

**SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AS A POVERTY ALLEVIATION STRATEGY;
CASE OF ALTINDAĞ SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY
FOUNDATION**

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AS A POVERTY ALLEVIATION STRATEGY; CASE OF ALTINDAĞ SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY FOUNDATION

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Through the globalization of economy, alleviating poverty has become one of the pivotal issues within social policy arrangement agendas for many countries all over the world. One of the primary and richest instruments of the alleviation process is social assistance programs. It is an apodictic fact that the proportion of social assistance disbursements within general budgets of the states have been gradually increasing during the recent years. This situation is also true for Turkey. In this context, to what extent citizens steer away from poverty as the result of all these assistances and to what extent social assistance programs are effective on reproduction of poverty becomes a major question. . The basic objective of this study is to search for and understand the impact of social assistances provided by the state in Turkey on behalf of reducing the poverty conditions of the beneficiaries. The study is based upon a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with beneficiaries of Altındađ Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation in Ankara, Turkey.

As a result of the study, it is observed that even though distributed assistances are found insufficient by beneficiaries, they have some significant impacts on reduction of poverty. It is understood that the distribution process itself reveals some key problems of the social assistance program of the state such as inefficient definition of poverty and the poor and creating a feeling of dependency for the beneficiaries. The socio-economic factors creating poverty of the beneficiaries are not well defined in Turkey. . In line with this finding one striking inference is that the assistances may

cause a kind of culture of poverty for a group of beneficiaries. Besides, assistance may have more impact on women's poverty as the women beneficiaries have a higher tendency to identify social assistance as a vital part of their survival while men beneficiaries identify social assistance as support to family. In terms of cash and /or goods transfers the beneficiaries identified transfers of coal, food and cash as very effective and essential for their survival, though the amount especially of cash transfers was less than required. All in all, as a concrete policy suggestion social assistance programs in both cash and in goods are effective for the reduction of poverty of the poor groups however it is not a total solution to create a take-off effect for the beneficiaries out of their poverty condition. The thesis suggests that social assistance programs should be improved in terms of accessibility and defition of poverty and the poor.

Keywords: Social Assistance, Poverty, Poverty Alleviation, Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation

ÖZ

YOKSULLUKLA MÜCADELE STRATEJİSİ OLARAK SOSYAL YARDIMLAR; ALTINDAĞ SOSYAL YARDIMLAŞMA VE DAYANIŞMA VAKFI ÖRNEĞİ

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Küreselleşen ekonomiyle birlikte yoksullukla mücadele dünya devletlerin sosyal politikalarında önemli bir yere gelmiştir. Bu mücadelenin ana araçlarından birisi de sosyal yardımlardır. Son yıllarda sosyal yardım harcamalarının ülkelerin bütçesindeki yeri giderek artmaktadır. Bu durum Türkiye için de geçerlidir. Yapılan desteklerin sonucunda bireylerin yoksulluktan ne derece uzaklaştıkları ve bu programların yoksullukla mücadelede ne derece etkili oldukları bu bağlamda önem kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de devlet tarafından sağlanan sosyal yardımların, yararlanıcıların yoksullukları üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmak ve anlamaya çalışmaktır. Araştırma, Altındağ Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfında yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelere dayanmaktadır.

Araştırmanın sonucu olarak, yapılan yardımların yararlanıcılar tarafından eksik olarak tanımlanmasına rağmen, yoksulluk üzerinde bazı önemli etkileri olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Dağıtım sürecinin kendisinin devletin sosyal yardım programında yoksulluk ve yoksul tanımlarındaki yetersizlikler ve yararlanıcılar üzerinde yarattığı bağımlılık etkisi gibi çok önemli problemleri ortaya çıkardığı anlaşılmıştır. Türkiye’de yararlanıcıların yoksulluğuna neden olan sosyo-ekonomik faktörler iyi açıklanmamıştır. Bu bulguya paralel olarak bir diğer bulguda bu tür desteklerin bazı yararlanıcılarda bir çeşit yoksulluk kültürü oluşturabildiğidir. Bunun yanısıra destekler kadın yoksulluğu üzerinde daha etkilidir. Kadın yararlanıcılar desteklere yaşamları için çok gerekli bir unsura olarak bakarken, erkek yararlanıcılar sosyal destekleri aileye katkı olarak anlamlandırmaktadırlar. Mal ve/ veya nakit para transferlerine ilişkin olarak yararlanıcıların görüşleri bu transferlerin, özellikle kömür, gıda ve nakit transferlerinin, yaşamlarını sürdürmede çok etkili ve gerekli olduğudur. Öte yandan, özellikle nakit transferlerin miktarı gereksimlerine

