if there are victims of human trafficking. There is a lot we do not even know about issues with known numbers. We do not know very well. There are official figures about early marriage, there are other figures, but there is no study in which they are analyzed. We do not know precisely what we are missing because it is not the proper data in Turkey we overlook” -Child Advocate

Even though the education topic is one of the mainstream issues in the field of child welfare, some topics have been neglected. Education-related subjects such as the reasons for drop-outs are one example of this:

“Education area is unraveling. The nutrition field is not very poor. Poverty is not changing; child labor is relatively unreliable. The child protection area is not very clear. You may not be happy once you go in deep with the data related to the child protection area.”- Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

“We do not know much about education. I mean there are statistics about education, but we do not know how many of them... such as dropouts... We do not know the reasons of the dropouts either. There is no data about the reasons for leaving school. Don’t we know why they are going to drop out? – Children Advocate

Disability is another issue that has been studied and being worked on less. Even though it is one of the major topics that pro-state CSOs are working on, the reasons for the disabilities, the information about the caregivers remain unknown. Only a few studies provide information about these topics:

“The most recent disability research was conducted in 2006. Findings were something related to construction. However how many grains, why people get disabilities, who is looking after them, we do not know these. On the one hand, financial support is done without knowing anything. That the human being puzzled.”
– Children Advocate 1

Children’s poverty is another field which we have known very little about. According to the expert, there are no CSOs individually work in this field. Philanthropy based institutions instead take care of the issue yet these associations are not working through the rights perspective. Another expert states that since there is very few data on child poverty, they had to use any data related to this topic.

“There are little data about poverty. We use whatever we find if we have data – for example, there is no work on poverty. There is no epidemiological study on child poverty. So... there is very little showing the status of children representatively.” – Child Advocate

“The institutions that are already charity-based institutions have been politicized. There is no association in the field of child poverty. In other words, there is IHH in the context of aid to the poor, such as Deniz Feneri, Kimse Yok Mu?, etc., which are highly politicized, and not from a rights-based perspective, They facilitate from their own environment ... already philanthropy-based ... We support the perspective of the rights of children when it comes to charity, and we support rights-based social benefits instead.” – Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

Official statistics are insufficient to provide detailed information about child labor and child poverty. An expert also states the problem of lack of data in the division of regional information:

“The most recent data on child poverty were either 2009 or 2013. When you look at the field of violence outside of it, you don’t know much about what you have. I’m working child labor and child poverty, so that’s what I call benefits. For example, there are no regional data on child labor. Some of them have a rural-urban division, but how many children are there in Urfa or in İzmir living under poverty. At which sectors do we meet with these children? These should be in official statistics” - Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

Demand for mother tongue education used to be one of the taboo topics in the field. Yet with the contribution of the advocacy-based associations working in the children field, as it has been pronounced more other CSOs also start to work on this topic:

“In 2006 in the meetings, whenever the mother tongue issue come to the agenda, even though we had small progress in that field when something was happening everyone felt tense. They felt like who has come to the meeting? They did not like it. However, now there are many reports that a child deserves the right to mother tongue in Turkey on the native language. So, there are many things. Or this perception has changed a lot. But we could not speak mother tongue issue at that time.” - Children Activist

Data in the age refraction related to children is rare. In the expert interviews it has been stated that we need more information about children's lives who are at the different stages in their lifecycle:

“I think age diffraction is significant. When you consider minus 18 you are mentioning about a vast group. So there is not much

information about children in different periods in the lifecycle, under the age of 12 years other than adolescents and different periods of being adolescents. Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

CSOs working in the field of children focus on the agendas that are known the most, like education. Children specific subjects and studies are rare according to another expert:

“Children can not uniquely show themselves. Youth groups are doing something, or people who are devoted to children are doing something through education and so on. Someone is doing something through things that are more visible, through development. But the child does not do much of what s/he wants on his own. – Children Advocate

While this thesis was written some civil organizations experienced shutdowns due to the state of emergency condition between 2016 – 2018, July. One of them was Gündem Çocuk Association which used to work in the fields of children's rights, poverty, the judicial system, violence against children, also they were following up the judicial cases related to child neglect and abuse. Gündem Çocuk is the best example for the advocacy-based distant CSOs. Following the decision to shut down, this CSO listed their work remained government as follows¹⁵: *Physical Security Project in Schools, Child Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation Project, Rights of The Child Academy, Right to Life Report Study of Children in Turkey, Discrimination Report Work Towards Children in Turkey, Writing Academy for Children, Minus 18 Children's Newspaper Work, Law on Child Abuse Clinic Study, Follow-Ups of Cases of Sexual Abuse of Children, Study of The Fight Against Child Labor, Follow-Ups of The Murder of The Afghan Refugee Child Lütfullah Tacik, Counseling Services for Children and Their Families Who Are Victims of Abuse.*

¹⁵ <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/cocuk/180997-gundem-cocuk-dernegi-kapatildi> Retrieved in 21.11.2017

This example case, Gündem Çocuk, used to work in the fields of mostly neglected themes related to children such as children's rights and judicial cases of child neglect and abuse. However, the state of the emergency condition has changed many things in the social and economic sphere. The state mutilates many civic organizations. These issues need to be studied more according to the experts. The current conditions and movements such as the state of emergency condition and Gezi movement need to be studied in order to understand how CSOs has changed during these processes.

“We need to write now; We need to write about the state of emergency period., We need to write the Gezi Park Movement, we need to write how the attitude of the state/government changed the whole organization, what causes. I also learned that civil society can exist in a democratic environment. However, it may be that some organizations – mostly the ones who had been shut down- have changed the concept of civil society. Interesting in that sense.” - Children Activist

To sum up, there are issues such as conditions of the disabled children, children in the judicial system and the juvenile pushed to crime, violence against children. There are some education-related subjects like the reasons for drop-outs and child poverty. Besides, demands for mother tongue education, children under the "state of emergency," refugee children, and aspects of child labor, which are needed to be worked on more in the children field. The state of emergency conditions has changed the current conditions of the CSOs not only working in the children field but also in general. There used to be CSOs working on the subjects mentioned above, yet they experienced the shutdowns under the state of emergency. These neglected themes related to children's life conditions expressed by the very few people working in these fields. Since the children field is a minimal field consisted of very few people, many urgent topics remain silent because these few people can only respond to the critical themes.

In the next section, the findings discussed so far will be gathered and will be compared by using the gap analysis. To do so, each critical category will be listed and will be analyzed whether these themes issued by the actors mentioned above.

4.4. Comparison of the Themes: The Gap between the Child Agendas

Themes of the four different actors, state's legitimate stakeholder CSOs, excluded advocacy-based CSOs, mainstream/back-up CSOs and the state, coincides and differs between each other. In Table 8. these themes are presented and compared to represent the gap in the children's agenda between these actors.

Table 8.

Comparison of the Themes Related to the Children Agenda of the State and CSOs

| | State | CSOs | | |
|--|----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| | Ministry | Stakeholder | Mainstream | Advocacy |
| Adoption | ✓ | | | |
| Assistance / In-kind assistance | | ✓ | | |
| Autism | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Child and City | | | ✓ | |
| Children in conflict zones | | | | ✓ |
| Child labor | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| The child living on the street | | | ✓ | |
| Children's rights | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Children under state protection/ In need of protection | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Children's rights | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Culture, Arts, Game | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Disabled child/ Disability | ✓ | ✓ | | ✓ |

Table 8.

*Comparison of the Themes Related to the Children Agenda of the State and CSOs
(Continued)*

| | State | CSOs | | |
|---|----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| | Ministry | Stakeholder | Mainstream | Advocacy |
| Disadvantaged child | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Disasters and child | | | ✓ | |
| Early marriages | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Education / Scholarships | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Effects of political conjuncture | | | | ✓ |
| Elderly | ✓ | | ✓ | |
| Employment | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Environment | ✓ | | | |
| Family/Return to family | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Family planning and parent-child health | | | ✓ | |
| Foreign Foster Family | ✓ | | | |
| Foster Family | ✓ | ✓ | | |
| Health | | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Inheritance Law | | | ✓ | |
| Judicial system | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Life skills | | | ✓ | |
| Mental health | | | ✓ | |
| Mother tongue | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Motherhood / Maternity Education | | | ✓ | |
| Neglect, Abuse, Violence | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Participation | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Paternity | | | ✓ | |
| Philanthropy/Visits | ✓ | | | |
| Play/Festivities | ✓ | | | |
| Poverty | | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Pre-school education | | | ✓ | |
| Refugee child | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| Religious education | | | ✓ | |
| Sports / Physical activity | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |

Table 8.

Comparison of the Themes Related to the Children Agenda of the State and CSOs (Continued)

| | State | CSOs | | |
|---------------------|----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| | Ministry | Stakeholder | Mainstream | Advocacy |
| Substance use | | | ✓ | |
| Violence | | | | ✓ |
| Vocational training | | | ✓ | |
| Volunteerism | ✓ | | | |
| Woman | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |

Table 9.

Comparison of the Children Agendas of the State and CSOs

| State | Pro-government CSOs | Mainstream CSOs | Advocacy-based CSOs |
|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Activities for children | Disability | Disability | Child labor |
| Foster Family | Education | Education | Disability |
| Orphanages | Family | Health | Education |
| State protection | State protection | State protection | Effects of political conjuncture |
| Volunteerism | Family and Women | Poverty/Charity | Judicial system |
| | | Family and Domestic Violence | Poverty |
| | | | Violence |

Agendas of the state and CSOs differs according to the findings gathered from the database. While the state focus on the issue of children under state protection, CSOs agendas are more diverse. State of Turkey's children agenda consisted of the orphanage issues, foster family, children under state protection, volunteerism and social and cultural activities for children under state protection. The state is only focused on the children who are under the custody of the state itself. Foster family was on the agenda of the state but could not find a full response in society. The

subject ownership is low between CSOs. However, recently we start seeing some examples of the CSOs working in this field such as Hayat Sende Academy. Just some of the legitimate stakeholder CSOs are focusing on this topic. The state is trying to transfer state protection to the family. The reason why is the foster family issue is internalized by the state the most. State also supports individuals and the private sector, primarily via the corporate social responsibility projects of the private sector, to act in the field of children via volunteerism.

CSOs, on the other hand, are focusing on more diverse issues. When we look at the state's legitimate partner CSOs the main issues that are undertaken by these organizations are the subjects of disability, education, family, state protection, family and women. In this sense, these CSOs act as a backup for the state. State protection and the issues related to family care are the issues these organizations focus on. The family and mother care agenda of the CSOs in Turkey overlaps with the agenda of children. State's approach to and implications for women agenda is limited. State's stakeholder CSOs who work on the women issue also work on the children issue the most.

Advocacy-based CSOs are focusing on the subjects of child labor, disability, education, current effects of political conjuncture on CSOs and children, children in the judicial system, child poverty and violence against children. These CSOs focus on the subjects studied less. For instance, disability and education are the themes adopted by both different types of CSOs. The literature review showed us the state issued especially education after the nineteenth century. However, these advocate CSOs focus on more detailed information such as the reasons for drop-outs among children. Pro-government and mainstream CSOs, on the other hand, focus on the access to education and facilities related to education for children. Even though education is a theme which is issued by all types of CSOs, the content, scope and priorities related to education varies. For instance, while some advocacy-based CSOs work on the rights of education in mother-tongue, mainstream and other CSOs work on the content of religious education. Disability is the theme that all CSOs focus on. While stakeholder and mainstream CSOs focus on this issue through a philanthropist

perspective, distant CSOs focus on various topics such as the reasons for the disabilities, the information about the caregivers, and so on through a rights-based perspective.

The state issued regulations on child labor as we see in the literature review. Currently, this subject is undertaken by the advocacy-based CSOs. The advocacy-based CSOs issue Children's rights, child neglect, and abuse. These organizations discuss the subjects of education, disability, poverty and judicial system through a children's rights approach. State's action towards these subjects, however, remains in the background.

4.5. Conclusion

The realm of policies related to children as a system in which different actors take places such as the state and CSOs is being focused in this chapter. The themes related to the children agenda of the state and the CSOs working with or for children were elaborated. The first section presented the themes adopted by the state about the children's policy field. The second section consisted of three parts where different kinds of CSOs about their position vis-à-vis the state were elaborated in terms of children's agenda.

The main findings from the former MFSP themes can be interpreted as that the state of Turkey's children agenda consisted of the orphanage issues, foster family, children under state protection, volunteerism and social and cultural activities for children under state protection. The state is only focused on the children who are under the custody of the state itself.

The main findings from the CSO themes can be summed up like that, while state's legitimate stakeholder CSOs support the issues of family and woman, disability, education, family and children under state protection advocacy-based CSOs try to issue more less spoken topics such as the subjects of child labor, disability, education, current effects of political conjuncture on CSOs and children, children in the judicial system, child poverty and violence against children. Mainstream CSOs

focus on more general issues such as health, charity, education in terms of scholarship provision.

When we compare these findings, we meet the fact that the agendas of the different actors on the children issue diverse in each other. While state focus on the children under state protection, CSOs focus on the disadvantageous conditions faced by children including those under state protection. CSOs focus on various subjects compare to the state.

CHAPTER 5

THE REASONS OF THE GAP IN CHILDREN POLICY IN TURKEY AND HOW TO OVERCOME THE GAP

This section is a general discussion. The debate here based on the expert's perspectives, data findings, and the interpretation of these findings in general. With the expert interviews question of "What kind of effects are causing these differences in the agenda? What are the dynamics that lead to differences (or overlaps) on the agenda of public and civil society in Turkey?" will be investigated.

The main point in here is rather than preparing a database for its own sake, to explain the children's rights movement agenda in Turkey and to present how different agendas take place in the public and the third sector. However, the more critical point is answering the following questions is more worthwhile:

- What kind of effects are causing these differences in the agenda?
- What are the dynamics that lead to differences (or overlaps) on the agenda of public and civil society in Turkey?
- Moreover, whether or not can we mention about a children's rights-based policy field?

5.1. Reasons for the Gap in Children Policy between the State and CSOs

Ontologically the agendas of the state and the civil society are expected to be different for a reason. The primary roles of civil society are discussing and issuing the subjects that are not spoken by the state. In this sense, the agendas should be different from each other. Another role of civil society is introducing new issues to the field. By doing so, civil society expands the issues of a specific agenda related to the public. Ideally, in order to close the gap between the state and CSOs agendas, it is expected from the state to fill this gap by issuing the subjects suggested and

advocated by the CSOs. The state as the policy-maker should be more proactive in adopting different agendas promoted by the civil society organizations and preferably by the children themselves.

How the state gets along with civil society is another crucial component for policy-making processes. Today civil society working for or with children in Turkey produce knowledge and do advocacy about the unspoken issues related to children within a narrow field. Of course, civil society has not a homogenous form. The findings of this study showed that civic organizations vary concerning their position vis-a-vis the state. I observe that only the advocacy-based CSOs function the role of ideal civil society by suggesting and advocating the unspoken issues related to children. However, the state does not accept these CSOs as partners and build up a dialogue with them. Most of the advocacy-based CSOs had been marginalized and criminalized by the state in the second half of the 2010s. The state is politicizing the advocacy-based CSOs working for children. Advocacy-based organizations are perceived as the entities that produce crimes and reveals the deficits of the state. The state perception of advocacy-based CSOs is negative. As a result, rather than building partnerships with these CSOs, the state prefers to act together with the CSOs who are echoing the children agenda of the state. This is one of the reasons for the gap between the agenda of the state and CSOs. The discursive and ideological gap in the policy agenda widens whenever the subject is violating the political red lines of the state. However, whenever a subject is on the agenda of the state in the political sphere, the gap in this area is diminishing. Demands for education in mother-tongue issue is a clear example of this. The mother-tongue issue is politically linked to the Kurdish question which a red line of the state policies is. However, during “the solution process” steps of the government about the Kurdish question, the state attempted to create connections with the CSOs who were working with and for the Kurdish children. When the state decided to end the solution process, the state also stepped back at the dialogues and collaborations created with these CSOs during the process. The Kurdish question is one of the most particular examples of these red lines, do not let children CSOs come together and establish a collective voice.

“In 2006, something very critical happened. This was the 28-31 March events regarding the Kurdish issue. There was an explosion in Diyarbakır ahead of it. PKK made it explode. The children died too. Gündem Çocuk made a statement and said that they are the 3rd party. They said that they are behalf of children and they call peace as soon as possible. So a group of people had Gündem Çocuk to explain. ‘How you see the PKK organization as a party they criticized. It was 2005., then the idea of these organizations has changed in this regard. It was a little contribution of Gündem Çocuk up to me. Now there are more organizations that they can say that “we can say to our children that we are now the 3rd party.” - Children Activist

This is also a typical example of the fact that there is ideological differentiation between the state and CSOs, and everyone in this field sets the need for children through their ideological priorities. In this sense, the children agenda of the state is not independent of the macro-political debates. One of the significant reasons for the agenda gap is as a result of the ideological perspective differentiations.

Above all the cooperation of CSOs and the state decreased after 2013. The impact of Gezi Park movements, cessation of European Union negotiations, rise in the conflict in the region, and later on state of emergency status have changed the dynamics between the CSOs and the state. This increases the gap between these two actors.

“Interviewee: After 2013, the issue of dialogue between the state and civil society, the issue of interoperability fell very much. (...) The constitutional amendment, 2013 Gezi... After Gezi, the relationship of the state with civil society, with the associations, has changed already. The relationship of the state turned into something more oppressive and harder. Here are the values of the European Union, where the human rights issue begins to fall most.

However, there was a process with a bit of European unity approach.

Researcher: The break of the process of the European Union, coincided with this period...

Interviewee: Break from the process, the rise of conflicts... 2013 is very important, critical. I think 2013 has a meaning for children, and this is also something we will look at, I think 2013 is a matter of Gezi ... The children were killed in Gezi because the children were on the street too. After 2013, many children were arrested and detained for their social media sharing. It may also be related to the fact that these children use social media better than adults. I remember when the Erdogan was the prime minister, he was saying something about the children regularly. He issued the children regularly on the agenda.” – Children Activist

The other reasons for the gap in child policy between the state and CSOs vary according to several factors. First of all, the child issue being studied in a very limited and small field which leads a sphere where the multivocality and the presence of the agendas of the different actors are missing. The number of children-based CSOs working from the perspective of rights, which will allow the issue of children to be addressed in the field of social policy, are few. This reduces the diversity of topics in the field and prevents the diversification of issues that will improve child wellbeing. The area of children's rights is mostly a secondary area of experts working on the human and women rights field. For instance, advocates who work for and with the individuals in prisons are also working with child prisoners, or human rights advocates are also working for children's rights. Being the secondary field reduces the energy and resources transferred to this area. This problem limits the capacity of work done by the professionals for the child welfare field.

Another limitation is that the advocates working for children-rights consists of similar people. This one is also just one of the obstacles to establishing a child rights movement in Turkey.

“We say, including Gündem Çocuk, why we do not be monitored more. In fact, the people who are monitoring the field is 5-6 thousand people. You know, we’re talking about a little group. You ask people, and some say they (child-based CSOs) are doing wrong or they at least have put their heart on this work. However, they are talking it through an emotional perspective. Do you know whether they say correctly, the things they say have a place in human rights law or has it been evidence-based or fabricated? These are not issued.” – Children Advocacy Professional

“We are talking about a minimal area. Compare to North America and Canada, Turkey has a tiny NGO community. It also has a very limited range of working on children in the field.” - Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

Even though the different CSOs expertise in children related topics, the founders of the advocacy-based CSOs have consisted of the same people most of the time. This is one of the indicators show that the Children’s rights advocacy field is a small one.

“When we talked about MFSP’s care institutions, there was a lot of progress in this area, especially in the of alternative care institutions. There are several things in that field. There is some number of standard but not much implemented. Korev, Hayat Sende... , you better take a look at this. How many of them on the board of directors are the same people... For example, you have two more associations; however, in the management of all of them, are the same people.” – Children Advocacy Professional

“For example, think of the example of Gündem Çocuk. The active members are both in the Ankara bar and the Amnesty International... That is, what a field is, in fact. Infertile... For example, all of the university member of the. Istanbul Bilgi University NGO unit is also members of the Community Volunteers and also the member of Gündem Çocuk... I do not want to say anything, but if you want to kill civil society, the state does not need to do it, but the people do it to themselves.

Researcher:: In fact, we are talking about a bunch of people in the field of children’s rights is working in the field of advocacy.

Interviewee: Yes. Unless you get out of that thing, unless you see that it is a conflict of interest, it will not proceed. So there are a few reasons why the field cannot be developed. I think it is useful to look forward to that.” – Children Advocacy Professional

Even though the advocacy-based CSOs working for Children’s rights is a small field that consisted of few numbers of children experts, it is unable to establish a common language in the field of children’s movement due to ideological differences. Women movement, to some extent, succeeds in building a common language, especially in the issues of child abuse.

“I wonder if we forget to build up the common language of so that they can come together for the common goal? Do women’s organizations all speak a common language? No ... However, we cannot explain this to children’s rights organizations. You don’t need to talk a common language, but you have a target. The movements are important.” - Children Advocacy Professional

The child abuse prevention agenda, on the other hand, finds itself a place among the children agenda of the 2000s. In matters of conscience, the gap is diminishing. Child abuse is such an issue.

Another actor who decreases or increase the gap in the children policy agenda is international organizations. The role of international conventions, international organizations such as the UN or European Union is active in the agenda-setting in the field of children policy. Notably, European membership process of Turkey also set the agenda of human rights, and this had an impact on the children's agenda as well.