yetmemektedir. Bütün bu bulgular sonucunda somut bir sosyal politika önerisi olarak hem nakit hem de ayni desteklerin yoksul gruptaki yoksulluğun azaltılmasında etkili olduğu ancak yararlanıcıları yoksulluk konumundan kurtaracak bir kalkınmayı sağlayabilecek bir çözüm olmadığı söylenebilir. Tezde sosyal yardım programlarının ulaşılabilirlik ve yoksulluk ve yoksul tanımlarının geliştirilmesi açısından iyileştirilmesi gerektiği önerilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Yardım, Yoksulluk, Yoksullukla Mücadele, Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı

Dedicated to my family...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Capitalism evolved into a different character which emphasizes liberal economical development that does not necessarily lead to war or disaster as it was the situation in its initial times of imperialism. When current statistics are analyzed it would also not be unfair to claim that this economical development also designates a new functioning of social order in society as it determines the welfare of the individuals in that society. Nevertheless, this economical growth, either by categorically increasing the welfare or creating, ostensibly, a sui generis new social order, has never been able to sweep out one thing from the history of the world; that is poverty. That means, even though it was historically believed that economical growth is the key factor for the reduction of poverty, there are still 2.8 billion people who live on less than 2 \$ income per day and 1.2 billion people live on less than 1\$ income per day in the world¹. That is why, today, poverty is taken as a global economical and social phenomenon due to its irrepressible growth in contravention of the simultaneous growth of liberal capital accumulation and systematically supported economical development. As being at such a thin line, poverty continues to stand as one of the most arguable issues in social sciences. That open to discussion character also stems from a very wide range of different practical experiences of poverty all over the world. In that respect, social policies implemented by the states to deal with it also vary. The very significant character of these policies to reduce the condition of indigence lies behind the poverty. For this reason, states establish institutions for producing social policies against poverty. In the contemporary era, one of the major tools for dealing with poverty is social assistance. Social assistance, today, is one of

¹ World Development Report (2001)

the common practical ways of creating social equilibrium in society by protecting the indigent. By the establishment of social assistance system, most of the countries try to increase the living conditions of the citizens with respect to their current situation by supplying in-kind or in cash transfers. Thus, these aids are given in order to maintain the minimum welfare in society.

The purpose of this thesis is to understand in what manner does this social assistance system is effective on maintaining minimum welfare in Turkey and evaluate in what manner does this social assistance system is effective on alleviating poverty. For that reason, many of the world literature leading to poverty and welfare issues are kept in mind while considering the condition in Turkey. Moreover, research process was carried out in Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDV) which is the hearth of the social assistance system in Turkey. Thus, this thesis will also include some evaluation on SYDV assistances. With related to above mentioned, the framework of the thesis will be in seven parts.

In chapter one, there is a brief introduction to the thesis in which framework of the thesis will be introduced. In chapter two, research and methodology are explained briefly. The purpose of the thesis, problematic of the research, limitations at research process will be mentioned at this chapter. Additionally, the key terms that are going to constitute vital background on better understanding for social assistance systems are also going to be explained in this part. While discussing these key terms, descriptive and comparative information will be given because of the altering in the meaning of the concepts. For example; there are some critical differentiations in definition of poverty, in other words, there is no single definition of poverty or as such. Thus, in this chapter intellectual literature of the poverty will be explained in comparison with global definition and local definitions. In further, concepts of social security, social assistance, social insurance will be briefly discussed.