“Actually, this seems to be the agenda of Turkey, but the outside affected the agenda instead. Here is the signing of contracts, the contracting institutions... The National Agency, within the EU Ministry... Youth sports is also doing a lot, but the EU Ministry is doing more actively. The EU membership process has a big influence.” – Development CSO

Another example is that, as the number of European Court of Human Rights statistics shows that the violations increases, the gap in these specific issues is decreasing. The public sector has to be involved in responding these violations.

On the other hand, the support of the agenda setters such as the United Nations identifies the issues on the children agenda of the CSOs. Civil society organizations are addressing issues seen urgently by the UN to benefit from the UN's funding supports. As long as these supports continue, the issues related to children remain on the agenda. However, whenever the support ends, the issues related to children agendas either change or no longer be on the agenda.

“Civil society organizations in Turkey do not bring forth the issues related to children themselves... For instance, there were Umut Çocukları... The UNICEF supported this CSO. They found much support from the local community. Well, it was pretty good. However, then they started not finding support because the state handed the subject and said ‘well I will take care of it’. You know what I mean. The state said that I would do this job but now the state has also left. After a certain period, when the issue begins to

hurt, civil society organizations will be interested in this issue. So it only turns out when the issues appear to be hurt. also, International organizations set this agenda.” – Children Advocacy Professional

The old advocacy-based CSOs of the 90s become mainstream organizations instead. On the other hand, advocacy-based CSOs are marginalized. This political position change creates a gap in the themes of civil society and in terms of issue ownership. The CSOs who had been doing advocacy for Children’s rights in the 1990s are no longer continue these activities. The CSOs who had participated in the process of signing the Children’s rights Convention now are working in the service-based field. There is a transition in terms of advocacy-based organizations. On the other hand, there are new CSOs work in different fields of childhood and doing advocacy. This shift is an exciting finding which shows the advocacy of the children CSOs are not stable:

“Yes, there used to be the association of Oğuz Polat, which is essential here. He did many things, really. There was a foundation of protection Koruncuk Foundation, YÖRET... They were the CSOs that contribute to the process of the signing of the child rights contract. However, these associations of that period are not the associations that determine the children’s rights movement today.” - Children Activist

The CSOs who had been doing advocacy for children’s rights in the 1990s was advocating when there was a basic need. In this sense, Turkey is far behind the world agenda. Currently, in the world, the children participation is on the agenda. Children have a voice in municipal councils, and child participation is practiced well in, for example, in the social-democratic welfare states like Sweden. The school strikes of children for the climate crisis started in August 2018 is an excellent example of how children can talk about their problems . We can observe some individual attempts of

children (most of them are the students in private schools) in Turkey for raising awareness on the environmental issues and preventing the climate crisis.¹⁶

In Turkey, there is no progress in the field of children's rights, although the rights-based approach gains importance after the 2000s. Children's rights advocacy is limited in Turkey.

"In Turkey, in particular, the impact of civil society organizations was working on children's rights almost none in the advocacy field. However, somehow, we do not accept it for some reason... So, it is the time and money being wasted, but nothing is achieved, and we can say something. 'We did excellent things. Also, we have done this, we have talked over there, and we have opened this door...' , Yet there's no door which has opened at all." – Children Advocacy Professional

It is observed that the perceptions of both the state entities and CSOs towards children are based on some routes and this attitude limits the new aspects of children welfare policies. Some assumptions of the civil sector limit the children's agenda. Similar issues are working in the same way in the civil area and the public sector. One of these routes is taking the issue of children only under the issue of family. Usually, in the public-sector, children are taken into consideration only within the family. Children as citizens do not count as individuals yet as a unit within a family. Children are perceived as the dependent objects who have a lack of autonomy and agency. This perception especially adopted by the public sector. On the other hand, there are CSOs who adopts the understanding of children as individuals with their own needs, rights, perceptions, feelings, and decisions. Children advocacy-based CSOs represent this approach. Also, these diverse perspectives are one of the reasons for the gap. This approach supported by different experts during the interviews:

¹⁶<https://www.independentturkish.com/node/35186/haber/z-kuşığı-iklim-grevinde-okulu-kıran-öğrenciler-istanbul'da-buluştu> Retrieved in: 08.03.2019

“A concept related to children’s rights; a critical concept also enters into the constitution. However, it was again included under the title of family. It showed us one thing: yes, it touches on the issue of children’s rights, but still does not see a child as a person with rights and freedoms. Then we understood that there was no transformation. The family issue is already as troubled as we think. We have seen many things. The concept of the best interests of the child is not operated in any way at present by the state.” - Children Activist

“So, it is like it is in child protection. In other words, even if the name of the law is related to domestic violence, there is a law on the protection of the child, but it does not mean violence against women, but about the prevention of violence within the family. So, it is in the family again. It’s something about the current discourse.” – Social Policy Maker, INGO worker

On the other hand, few civil society organizations take children as individuals. These institutions are the ones also work with a rights-based approach like Gündem Çocuk. One approach supports that for being a child rights-based CSO, CSOs needs to involve children themselves in the programs. Otherwise, they can only be considered as CSOs for children.

“Can you add the child to the programs? No? You are not. Therefore, you will defend child rights in various places as a Children’s rights organization. For example, while doing this you must reach to the most invisible children, you must discuss the topics will not be discussed the most. You should open the doors. If you say that you can announce the voices of children from a specific group ... most of them cannot do it, unfortunately. The child goes to school, his mother is scared ... You have an

obligation to protect them. So we stop fooling ourselves and must do our own business.” - Children Advocacy Professional

A children's rights expert has criticized perception of the civil actors for being stuck in the subject of "perception about the child," yet it is a topic which has been studied a lot but has little steps by the public sector. While civil society works for children the efforts are not seen enough and despite the intentions are working for children, efforts have been given for children as a user of a given facility.

“Prevention of children against violence... It is the focus seems specific, but no not enough. For example, to prevent children against violence, “we need to talk about our perception of children”. Hold on!! This has been already discussed before. Our priority is to report in advance, let us issue a report, let us say that child perception is not good or there is a problem with the perception of children. However, we do not do it. We constantly have incredible great dreams in the “for children” in a quotation. I think these dreams are for us instead. The reason why children focus has been lost. We are not doing these events with the child nor for the child. We are doing it for ourselves so that the kids can benefit.” -Children Advocacy Professional

State perspective has been criticized for objectifying children by the experts. In one of the interviews, it has been stated that:

“They do things that will make them visible, and they do things that will provide their continuity and address their electorate. In fact, they are not always aiming at all like that. It is always a matter of mediation. There are so few who define most of their children as their goal, which genuinely recognizes the rights of children to freedom. Always about themselves, to strengthen themselves.” -Children Activist

If we sum up the reasons for the gap, we observe that there are ideological differentiation, and everyone sets the need for children through their ideological priorities. The children agenda of the state is not independent of the macro-political debates. On the other hand, the state/government politicizing and marginalized the advocacy-based CSOs. Advocacy organizations are perceived as a structure that produces crimes or reveals the deficits of the state/government. The gap widens whenever the state/government feels that the subject is violating its red lines. When a subject is on the agenda of the state in the political sphere, the gap in this area is decreasing. The gap in matters of conscience is diminishing. Child abuse issue is such a topic that all actors rise attention to it in an extent.

International institutions, EU, and the UN move to the agenda as the gap is running low. For instance, as the number of violations reported by the European Court of Human Rights increases, the gap in specific issues is decreasing. The public sector has to be involved in such issues.

The child issue is often used by experts as a secondary theme and is focused as the extension of the women and human rights. There is a small group of children's rights advocates, which makes no different voices. Being the secondary field reduces the energy and resources transferred to this area. This problem limits the capacity of work done by the professionals for the child welfare field.

State and the most CSOs are objectifying the children. There is no room for agency or right to the voice of children in Turkey. This approach deepens "the children as the ones who need to be protected, and children are in-need" perspective.

Finally, in the next section, how to overcome this gap will be issued.

5.2. How to Overcome the Gap in Children's rights Policy: A Social Policy Discussion

There is a close relationship between social policy and the concept of citizenship. As social policy aims to improve the economic and social situation of all the people are living in the country, the relationship between social policy and citizens is getting

more and more critical. The idea that every citizen living in a country should have civil, social and political rights was put forward by T.H. Marshall after World War II. Many social policy implications such as social security, health, education, housing, social protection and assistance for the poor have been carried out on the capitalist world scale, in order to maintain the equality of individuals of the nation-state (Şenkal and Doğan, 2012) . Children, however, are not considered as a citizen but instead citizens-to-be. Most of the social policies targeting children are in the fields of social protection. Improvements targeting children in the fields of health and education are the reflection of the aids and support of international organizations such as UNICEF.

At the end of the 1980s, children's rights gained importance, not only because of the role of the families but also by the state. It is also aimed not only to protect the poor, sick, unaccompanied children, but also to provide physical, cultural and emotional development of the child as an individual (Mamur-Işıkçı, 2016). Poverty and child labor are among the main problems of social policy.

Do we have the capacity to make policy recommendations on children's rights in Turkey? We can reply it by saying "not yet" for several reasons.

First of all, as the experts emphasized that Turkey has a limited capacity to produce children's rights policies by itself, but it does by the supports and expectations of the international organizations. In this sense, Turkey exports the children agenda from abroad, from the western countries with the impact of INGOs. Civil society adopts and supported the themes suggested by the international organizations. These themes vary from child labor to health. However, when we observe the public agenda on children, we have met with the themes in a narrower context, almost only the state protection aspect. Another example of the impact of international organizations is that, in the 1990s, ILO's IPEC bring the issue of child labor and private sector involved in the process as well. This led CSOs also work on these subjects. Other triggers of children agenda vary. At the beginning of the 2000s until the mid-2000s membership process to the European Union determines the children agenda of Turkey. Besides, the process in the 2011 Syrian crisis brings the issue of

unaccompanied minors. Incidents like accidents, neglect and abuse cases also bring some topics related to children into the agendas. However, public agenda does not adopt the issues of LGBTI children, children of ethnic minorities, “stone-throwing children” and child laborers. These themes are the red lines of the public sector.

Secondly, the children’s rights movement has not become a prevailing and popular one in Turkey. Minimal efforts take place by a low number of organizations and by the same few people. The child is always the victim, or the one being victimized. Children are not the subject of social policy, but the object of it. As a reflection of this, children’s rights are recalled with neglect and child abuse. However, children’s rights are more than the protection of the child. Protection of the child is just one component of it.

Thirdly, other actors in the welfare mix, such as the market have an impact on the children’s agenda. We are talking about politics that are shaped by the demands of the market. For instance, the private sector is trying to control its supply chain and purify its supply chain from child labor. These subjects are advocated by pressure groups such as the unions and the civil society mostly in western countries. The aim of the private sector is simple: to sustain selling their products and gaining reputation. Credit institutions are also obliged private sector to abolish child labor in order to give credit by the pressure of trade unions and CSOs. Thus, the private sector organizations that want to get credit is engaged in the issue. In Turkey, this is only valid for products made exports. Products sold domestically are allowed to have child labor, unfortunately (Expert interviews, 2018).

So how do we overcome the gap? The gap should exist between the public and civic sector to enhance the capacity of the policy field. But the public sector should take action and be responsible for narrowing down this gap. Today, public institutions have practiced for children, but these practices do not mean that there are implications based on rights. Although the public sector speaks of the child rights agenda in its internal communication, for instance in the context of UNICEF cooperation, this is not reflected in their external communication. It is essential to

make the efforts of the public in this field more visible and turn it into a policy proposal about children's rights .

The state preserves the perspective of protection, but it is also a matter of giving the protection role to the family again. However, the protection to be left to the family has obstacles. The families cannot be considered always as fully functioning entities. Families can be fragile. State support in the policy field related to children is crucial to prevent the disadvantageous conditions faced by children as a violation of human rights. To narrow down the gap between these two actors state must be more proactive to respond to the issues brought by especially the advocacy-based CSOs.

Above all, children themselves should have more opportunities to raise their voices and the adults should allow children speak for themselves. It is not easy for adults to listen to children from the heart without stating any judgements or any presumptions. The adult world should let children be themselves and to learn to listen to children without any judgements. Children have the potential to design the future by having natural and uncorrupted characteristics such as plain curiosity, eager to learn and their acceptance and their perception of things as they are. This thesis suggests letting children speak about themselves and the full participation of the children into the works done by CSOs and the state towards children. These policy actors should work together with (not solely for) children. By doing so children will have the opportunity to be represented more in the public field.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter focuses on the reasons for the gap in children's policy in Turkey and to the question of how to overcome this gap.

The reasons for the gap between the children agenda vary. First of all, the perceptions of these actors towards children are based on some assumptions. There is a spectrum which perceives children within the unit of a family on the one hand, and the ones who perceive children as individuals. This perspective difference also issued in the cluster analysis as well. The cluster analysis made for the mainstream CSOs showed

us the activities of the CSOs vary from the acts related to the children's human rights perspective to the perspective of only protection.

Secondly, the child issue being studied in a very limited and small field. There are few people produce knowledge about children's needs and children conditions in Turkey. INGOs work as local CSOs does and they stuck in applying small scale projects instead of doing sufficient advocacy at the international level and the discursive level. Some academicians, children's advocates, and some INGO workers stand for the children's rights perspective. Even though the public sector issue children's rights in their internal communication, their actions do not reflect their rights-based agenda. In this case, the children's rights issue is issued within a minimal field.

Thirdly, there are ideological perspective differentiations between the state, CSOs and within the CSOs itself. For example, education agenda is accepted by all as a particular theme for children policy, yet each actor has their own way of understanding of education. Even though there is a consensus on the issue of need of education, each actor, each CSO has its own approach to children's education. These ideological differences and the differences in values increase the gap in children's policy area.

Lastly, transformation in the field of children's rights based CSOs contribute to the gap in the children policy field. Advocacy and rights-based CSOs are not stable and change their focal points by the time. For instance, the advocacy CSOs of the 1990s had a shift towards a more service-based activities, while some current advocacy CSOs like Gündem Çocuk had been shut down by the state/government legislation. Shifts in working areas related to the political conjuncture contribute to this gap.

Overall, ontologically the agendas of the state and the civil society are expected to be different for a reason. The primary roles of civil society are discussing and issuing the subjects that are not spoken by the state. In this sense, the agendas should have been different from each other. Another role of civil society is introducing new issues to the field. By doing so, civil society expands the issues of a specific agenda related

to the public. Ideally, in order to close the gap between the state and CSOs agendas, it is expected from the state to fill this gap by issuing the subjects suggested and advocated by the CSOs. To narrow down the gap between these two actors, the state must be more proactive to respond to the issues brought by especially the advocacy-based CSOs.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to reveal the similarities and differences between the state's children policies agenda and the agenda of children-based CSOs in Turkey. By analyzing the gap between the children's agenda of the CSOs and the state/government in Turkey between the years 1990-2018, the research focuses on some questions such as:

- What are the themes promoted and supported by the public sector?
- What are the themes promoted and supported by the children-based CSOs?
How are the activities of civil society organizations diversified?
- How much do the civil society organizations and the public-sector agenda coincide?
- What are the obstacles against building a movement for children's rights?
How do these obstacles differ for different actors?
- The impact on social policy and how this leads to current and future policies?

The purpose of the study was required to use a gap analysis. I tried to use this gap analysis to understand the perceptions and the priority differences of the different actors of the welfare mix, in my case these were the state/government and the third sector: the civil society organizations. I collected data and created two different databases to reveal the agendas of these two different actors. Two different databases aggregated to find out the working areas of the CSOs and the state agency the former Ministry of Family and Social Policy which was active between the years 2011-2018. The total number of CSOs in the first database was 4490. The sample size consisted of 500 foundations and associations which represents the whole population at 95% confidence level with $\pm 4,13\%$ margin of error. Majority of the CSOs consisted of the associations in this CSOs database. The second database was about the MFSP agenda based on the news bulletins and the legal documents which were downloaded

in November 2017. The news between 2011-2017 included in the data collection process. The second database of MFSP consisted of 1190 news published between 2012 and January 2018, gathered from the media scanning. Besides the databases, interview-in-depths were conducted with 6 experts/academicians in Ankara and Istanbul. These experts were the professionals and academicians who work on child poverty and children's well-being and are productive in reporting about child-related issues. In this research, different analysis techniques were used such as content analysis, word clouds, factor analysis, and cluster analysis. Using these tools, it was aimed to present the themes come to the front in the issue of children agenda.

One of the obstacles of the research was generalizing and categorizing the CSOs. CSOs which includes associations and foundations in this study, could not be taken into consideration as one entity. Their positions, purposes, target groups change with regard to their proximity and relations to the state/government agencies. As the third sector, civil society is not a homogenous category. The reason why I needed to define different kinds of CSOs in this study with regard to their position vis-à-vis the state/government. The state/government's intention and decision on the extent of financial distribution and information sharing with CSOs determine the relationship between these two actors. The children-based CSOs are categorized with regard to the state's approach towards them. While I was trying to map the children agenda here, I ended up with three different positions. The first category was the CSOs who benefit from the financial and information resources of the state/government. These CSOs were explicitly announced as the partners of ministry according to the ministry's website. These CSOs were categorized and named as **the pro-government CSOs**. MFSP's legitimate stakeholder CSOs are the CSOs who benefit from the financial and information resources of the state/government. These CSOs are explicitly announced as the partners of ministry according to the ministry's website. Their agendas are education, disability, family, state protection, family and woman. Foster family was on the agenda of the state but could not find a full response in society. The subject ownership is low between CSOs. But recently we start seeing some examples of the CSOs working in this field such as Hayat Sende

Academy. Some of the legitimate stakeholder CSOs are focusing specifically on this topic.

Another group of children-based CSOs was who were neither encouraged nor supported regularly by the state. The state agents prefer to support and do partnerships with these CSOs occasionally. They were perceived neither as a threat nor a stakeholder by the state. This category was called as the **mainstream ideologically neutral CSOs**.

There were CSOs that the state's information and financial resources were not transferred to these entities, on the other hand. These CSOs either perceived as the opponents to the state agents or state/government withhold their resources from them. Even some of these CSOs faced shut-downs by the state/government during the state of emergency declared between 2016-2017. These CSOs were called as **the advocacy-based CSOs** in this study. Advocacy-based CSOs are focusing on the subjects of child labor, disability, education, current effects of political conjuncture on CSOs and children, children in the judicial system, child poverty and violence against children. These CSOs focus on the subjects studied less. For instance, disability and education are the themes adopted by both different types of CSOs. The literature review showed us the state issued especially education after the nineteenth century. However, these advocate CSOs focus on more detailed information such as the reasons for dropouts among children. Pro-state and mainstream CSOs, on the other hand, focus on the access to education and facilities related to education for children. Disability is the theme that all CSOs focus on. While stakeholder and mainstream CSOs focus on this issue through a philanthropist perspective, advocacy-based CSOs focus on the reasons and consequences of the disabilities, collect information about the caregivers as well.

On the other hand, the former Ministry of Family and Social Policy themes can be interpreted as that the state of Turkey's children agenda consisted of the orphanage issues, foster family, children under state protection, volunteerism and social and cultural activities for children under state protection. The state is only focused on the

children who are under the custody of the state itself. In some extent state also issues the disability.

Frankly, there are many more institutions that surround the children such as schools, family, international nongovernmental organizations and so on. If we have looked at a different state institution by using the analysis model proposed in this thesis, we will probably come across different themes related to the children's agenda. In this thesis, we focused on the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, which was active between 2011-2018. If we look at this structure which merged with the Ministry of Labor as of 2019, we could probably see that the themes related to child labor have come up. It could be seen that the Ministry of Health had different agendas and the Ministry of Education had different agendas. This shows us that the state does not have a holistic and compatible child policy.

CSOs facilitate at the national level are just one of these actors. CSOs undertake the function of filling the gap between the state and the family. Although this thesis does not look at the role of the family, the family is an essential component. However, one of the limitations of this thesis, which focuses on CSOs and the state-related institution, is that it does not focus on the family.

By using different methodologies, and by using different actors' categorization I ended up with various findings. In fact, CSOs working in the field of children is a small area. It is a minimal number of people. There are CSOs that not only work solely on the field of the child but also work in various fields such as education, health, the judicial system, women and so on when we include these CSOs into the field of child-related CSOs the number of organizations increases.

The main finding of the research is that the agenda of the ministry responsible for the children and the agenda of civil-society organizations are different from each other. The agenda of CSOs differs according to their relationship with the state/government. For instance, child protection remains very much in the domain of the state. CSOs cooperate closely with the authorities in order to implement projects in this field. These institutions are mostly the state's legitimate stakeholder

institutions and the mainstream CSOs. In Turkey advocacy based CSOs make policy suggestions, yet their connections with the state are weak. CSOs can only have a supportive role in the process of children policy making. State position itself as the protector of the child, or the father of the children (Çelik, 2001). CSOs, on the other hand, are the ones entertain, support and develop children. These kinds of organizations are mostly the state's legitimate stakeholders and mainstream organizations.