In chapter three theoretical frameworks of thesis are going to be introduced that related to poverty and welfare state. There are various approaches in literature, however, in poverty theories, conservative liberal, culture of poverty and Marxist approaches are the most effective ones in this thesis. Thus, these theories are going to be mentioned briefly. Then, welfare strategies, meaning of social assistance in

welfare state, theories of welfare state and Esping Andersen typologies are going to be asserted. At the critiques of Esping Andersen welfare state typologies we will also try to establish a link between Turkish welfare state and other types of welfare state. Afterwards, there is going to be brief definition of poverty in Turkey and welfare history of Turkish state.

Chapter four refers to historical development of social assistance system and its shifting both in ideology and regulations. First, we will try to establish a historical background between Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic state in the sense of social assistance. In the second part of the chapter we will try to explain the starting of new regulations in social security system. However, there is going to be discussed that ideology behind social assistance system still not far away from Ottoman Empire state era. At the third part of the chapter, changing patterns in state towards social state and its reflections on social assistance system are going to be mentioned. At the last part of the chapter, how social assistance system shaped by liberal ideologies of the era are going to be discussed.

At chapter five, there is going to be discussed the structure of social assistance system. While doing this, we are going to explain what are the types of social assistances, which institutions are assigned for providing social assistances, application process are going to be introduced.

At sixth chapter we are going to analyze field data within the theoretical framework that mentioned at third chapter. At the last chapter there is going to be some policy suggestions and conclusion.

Before getting started, it should be mentioned that there are large numbers of social assistance providers in Turkey, however, Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDV) is the most well known institution because it provides various social assistances with its over 900 offices in rural and urban districts of Turkey. Thus, SYDV is a central figure for poverty alleviation strategies of Turkish state. Considering its developed network and social expenditure, this thesis takes SYDV as

a main social assistance provider. In short term action plans of SYDV purpose is to increase welfare by poverty mitigation strategies but in long term it is expected to solve social issues. Actually, there are projects ongoing about improving the substructure of the SYDV, especially for collecting information in electronic source.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH AND METHOD

2. 1. Research Process and Method

2.1.1. Problem Statement

This thesis work concentrates on the main question of “How do social assistances provided by the state (Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation) is effective on poverty alleviation in the case of Altındağ, Ankara?”

2.1.2. Purpose

The goal of this study is to explore the influence of social assistances over poverty. In that respect, this research focuses on the following objectives:

1. To understand how does modern social state of Turkey control poverty via its social assistance distributing institutions.
2. To determine in what ways these assistances work for the elimination or alleviation of poverty.
3. To determine in which directions social assistances affect the lives of the poor.

2.1.3. Review of Literature

The two major study units in this research are, as I beforehand tried to explain, poverty and social assistance. When the existing studies are examined in the literature, it is significant to point out the fact that researches on social assistance in Turkey concentrate more on the supplying institutions’ distribution structure of

social assistances while there are very limited number of researches on the consequences and effects of these assistances on the lives of beneficiaries. On the other hand, studies related to poverty in Turkey generally appears as institutional reports of State Planning Organization (DPT), General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity (SYDV), Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) and researches of World Bank (WB) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Turkey. The more academical researches on poverty in Turkey also exist in the literature, but these are more focusing on the structural and the conceptual analysis of poverty most at the theoretical level. In that respect, it would not be misleading to profess that there are scarce resources on the issue in general those directly based upon the solutions for poverty in Turkey and social policy suggestions for the problem at purely academical level.

Another vital historical concept used for the development of a theoretical background of this thesis is welfare state. The concept of welfare state is significant for the study for one of its initial systematical purposes which is fight with poverty by the assistance of social aids provided by state.

Hence, the main references of this thesis are the existing and up-to-date reports of the previously stated institutions on poverty in Turkey; theoretical sources on the conceptualization of poverty, social assistance and welfare state; books and articles on historical development of social security systems and welfare state both in Turkey and in the world; and, social policy journals on poverty. The basic theoretical framework of the study can be said to be shaped by UNDP and WB conceptualizations of poverty, C. Murray's liberal conservative perspective on poverty, Oscar Lewis' culture of poverty approach, Esping Andersen's typology of welfare state and Southern European welfare state model developed by I. Gough and M. Ferrera. For the specific analysis of Turkey's condition, the most utilised names are A. Buğra, Ç. Keyder and S. Sallan who are the ones of very few names studying on kind of a combination of poverty, welfare state experiences, citizenship rights, inequality and social policy regulations in Turkey both theoretically and at practical level.

The complete bibliography of this thesis is presented at the end of the study.

2.1.4. Methodology

In the previous sections, an introduction to the proposed area of research was presented. This included a description of the study's research problem, several research purposes, hypotheses that will serve to direct the data analysis, and an identification of several terms key to the study. In addition, a review of relevant literature related to the major study variables established a background of support for the study.

The intent of this section is to describe the methodology that is proposed for such a research effort. The section will be a description of the study setting, proposed research design and sampling, and proposed data collection procedures, and analysis efforts.

2.1.4.1. Study Setting

In its broadest conceptualization, this study is intended to address the population of the social assistance receivers from Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDV) in Turkey. However, excessiveness of the population, high differentiation within it in terms of related variables, the limitations about time and budget necessitate limitation the setting from which a sample for the study will be drawn.

The setting for the proposed study, thus, consists of the social assistance receivers from Altındağ Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation in Ankara, Turkey. There are about 80.000 beneficiaries who receive social assistance from this specific institution. Choosing this setting would provide for a sample of social assistance beneficiary poor from SYDV.

2.1.4.2 Research Design and Sampling Plan

In this part, research process of the thesis is going to be explained including sampling criteria and information.

There might be different suppliers in manner of social assistance both in civil sphere and state sphere. However, SYDGM is the central institution carrying out the poverty mitigation strategies in Turkey. It is an organization that is a part of prime ministry and it contains in itself Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations. In addition to that, SYDV have developed a network which is spread to entire Turkey with over 900 institutions. Moreover, SYDV has vital mission on implementation process of the distribution of social assistance. These institutions do not only take and evaluate applications, but also responsible for the distribution process of social assistance. For these reasons, about the effect of social assistance over poverty, Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation was chosen as an example

Social Assistances are considered as a poverty alleviation strategy that only poor can benefit. In that sense, researcher took the concept of poor that was defined by Turkish law. According to law no 3294 established in 1986, poor are described as individuals who are needy and in severe poverty. In addition to that, it is defined as not being part of any security schema and not having any income. These definitions are also key terms on evaluating social assistance application process. In that respect, all social assistance beneficiaries, whose application was approved by Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation, were considered as poor.

This research is based on qualitative techniques. There had been made 25 semi-structured interviews with social assistance beneficiaries and two in-depth interviews with SYDV staff. Depending on participant, semi structured interview took approximately 45-55 minutes while in-depth interviews took half hour. Both questionnaires are available in appendix. In this thesis, as one of the non-probabilistic sampling techniques, purposive sampling was used. This is because, purposive sampling gives chance to avoid non-social assistance beneficiaries. The

aim of the sampling is to reach those who receive social assistances from the state. Researcher of the thesis waited behind the social assistance application desk not only observing the application process but also for determining whether applicant is currently a beneficiary of social assistance. It was expected from the interviewees that they used social assistance from SYDV at least for one time. In other words, researcher has not included first applicants to social assistance into his sample.

Furthermore, social assistance application process and application approval process was observed. All research was carried out in Altındağ Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation in March 2011. It is located in Altındağ neighborhood, near of the city center of Ankara. As most of the SYDV, Altındağ SYDV was established in district governorate garden. Altındağ region is known as a slum area. Socio-economical indicators displays that Altındağ has %85 ‘gecekondu’ ratio which obviously defines poor living conditions². In addition to this information, according to Turkish Statistics Institution report established in 2010, Altındağ has very high illiteracy rate compared to average rates in Ankara³. Altındağ has around %22,5 illiteracy rate while Ankara has %18⁴. Moreover, as this research was being carried out, there were 14.000 families who were registered to this foundation. District has high migration ratio from all side of Turkey, especially from eastern regions. The population of asylum is also high. Thus, social assistance is core element of survival in this district. Another important point, Altındağ SYDV staffs were very positive about the research which they didn’t hesitate to share any information about the social assistance application or implementation process.