The literature review showed that the first social policies of the state concerning children are about to regulate children's relations with the market. Child labor is the reason for such policies. But according to the expert interviews the state is not as proactive in policies related to child labor as the INGOs and advocacy-based CSOs. In this sense we can mention about a gap between the state and civil agenda in child labor issue. Another gap is evident in the area of education. Even though education is a theme which is issued by all types of CSOs, the content, scope and priorities related to education varies. For instance, while some advocacy-based CSOs work on the rights of education in mother-tongue, mainstream and other CSOs work on the content of religious education. The gap in the agendas are not exist only between the state and CSOs but within the CSOs as well. On the other hand, children in need were interested in church or charitable citizens. The state is enacting several laws on education and for children who exposed to neglect and abuse. Now, the state is in a structure that protects children with "reasonable" disadvantages. It can be assumed the role of charitable institutions at the time of the church and replaced with the state. State of Turkey become more proactive in child abuse issue by contribution of the women organizations. Yet, the gap in the agenda is apparent between the state and civil society especially in the issues related to children's rights. Civil society, except few non-governmental organizations defending the rights of more invisible children, is the echo of the state's perspective. Even though the issue of child labor used to be the subject of the state since the nineteenth century, experts discussed that this agenda still not one of the main issues in Turkey.

Obviously, the agendas of the state and the civil society are expected to be different for a reason. The primary role of civil society is discussing or issuing the subjects that are unspoken by the state. In this sense, the agendas should differ between the state and civil organizations working in the issue of children. Another role of civil society is introducing new issues to the field of policy. By doing so civil society expands the issues of a specific agenda related to the public. Ideally, in order to close the gap between the state and CSOs agendas it is expected from the state to fill this gap by issuing the subjects suggested and advocated by the CSOs. To narrow down the gap between these two actors state must be more proactive to respond the issues brought by especially the advocacy-based CSOs.

These differences in the children agenda are essential to understand and pinpoint the needs of children in Turkish context. The issue and agenda gap between the state and CSOs provide us what is missing in the policy fields related to children's best interest. Also, such an analysis on the difference in children's agenda between the CSOs and the state in Turkey can contribute us to understand where the redlines of the state take place in the issues related to children. This study shows that advocacy-based CSOs who had been working on the issues touch upon the redlines of the state. This is an indicator of that the children agenda of the state is not independent from the macro political debates. However, children do become the aggrieved party among the debates of the redlines. The Kurdish children are one example of this group as the expert's mention related to their experiences. However, CSOs dealing with the rights of children living in the Kurdish region are closed during the state of emergency between 2016-2017. The capacity of this thesis to speak for these children is quite limited.

The findings of this study show that the Turkish State's perception of childhood today is a reflection of this modern approach. However, the definition of modern childhood is not enough to offer an approach that respects children's rights today. Therefore, a new understanding of childhood is necessary. A more common definition of a child is needed, which takes the child to the center, independent of age, independent of working, accepting the child as an individual and a citizen. To

achieve this, this study recommends state to be more proactive with an enhanced dialogue with different stakeholders from the civil society. By including different stakeholders from different kinds of CSOs is essential in the policy making processes related to children and for narrowing down the gap in the children agenda. Besides, children should be taken as the subjects of the issues related to their lives instead of being the object of these issues. There is a limited perspective to address the issue of children as health, education and state protection. These issues should be focused on but with a deepening perspective and by including the neglected issues by the state.

For further research areas, the analysis used in this thesis can be applied for different themes of the civil society, such as women, disability, environment, urban life, refugees, workers' rights, education, and health. By doing so the polarizations in these fields can be detected. Also, such an analysis will show the various actors in these fields.

What is more, the thesis supports that children themselves should have more opportunities to raise their voices and the adults should allow children speak for themselves. It is not easy for adults to listen to children from the heart without stating any judgements or any presumptions. The adult world should let children be themselves and learn to listen to children without any judgements. Children have the potential to design the future by having natural and uncorrupted characteristics such as plain curiosity, eager to learn and their acceptance and their perception of things as they are. This thesis suggests letting children speak about themselves and the full participation of the children into the works done by CSOs and the state towards children. These policy actors should work together with (not solely for) children. By doing so children will have the opportunity to be represented more in the public field.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
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05 Mayıs 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR ;

Danışmanlığını yaptığımız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Esra ATALAY TUNA' nın *"The Role of Child Related Services of NGOs in Turkey through a Social Policy Analysis Perspective"* başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2017-SOS-072 protokol numarası ile 05.05.2017 – 30.08.2017 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zafer KONDAKÇI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Başlangıç saati: | |
| Bitiş saati: | |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| İl | |
| Görüşme No | |
| Tarih | |
| Kuruluş/Uzman Adı | |

A. KİŞİ VE KURULUŞ HAKKINDA BİLGİLER:

1. Sizi biraz tanıyabilir miyiz? (Eğitim, mesleki uzmanlık alanları, yaşadığı/çalıştığı şehirler/ülkeler vb.)
2. Ne zamandır sivil toplum alanında çalışıyorsunuz? Nasıl başladınız?
3. Bu zamana kadar hangi faaliyet alanlarında, hangi hedef gruplarla çalıştınız?
4. Ne zamandır çocuk alanında çalışıyorsunuz? Bu alanda çalışmaya nasıl başladınız?
 - Daha önce kamu veya özel sektörde çalışma deneyiminiz oldu mu? Varsa biraz bu deneyiminizden bahseder misiniz? (Sektör, çalışma alanı, pozisyon, vb.)
5. Türkiye’de çocuk alanında çalışan sivil toplum kuruluşu (STK) deyince **aklınıza ilk gelen üç kuruluş** hangisidir? (Kuruluşunuz haricinde)
 - Uluslararası düzeyde çalışan
 - Türkiye’de ulusal çapta çalışan
 - Türkiye’de yerel düzeyde çalışan

| | Uluslararası Kuruluş | Ulusal düzeyde çalışan | Yerel |
|------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------|
| BİRİNCİSİ: | | | |
| İKİNCİSİ: | | | |
| ÜÇÜNCÜSÜ: | | | |

B. TÜRKİYE’NİN ÇOCUK GÜNDEMİ:

6. Türkiye için bir çocuk politikasının varlığından bahsedebilir miyiz?
 - Varsa, sizce nasıl bir politika izleniyor, hangi konular öne çıkıyor, hangi konular kapsanmıyor?
 - Yoksa, olmamasının nedenleri nedir? Olmamasının sizce sonuçları nelerdir?
7. Türkiye’nin çocuk politikası (oluşturma) gündemi ne zaman başlıyor?
 - Bu süreçte hangi kurumlar, kuruluşlar, kişiler müdahil oluyor (bu sürece katkıda bulunuyor)? Hangi aktörler geri planda duruyor? Neden?

8. Türkiye’de çocuk gündemine tarihsel olarak bakarsak hangi olaylar süre gelen faktörler bu süreci en çok etkiliyor? (Ulusal yönetmelikler ve kararlar, uluslararası anlaşmalar, AB süreci, afetler, savaşlar ve krizler, vb.)
- Türkiye’de genel anlamda çocuk çalışmalarını ve çocuk politikasını belirleyen dönüm noktaları nelerdir?
 - Bu olaylar Türkiye’de çocuk çalışmalarını nasıl etkiliyor? Hangi yeni faaliyet alanlarını açıyor, hangi faaliyet alanlarını sonlandırıyor?

C. SİVİL TOPLUMUN ÇOCUK ALANINDAKİ YAKLAŞIMLARI:

9. Türkiye sivil toplumunun baskın “çocuk” tanımı nedir? (Bu tanıma göre çocuk hangi özelliklere sahiptir veya değildir?)
- Sivil toplum kuruluşları arasında çocuk tanımında sizce bir mutabakat var mı? Farklı yaklaşımlar mevcut mu? Varsa, bunlar nelerdir?
10. Peki, Toplumun çocuk anlayışı, yaklaşımı nedir? Devletin yaklaşımı nedir? Belediyelerin yaklaşımı nedir? Özel sektörün nedir?
- Bu aktörlerin çocuk konusuna yaklaşımı ile sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yaklaşımı hangi konularda benzeşiyor? Hangi noktalarda farklılaşıyor?
11. Türkiye’de sivil toplum kuruluşlarınca en çok ulaşılan çocuk kesimi/hedef kitlesi hangisidir? En az temas edilen kesim hangisidir? Neden?
12. Son yıllarda çocuklarla ve 18 yaş altı gençlerle çalışan STK’ların üzerinde çalıştığı projeler, faaliyetler, savundukları, dile getirdikleri konuların çeşitliliği düşünülünce size hangi temalar, çalışma alanları öne çıkıyor? Hangi çalışma alanları daha görünür?
- Hangi temalar geri planda kalıyor? Sizce neden? Buna neden olan etkenler sizce nelerdir?
 - Tarihsel olarak bakarsak çocuk çalışmalarında hangi yıllarda hangi temalar öne çıkıyor? Hangi çalışma alanları zamanla sona eriyor veya bu çalışma alanları terk ediliyor? Buna neden olan etkenler nelerdir?
13. Türkiye’de, yerel ve ulusal düzeyde çalışan STK’ların gündemi farklılaşıyor mu? Evetse nasıl farklılaşıyor? Hayırsa farklılaşmamasının nedenleri nedir?
14. Türkiye’de hangi çocuk temsili (ya da temsilleri), faaliyet alanları medyanın ilgisine haiz? Hangileri değil?
15. Çocuk alanında çalışan önemli platformlar hangileri? Türkiye’de platform düzeyinde iş birliklerinin avantajları neler? Sorunları neler?

D. AKTÖRLERE DAİR GÖRÜŞLER

16. Birazdan sayacağım kurumların en çok üzerine eğildikleri, en çok önem verdiği çocuk gündemi ve faaliyet alanları nedir?
- Devlet, bakanlıklar
 - Özel sektör
 - Belediyeler, yerel yönetimler
 - Uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşları
17. Bu aktörler hangi konularda iş birliklerine açık, hangi konulardan uzak duruyor? Bu tercihi siz nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

18. Söz konusu aktörler arasında yeni iş birlikleri için uygun bir zemin görüyor musunuz?

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| STK-STK arası | STK-Devlet arası | STK-Uluslararası STK'lar | STK-Özel Sektör | STK-Yerel yönetimler, Belediyeler |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|

E. ÇOCUK HAKLARI, ÇOCUĞUN İNSAN HAKLARI

19. “Hak temelli çocuk çalışmaları” denince aklınıza neler geliyor?
20. “Hak temelli çocuk çalışmaları” Türkiye’de ne kadar yaygın? Bu alan sizce çocuk alanındaki sivil çalışmaların tahmini olarak yaklaşık ne kadarını oluşturuyor? Neden?
21. Sizce bir sivil toplum kuruluşunu “çocuk hakları savunucusu” olarak değerlendirmek için nelere bakmak gerekir? (hangi niteliklere sahip olmalı, faaliyetleri neler olmalı, nasıl bir söylemi olmalı, vb.)
22. Türkiye’de çocuk hakları alanında söz sahibi olan aktörler kimler? Bu alanda çalıştığınızı bildiğiniz aklınıza ilk gelen 3 kuruluş hangisidir?
 - BİRİNCİSİ: _____
 - İKİNCİSİ: _____
 - ÜÇÜNCÜSÜ: _____
23. Bu kuruluşların Türkiye’de çocuk politikasındaki (veya politika oluşturma sürecindeki) etki alanını ve etki düzeyini siz nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
24. Son yıllarda çocuk hakları açısından çocuklar için acil veya yeni ihtiyaç alanları doğdu mu? Evetse bunlar nelerdir?

F. VERİ TABANI HAKKINDA GÖRÜŞLER

25. Türkiye’de çocuk alanında çalışan tüm STK’ları farklı kümelere ayırsak:
 - Bu kümelerin oluşmasında sizce **hangi özellikler** belirleyici olur? (Faaliyet alanları, çocuk tanımları, hedef kitle, STK’ların sahip olduğu gelir, ulusal ve uluslararası aktörlerle iş birlikleri, faaliyet düzeyi, vb.)
 - Hangi kümeler arasında **ilişkiler** olurdu? Bu karşılıklı ilişkilerin niteliğini nasıl görüyorsunuz? (güçlü, zayıf, vb.) Hangi kümeler arası ilişkiler güçlü, hangileri arasında zayıf olurdu?
 - Hangi kümeler **çocuk haklarını** nasıl ve ne yönde (olumlu, olumsuz) etkiler?
26. Türkiye’de çocuk alanında çalışan kuruluşlara dair göz ardı edilen konular nelerdir? Neleri bilmiyoruz? Hangi alanlarda bilgiye ihtiyaç var?
27. Türkiye’de çocukları ilgilendiren hangi konularda raporlar, araştırmalar gibi çalışmalar yoğunlaşıyor? Siz bu çalışmaları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? (Yeterlilik, ihtiyaçlara cevap verme, etkililik, vb. açısından)
28. Türkiye’de kurumunuzun/uzmanlık alanınız dolayısıyla sizin ilgileneceğiniz ne tür verilere, bilgilere ihtiyaç duyuluyor?
29. Çocuk hakları ve çocuk STK’ları konularında sizin yetkin gördüğünüz, çalışmalar yapan kimler, hangi kuruluşlar var? Bu konuda başka kimler çalışmalı?
30. Sormayı unuttuğum, eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Trkiye’de 1990-2018 Yılları Arasında Devlet Kurumlarının ve ocuk Odaklı alıřan Sivil Toplum Kuruluřlarının ocuk Gndemlerinin Bořluk Analizi Yntemiyle Karřılařtırılması

Bu arařtırma, Trkiye’de ocuk alanında alıřan sivil toplum kuruluřlarının gndemleri ile 2011-2018 yılları arasında faaliyet gsteren Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlıęı’nın ocuk alanındaki politika nceliklerini karřılařtırılmaktadır. alıřma, ocuk alanında alıřan sivil toplum kuruluřlarının (STK) gndemi ile ocuk alanında sosyal politikalar geliřtirmek ve uygulamaktan sorumlu olan bakanlıęın gndemi arasındaki farkı incelemek zere bořluk analizine dayanmaktadır. Bylece devletin ocuk politikası gndemiyle Trkiye’de ocuklara ynelik alıřan sivil toplum kuruluřlarının gndemleri arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıkları ortaya koymayı amalamıřtır. 1990-2018 yılları arasında ocuk alanında alıřan STK’ları ele alarak ařaęıdaki sorulara odaklanmaktadır:

- ocuk alanında kamu tarafından desteklenen ve desteklenmeyen temalar nelerdir?
- ocuk odaklı alıřan STK’lar tarafından alıřılan temalar nelerdir?
- ocuk alanında alıřan STK’ların faaliyet alanları kendi ierisinde nasıl eřitlenmektedir?
- Sivil toplum kuruluřları ile kamunun ocuk gndemleri ne kadar uyumaktadır?
- ocuk hakları iin bir hareket yaratılmasının nndeki engeller nelerdir? Bu engeller farklı aktrler iin nasıl farklılık gsterir?
- Kamu ve STK’ların ocuk gndeminin farklılařması ya da benzeřmesinin mevcut sosyal politikalara ve gelecekteki politikalara etkisi nedir?

Sivil toplum homojen bir yapıya sahip deęildir. Dolayısıyla sivil toplum iindeki eřitlilięi gstermek, sivil toplumu ve devleti karřılařtırmak iin bu alıřma, ocuk alanında alıřan STK’ların ve devletin gndemlerini ve konumlarını kategorize eden bir yaklařım benimsemiřtir. ocuk alanında alıřan STK’ları analitik olarak incelemek iin bu kuruluřlar devletin kendilerine ynelik yaklařımına gre sınıflandırılmıřtır. Bu kategoriler, ocuk alanında alıřan STK’ların devlet / hkmet karřısındaki konumlarına ve devlet / hkmet

tarafından sağlanan finansal ve bilgi kaynaklarına ulaşma derecelerine göre birbirinden farklıdır.

Gözlemlenen ilk kategori devlet / hükümetin finansal ve bilgi kaynaklarından yararlanan STK'lardır. Bu STK'lar açıkça bakanlığın web sitesinde meşru bakanlık ortakları olarak ilan edilmiştir. Bu aktörler devlete yakın STK'lar olarak adlandırılmıştır. Öte yandan, devletin bilgi ve finansal kaynaklarının aktarılmadığı STK'lar vardır. Bu STK'lar muhalif olarak algılanmakta ve devlet kurumları tarafından kaynakları durdurularak cezalandırılmakta, hatta bu sivil kuruluşların bir kısmı kapatılma dahil olmak üzere devlet / hükümet tarafından engellerle karşılaşmaktadır. Bu STK'ların önemli bir kısmı çocuk alanında savunuculuk temelli çalıştığı için bu kategori savunucu STK'lar olarak adlandırılmıştır.

Çocuklara yönelik çalışan STK'ların son grubu devlet tarafından teşvik edilmeyen ya da desteklenmeyenlerdir. Bu STK'lar devlet tarafından tehdit olarak görülmemekle birlikte bir müttefik olarak da algılanmamaktadır. Devlet bu gruptaki STK'ları zaman zaman (çoğunlukla uluslararası fon kaynaklarının etkisiyle) desteklemekte ve ortak çalışmaktadır. Bu STK'lar bir anlamda gri bir alandadır. Bu kategori ideolojik olarak nötr / ana akım STK'lar olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu kategori, devletin, STK'ların ve diğer uluslararası paydaşların gözünde sivil toplumla diyaloga ve iş birliğine açık olarak algılanması için stratejik olarak önemlidir.

Dolayısıyla, bu çalışma kapsamında, bu dört farklı aktörün çocuk sorunlarına yaklaşımları: üç STK kategorisi ve devlet kurumu / bakanlık dikkate alınmıştır.

Bu araştırma hem keşfedici hem de betimleyici niteliktedir. Çalışmada hem nitel hem de nicel analiz yaklaşımıyla karma bir yöntem benimsenmiştir. Araştırma modeli, çocuk gündemi temalarının farklı kaynaklardan, çocukluk çalışmaları alanındaki kilit uzmanlardan, STK'ların web sitelerinden ve ASPB'nin resmî belgelerinden veriler derlenerek karşılaştırılmasına dayanmaktadır. ASPB'nin çevrimiçi haber bültenleri ve resmî belgeleri 2017 yılında ASPB'nin resmî web sitesinden indirilmiştir. 2012-2017 yılları arasında yayınlanan 1190 haber bir veri tabanında toplanmıştır. Her haber içeriği kategorize edilerek, ASPB'nin çocuklarla ilgili faaliyetleri ve öncelik alanları tanımlanmıştır. Haberlerin başlıkları bir kelime bulutu üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Böylece en sık kullanılan kelimeler görünüş sıklığına göre analiz edilerek görselleştirilmiştir. Bu iki analiz ile devletin çocuk gündemi ve yaklaşımlarıyla ilgili ana temalar ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Devlete yakın STK'lar ile ana akım STK'ların çalışmalarını değerlendirmek için bu çalışma kapsamında Türkiye'de faaliyet gösteren çocuk STK'ları veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Çocuk alanında çalışan STK'ların listesi, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü ile Dernekler Müdürlüğü veri tabanları dahil olmak üzere farklı çevrimiçi kaynaklardan toplanmıştır. Bunların yanı sıra, çocuk STK'larına ilişkin veri tabanı oluşturan Uluslararası Çocuk Merkezi (ICC) ve Kalkınma Atölyesi gibi kuruluşların da çalışmalarından faydalanılmıştır. Böylece, Türkiye'de kapsamlı bir çocuk STK'ları veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Çocuk alanında çalışan STK'ların isimleri derlendikten sonra, bu STK'ların çalışma ve faaliyet alanlarına ilişkin bilgiler kuruluşlara ait resmî web sitelerinden toplanmıştır. Her STK bu veri tabanında ana çalışma alanlarına göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Dernek ve vakıfları dahil eden veri tabanı 4490 STK'dan oluşmaktadır. Analiz aşamasında ise STK'ların 500'ü analize tabi tutulmuştur. Örneklem, araştırma evrenini $\pm 4,13\%$ hata payı ile temsil etmektedir. Savunuculuk temelli çalışan STK'ların yürüttüğü ana temalar, çocuk alanında çalışan uzmanlarla tartışılmıştır. Bu amaçla Ankara ve İstanbul'da çocuk alanında çalışan altı uzman ile derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu uzmanlar çocuk işçiliği, çocuk yoksulluğu ve çocukların refahı konusunda çalışan ve çocuk politikalarıyla ilgili konularda rapor hazırlayan, bilgi üreten, çalışan profesyoneller ve akademisyenlerdi.

Literatür taraması, devletin ve sivil kuruluşların çocuk konusuna ve çocuk politikalarına yaklaşımlarının farklılaştığını göstermektedir. Sosyal devletin aktörlerinden olan devlet ve STK'lar, çocuk haklarında farklı odaklara sahipken, çocuk koruma alanında benzer konumlara sahiptir. Bir yandan devlet, çocuk haklarına çok az ya da hiç atıfta bulunmadan çocukların korunmasına dair bir anlayışı benimser. Öte yandan STK'lar, özellikle hak temelli yaklaşım üzerine çalışanlar, çocuk haklarını ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Türkiye'de çocuk hakları ve çocuklarla ilgili politikalar, özellikle 1990'lardan sonra ve 1960'lardan bu yana uluslararası kuruluşların etkisiyle, Avrupa Birliği'ne üyelik sürecinin etkisiyle yönetilmektedir. Özellikle Türkiye'de STK'larla devlet / hükümet arasında çelişkili alanlar ve sorun alanı olarak tanımlanmayan bazı gündemler vardır. Sorun alanı olarak tanımlanmayan gündemlerin başında sağlık gelmektedir. Özellikle çocuk sağlığı tüm aktörlerin çocukların ölüm oranlarını azaltma yönünde aynı pozisyonda oldukları, çatışmaya açık olmayan tek alandır. Eğitim ise çelişkili bir alandır çünkü farklı STK'lar çocukları nasıl eğitecekleri konusunda farklı görüşleri savunmaktadır, devlet de bu durumdan azade değildir. Eğitim, farklı STK'lar tarafından çalışılan bir tema olmasına rağmen, eğitimle ilgili içerik, kapsam ve öncelikler değişmektedir. Örneğin, bazı savunuculuk temelli STK'lar

anadilde eğitim hakları üzerinde çalışırken, ana akım ve diğer STK'lar din eğitiminin içeriği üzerinde çalışmaktadır. Bu bakımdan çocuk gündemindeki boşluk sadece devlet ile STK'lar arasında değil, aynı zamanda sivil toplumun kendi içerisinde de vardır. Türkiye’de sivil toplumun çocuk gündemi, görmezden gelinen çocukların haklarını savunan az sayıda sivil toplum kuruluşu dışında, devlet perspektifinin bir yansımasıdır. Çocuk işçiliği konusu on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan bu yana devletin konusu olmasına rağmen, uzmanlar bu gündemin hala Türkiye’deki ana konulardan biri olmadığını tartışmaktadır. Öte yandan çocuk işçiliği, STK’ların ve uluslararası kuruluşların etkisiyle birçok mevzuatın çalışıldığı ve yürürlüğe konulduğu bir alandır. Erken evlilik meselesi, mevcut Türkiye gündeminde çelişkili bir başka konu olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Farklı metodolojiler kullanılarak ve farklı aktörler çalışma alanlarına göre kategorize edilerek çeşitli bulgulara ulaşılmıştır. Türkiye’de çocuk alanında çalışan STK’lar küçük bir alandır, çocuk hakları alanında çalışanlar ise çok daha azdır. Faaliyet alanını çocuk olarak tanımlayan STK’ların ezici çoğunluğu yalnızca çocuk alanında çalışmamakta, aynı zamanda eğitim, sağlık, yargı sistemi, kadın gibi farklı odaklara sahiptir. Bu temalarda uzmanlaşan STK’lar ayrıca çocuk alanında da çalıştığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu durum Türkiye’de çocuk gündeminin haklar çerçevesinde yaygın olmadığını ve sadece sınırlı bir çevre tarafından tartışıldığını göstermektedir.

Araştırmanın temel bulgusu, çocuklardan sorumlu bakanlık gündeminin ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin gündeminin birbirinden farklı olmasıdır. STK’ların gündemi, devlet / hükümet ile ilişkilerine göre farklılık göstermektedir. Örneğin, ASPB’nin ana odağını çocuk koruma oluşturmaktadır. STK’lar da çocuk koruma alanındaki projeleri uygulamak için yetkililerle yakın iş birliği içindedir. Bu kurumlar çoğunlukla devletin meşru paydaş kurumları ve ana akım STK’lardır. Türkiye’de savunuculuk temelli STK’lar politika önerileri yapmaktadır ancak devletle bağlantıları zayıftır. STK’lar sadece çocuk politikaları oluşturma sürecinde destekleyici bir role sahiptir. Bu çalışma Çelik’in (2001) devletin kendini çocuğun koruyucusu veya çocukların babası olarak konumlandığı tezini desteklemektedir. Öte yandan STK’lar çocukları eğlendiren, destekleyen ve geliştiren kuruluşlar olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu fonksiyonu üstlenen STK’lar ise çoğunlukla devletin meşru paydaşları ve ana akım sivil kuruluşlardır.

Çalışmanın ulaştığı bir diğer önemli bulgu ise bakanlık gündemi ile STK gündemi arasında ortak konular bulunsa da çocuktan sorumlu bakanlığın çocuk gündemi STK’larındaki kadar çeşitli olmadığıdır. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı’nın odağına aldığı çocuk gündemi

temaları, Türkiye'nin çocuk gündeminin devlet koruması altındaki çocuklar, çocuk koruma ve bakım kuruluşları, koruyucu aileliğin teşvik edilmesi, kurum bakımında kalan çocuklara yönelik gönüllülük faaliyetleri ve devlet koruması altındaki çocuklar için sosyal ve kültürel faaliyetlerden ve kısmen de engellilik odaklı çalışmalardan oluştuğu şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Çalışma kapsamında odaklanılan çocuktan ve çocuk politikalarından sorumlu devlet kurumu, ASPB, yalnızca devletin velayeti altındaki çocuklara odaklanmaktadır.

Araştırmanın sınırlılıklarından biri devlet kurumu olarak odağına tek bir bakanlığı almış olmasıdır. Oysa ki okullar, aile, uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşları gibi çocukları çevreleyen çok daha fazla kurum var. Bu tezde önerilen analiz modelini kullanarak farklı bir devlet kurumuna bakılacak olursa, devletin çocuk gündemiyle ilgili farklı temalarla karşılaşılması muhtemeldir. Bu tez çalışmasında, 2011-2018 arasında aktif olan Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı'na odaklanılmıştır. 2019 itibariyle Çalışma Bakanlığı ile birleşen bu yapıya bakarsak, muhtemelen çocuk işçiliği ile ilgili temaların ortaya çıktığını görebiliriz. Ayrıca Sağlık Bakanlığı'na odaklanılsa bu devlet kurumunun çocuk konusunda farklı gündemleri, Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın, Adalet Bakanlığı'nın da farklı gündemleri olduğu görülebilir. Ancak bu durum bize devletin bütünsel ve uyumlu bir çocuk politikası olmadığını göstermektedir. Bu konudaki en bariz örnek devletin farklı kurumlarının çocuk tanımının birbirinden farklılaşmasıdır. Bugün Türkiye'de farklı devlet kurumlarının farklı yaş tanımları vardır. ILO'nun 138 sayılı Asgari Yaş Sözleşmesi'nin 3. Maddesine göre, gençlerin sağlıklarını, güvenliğini veya ahlakını tehlikeye atabilecek herhangi bir iş veya işe kabul için asgari yaş 18 yaşından küçük olamaz. Bu sözleşme 1998 yılında Türkiye tarafından onaylanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, Çalışan Çocuk ve Genç İşçilerin Çalışma Usul ve Esasları Hakkında Yönetmelik (2004), 15 yaşını doldurmuş, ancak 18 yaşını doldurmamış bir genç olarak; 14 yaşını doldurmuş, 15 yaşını doldurmamış ve ilkokulu bitirmiş bir kişi çocuk işçi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Öte yandan, 2169 sayılı Evlilik Yönetmeliğinin on dördüncü maddesine göre on yedi yaşını dolduran erkek ve kadın vasinin izniyle, ebeveyn yoksa veli ya da vesayet makamının izniyle; on altı yaşın üzerindeki erkekler ve kadınlar hâkimin izniyle evlenebilir. Seçme hakkına dair ise, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası'nın 67. Maddesinde belirtildiği gibi, on sekiz yaşına ulaşmış her Türk vatandaşın oy kullanma hakkı vardır. Bu yasal belgelere baktığımızda 15 ila 18 yaş arasının muğlak bir tanıma sahip olduğu, bu yaş grubunun farklı kurumlarca yetişkin ya da çocuk olarak tanımlanmasına yol açtığıdır. Devlet kurumları arasında hangi yaşın çocuk

olduğu konusunda ortak bir anlayış yoktur. Farklı kurumların çocuğu tanımlayan yaşları tanımlamada farklılık göstermesi, özellikle çocuk evliliği ve çocuk işçiliği ile ilgili çocuk hakları ihlallerine açık kapılar bırakarak yasal bir karışıklık yaratmaktadır. Bu yaş tanımı meselesi tartışmalı bir alandır ve çocuk haklarının sağlanması için ikilemler ve sorunlar oluşturmaktadır.

Öte yandan sivil toplum kuruluşlarının çalıştıkları konular kendi içinde farklılaşmaktadır. Çocuktan sorumlu bakanlık, çocuk koruma alanında faaliyet gösterirken devlet/hükümetin kaynaklarına yakın olan çocuk STK'ları en çok aile, eğitim ve engelli çocuklar alanlarında çalışmaktadır. Devletin meşru paydaşı olan ve çocuk alanında çalışan STK'lar aile ve kadın sorunlarını desteklemektedir. Bakanlığın web sitesine göre Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı'na bağlı Çocuk Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü ile yakın çalışan STK'lar en çok aile ve kadın alanında çalışmaktadır. Bu kategori, devlet STK'lar tarafından çalışılan konuların %57'sini oluşturmaktadır. Özellikle bu kategorideki STK'ların yarısı kadın konusunu ana faaliyet alanı olarak çalışmaktadır. Kadınlar ve çocuklar, aile şemsiyesi başlığı altında öne çıkan konulardandır. Bu, devletin / hükümetin çocuk ve aynı zamanda kadın politikalarının bir yansımasıdır.

Ana akım çocuk STK'larının gündemlerinin içeriğini anlamak için çeşitli analiz araçları kullanılmıştır. İlk olarak, çocuk odaklı çalışan ana akım STK'ların isimlerinde en çok tekrarlayan kelimeleri görselleştirmek için kelime bulutu kullanılmıştır. Bu analize göre Türkiye'de çocuk alanında çalışan STK'ların isminde en çok geçen kelimeler yetiştirme, esirgeme, yurt, çocuk evi, koruma, hizmet, yardım, yuva, merkez gibi çocuk koruma hizmetlerine atıfta bulunan kavramlardır. İkinci kategori ise engelliliktir. Bu kapsamda engelliler, özel çocuklar, zihinsel engellilik, spastik engellilik gibi kavramlar öne çıkmaktadır. Bu anlamda, STK'ların çocuklara yönelik yaklaşımının, devletin korunma yaklaşımına büyük ölçüde paralel olduğu yorumlanabilir. Genel olarak, korunmaya ihtiyacı olan savunmasız çocuklar, Türkiye'deki STK'lar arasında en baskın odaktır. Ana akım STK'lar çoğunlukla burs sağlama, sağlık, ayni veya nakdi yardımlar, eğitim gibi daha genel konulara odaklanmaktadır.

Türkiye'de çocuk alanında çalışan STK'lar faaliyet alanlarına göre kategorilendirilerek listelenmiştir. Bu kategoriler ayrıca, çocuk STK'larında hangi konuların temsil edildiğini derinlemesine anlamak için gruplandırılmıştır. İlginç bulgulardan biri, çocuklarla çalışan STK'ların çalışma alanlarını daha çok kadın olarak tanımlamalarıdır. Diğer bir deyişle çocuk konusunda söz söyleyen kuruluşların önemli bir kısmı kadın kuruluşlarıdır. Örnekleme,

STK'ların %16'sı da kadın alanında çalışmaktadır. Türkiye’de çocuk gündemi en çok kadın örgütleri tarafından desteklenmektedir. Feminist hareket, çocuk politikasının atılımlarından biri olduğundan, bu bulgu şaşırtıcı değildir. Feminist hareket, ailenin her üyesinin eşit haklara sahip olmasını desteklemektedir ve bu hareket aynı zamanda aile üyelerinin bireyselliği ve çocuğun haklarını tartışmak için bir alan açmıştır (Therborn, 1996). Feminist hareketin çocuk politikasının ortaya çıkmasında en büyük etkiye sahip olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Bu kuruluşlar halen, kız çocuklarının evde çalışmasının yanı sıra, istismar ve ihmal konularına, erken evliliklere, çalışan annelere ve kadın istihdamına odaklanmaktadır. Bu meseleler, toplumsal cinsiyet sorununu çocuk meselesiyle örtüşmektedir. Kadın örgütleri bu konuları kadının insan hakları tartışması altında ele almaktadır. Çocuk alanında çalışan STK’lar arasında çalışılan bir diğer alan ise sağlıktır. Sağlık alanında çalışan bu STK’lar, hastanelerin veya mesleki kuruluşların şubeleri veya kardeş kuruluşlarıdır. Bebek ve çocuk sağlığı, çocuk odaklı çalışan kuruluşların %10’unun faaliyet alanıdır.

Analizi derinleştirmek için, çocuk alanında çalışan STK’ların faaliyet alanları faktör analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Faktör analizi bu kategorileri kendi içerisinde gruplayarak hangi faaliyet alanlarının birbirine yaklaştığını, hangi faaliyet alanlarının ise bir arada çalışılmadığını göstermektedir. Türkiye’de çocuk alanında çalışan STK’ların faaliyet alanları toplamda 46 faaliyet alanı kategorisinde sınıflandırılmıştır. Döndürülmüş Bileşen Matrisi öne çıkan beş ana küme olduğunu göstermiştir. Döndürülmüş bileşen matrisi kullanarak faktör analizi beş kümeyi öne çıkarmıştır. Bu kümeler adli veya yasal davalar, eğitim, muhtaç çocuklar, yaşlılar / kadınlar ve sağlık ve çocuk hakları olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu bileşenler adli davalar ve çocuğun insan hakları, dezavantajlı çocuklar için sosyal entegrasyon çabaları ve gelişimi, çocuk koruma ve güçlendirme, devlet korumasına destek, çocuklara yönelik diğer bireysel yardımlar ve girişimlerdir. Faktör analizi ayrıca mülteci çocuklarla çalışan STK'ların zihinsel sağlık desteği gibi sosyal uygulamalar yürüttüğünü ve çocukları teknoloji dahil sosyal aktivitelerle tanıştırdığını gösteriyor. Çocuklar ve ebeveynler için eğitim, merkezi bir tema olarak ortaya çıkan bir başka konudur. Yoksulluk ve muhtaç çocuklar önden gelen başka bir boyuttur. İlginç bir bulgu, çocuklar için çalışan STK'ların bir kısmının çalışma odaklarına yaşlıları veya kadınları alması veya bu konuyu sağlıkla bütünleştirmesidir. Bu bize çocukların bireysel bir konu olarak alınmadığını, yardıma ihtiyacı olan insan kategorilerinden biri olarak ele alındığını göstermektedir.

Çocuk alanında çalışan STK’ların çocuk gündemlerini anlamak üzere ayrıca her bir faaliyet alanı arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak için veri azaltma yöntemlerinden kümeleme analizi

uygulanmıştır. Örneklemdaki STK'lar tekrar çalışma alanlarına göre kategorize edilmiştir. Analizi görselleştirmek için dendrogram kullanılmıştır. Dendrogram, çocuk STK'larının çalışma alanlarına dair bir ucunda çocukların haklarının, diğer yanda ise çocukların korunması ve bakımının olduğu bir spektrum sunmuştur. Bu, literatür taramasında ele alınan çocuk gündeminin gözle görülür bir yansımasıdır. Modern çocukluk özellikle çocukların korunmasına ve bakımına odaklanmaktayken 1960lardan itibaren uluslararası kuruluşların da etkisiyle gündeme gelen çocuk hakları konusunu öne çıkarmaktadır. Bu spektrum bize bu tartışmaların günümüzde çocuk alanında çalışan STK'ların faaliyet alanlarının da belirleyicisi olduğunu göstermektedir.

Devletin kaynaklarına en az erişen/çoğu zaman erişemeyen STK'ların gündemleri çocuğa yönelik şiddet, adli sistemde çocuklar, çocuk işçiliği ve çocuk yoksulluğu olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Savunucu STK'lar ayrıca çocuk işçiliği, engellilik, eğitim, siyasi politikaların çocuklar üzerindeki güncel etkileri gibi daha az konuşulan konularda çalışmaktadır. Bu STK'ların aynı zamanda yargı sistemindeki çocuklar, çocuk yoksulluğu ve çocuklara yönelik şiddet meselelerine odaklandıkları görülmektedir. Savunucu STK'lar çocuk alanında daha az çalışılan konulara odaklanmaktadır. Örneğin, engellilik ve eğitim, her iki farklı STK tipi tarafından benimsenen ve çalışılan temalardır. Literatür taraması on dokuzuncu yüzyıldan sonra özellikle çocuk ve eğitim konusunun devlet tarafından önceliklendirildiğini göstermektedir. Devlet okullaşma oranının niceliğine odaklanırken savunucu STK'lar, çocuklar arasında okulu bırakma nedenleri gibi daha detay bilgilere odaklanmaktadır. Türkiye'de çocukları ilgilendiren ama politika düzeyinde ihmal edilen konular uzmanlara göre oldukça çeşitlidir. Uzmanların bahsettiği ihmal edilen bu temalar şöyle özetlenebilir: Engellilik, sakatlık ve engelli çocuklar; yargı sisteminde çocuklar ve suça itilen gençlerle ilgili kritik alanlar, çocuğa karşı şiddet, çocukların okulu bırakma nedenleri, çocuk yoksulluğu, anadilde eğitim, "olağanüstü hâl" döneminde çocuklar, mülteci çocuklar ve çocuk işçiliğinin karakteristikleridir. Çocuk yoksulluğu, hakkında çok az şey bilinen başka bir alandır. Uzmanlara göre, Türkiye'de bu alan özelinde çalışan, diğer bir deyişle doğrudan çocuk yoksulluğu çalışan STK'lar yoktur. Hayırseverlik eksenli çalışan kuruluşlar kısmen çocuk yoksulluğu alanında çalışsa da bu konuyu haklar perspektifinden ele almamaktadır.

Araştırmanın temel iddiası ise, sivil toplum ile devletin çocuk gündemleri arasındaki farkın belli bir ölçüde olması gerektiği ve devletin farklı sivil toplum kuruluşları ile diyalogunu artırarak çocuk politikaları gündem alanındaki boşluğu kapatmak için daha aktif olması gerekliliğidir. Devlet kurumları ve sivil kuruluşların gündemleri arasındaki fark, çocukların

iyi olma halini sağlamaya yönelik yeterince kaynak aktarılmamasına ve bu durumda çocukların mağdur olmasına yol açmaktadır.

Aslında, devletin ve sivil toplumun gündemlerinin farklı olması beklenen bir sonuçtur. Sivil toplumun temel rolü devlet tarafından söylenmeyen, gündeme alınmayan, ihmal ya da göz ardı edilen hak temelli konuları tartışmak, toplumda farkındalık oluşturmak ve yaygınlaştırmaktır. Bu anlamda, gündemler, devlet ile çocuk sayısında çalışan sivil kuruluşlar arasında farklılık göstermelidir. Sivil toplumun bir diğer rolü de politika alanına yeni konular getirmektir. Bunu yaparak sivil toplum, toplumu veya toplumun farklı kesimlerini ilgilendiren konuların duyulmasını sağlar. İdeal durumda, devlet ile STK'ların gündemleri arasındaki boşluğu kapatmak için devletten STK'lar tarafından önerilen ve savunulan konuları tanıyarak ve aksiyon alarak bu boşluğu doldurması beklenir. Bu iki aktör arasındaki boşluğu azaltmak için, özellikle savunuculuk temelli STK'ların getirdiği toplumda daha az görünen acil sorunlara cevap verebilmek için daha aktif olması gerekmektedir.

Türkiye'nin çocuk gündemindeki farklılıklar, çocukların ihtiyaçlarını Türkiye bağlamında anlamak ve belirlemek için çok önemlidir. Devlet ile STK'lar arasında yaşanan sorunlar ve çocuğun iyi olma halini gözeten gündemlerinin farklılaşması, çocukların iyi olma halini sağlamayı hedefleyen sosyal politikaların geliştirilmesinin önünde engel teşkil etmektedir. Bu tür çalışmalar STK'lar ile devletin çocuk gündemindeki farklılığa ilişkin böyle bir analiz, devletin çocuklarla ilgili konularda kırmızı çizgilerinin nerede olduğunu anlamamıza katkıda bulunabilir. Bu çalışma, özellikle savunuculuk temelli STK'ların, devletin yeniden çizgilerine değdiğini göstermektedir. Bu durum, devletin çocuk gündeminin makro siyasi tartışmalardan bağımsız olmadığına da bir göstergesidir. Bununla birlikte, çocuklar bu kırmızı çizgiler tartışmaları arasında mağdur taraf olmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın bulguları, devletin bugün çocukluk algısının modern yaklaşımın bir yansıması olduğunu göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, modern çocukluğun tanımı, bugün çocuk haklarına saygılı bir yaklaşım sunmak için yeterli değildir. Bu nedenle, yeni bir çocukluk anlayışı gereklidir. Çocuğu merkezine alan, yaştan bağımsız, çalışma hayatına katılımdan bağımsız, çocuğu bir birey ve bir vatandaş olarak kabul eden daha yaygın bir çocuk tanımına ihtiyaç vardır. Bunu başarmak için bu çalışma, sivil toplumdan farklı paydaşlarla yapılan diyaloglarla devletin daha proaktif olmasını önermektedir. Farklı STK'lardan farklı paydaşların çocukları ilgilendiren politika süreçlerine dahil edilmesi devlet ile sivil toplum arasında çocuk gündemindeki açığı kapatmak için gereklidir. Ayrıca

ocuklar, kendi yařamlarını ilgilendiren konuların nesnesi deęil znesi olmalıdır. ocuk konusunu saęlık, eęitim ve devlet koruması alanlarına indirgemek ocuęun iyi olma hali iin elzem olmakla beraber yeterli bir perspektif sunmamaktadır. Bu konulara odaklanılmalıdır, ancak derinlemesine bir bakıř aısıyla ve ocuk alanında ihmal edilen ve ocukları maędur eden konuları devletin gndemine dahil etmesi gerekmektedir.

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