Moreover, Funds of social assistance that are distributed by social assistance and solidarity foundation (SYDV) of Altındağ (just like other SYDVs) is transferred by Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM). Basically, transferred amount is calculated with a formula including population of district, contribution of district to gross domestic product, rank of development of district that is provided by state planning organization and Turkish statistical institution. In our

² http://www.altindag.gov.tr/default_B0.aspx?content=193

³ Datas are gathered from <http://tuikapp.tuik.gov.tr/adnksdagitapp/adnks.zul>

⁴ Individuals who are not graduated from primary school are counted as illeterate

initial talks with SYDV staff, they have mentioned that; although Altındağ district has very high poor population, funds that are transferred from SYDGM are not sufficient to meet the demand due to high contribution of organized industrial site to gross domestic product. Depending on these characteristics of the region and institution, researcher considered Altındağ province is the best alternative for the research.

2.1.5 Limitations to the Study

Throughout the research process of the study some limitations were faced with. First, it is obvious that the research is limited in terms of its generalizability to the population of all social assistance beneficiaries of SYDV since the population is heterogeneous in itself with relation to differentiation in characteristics of poverty from region to region, various socio-economical backgrounds and family structures of these beneficiaries and changing privileged needs of the poor.

Moreover, it was not possible to reach and make all of the beneficiaries answer the questionnaire within the time plan of the study. This is also worth to note that there was not a special room which makes possible face-to-face interview of the researcher and the interviewee inside the building. Actually, SYDV staffs offered a room for us to make our interviews. However, participants do not feel comfortable with the environment due to feeling of surveillance. In addition to that researcher was thought to be SYDV employee by participants and they hesitate to answer some of the questions. For that reason, the entire interview was made outside of the SYDV building in order to eliminate these kinds of limitations. Despite, there were also environmental restrictions to the research such as the cold weather conditions in March that did not let to carry out the interviews in the garden of SYDV from time to time. In addition to that, some of the time respondents do not want to complete the full questionnaire because of cold weather.

Another limitation was about reaching at male beneficiaries for the sake of the equal representation of genders in the study. Even though there were some women who

came for the application to the institution with the accompanance of men from their families, it was very difficult to see men who apply in person for the aids. This was a significant fact that there were rare males who came for the application to SYDV during the fieldwork of this study since the general inclination was the application of women especially with children. When the reasons behind that condition was questioned, it was generally answered as men's working outside or having no time to spend with these kind of domestic works which were generally accepted among the responsibilities of women. This condition was created another limitation for the study since female respondents did not comfortably accept to answer the questions of the male researcher. For that reason, from time to time, a female colleague of the researcher helped in carrying out the interviews with female respondents.

The last boundary was about the time plan of the study. The research was carried out just before the general elections of 2011 in Turkey. Hence, the first impression that the study crated on the respondents was its being a political survey carried out by a political party. For that reason, throughout the interviews, the purpose and the structure of the research were specifically emphasized in order to wipe away questions marks in respondents' minds and to provide the estimated objectivity of the study.

2.2. Definition of Key Terms

In this part, key concepts of thesis going to be described briefly. As it was mentioned above, this thesis mainly focuses on the relation between social assistance and poverty. Thus, in coming parts of this chapter will be consist of some key terms for providing a general background. While doing this, there had been made a literature review. However, as it will be discussed in coming parts, these terms have various definitions or applications depending on their subjective characters.

This part will start with the definition of poverty. There is going to be made different explanations of poverty and compared with each other. By doing so, researcher of this thesis tries to compose a ground for understanding the issue. Moreover, social,

economical and cultural foundations of poverty will be discussed with respect to global definition of the term. Depending on the changing character of the terms, definitions of global institutions such as World Bank, UN will be mentioned, because, they are few institutions that try to define the concept of poverty in a global manner by pointing out the very common characteristics of it. In addition, at the end of the part, how concept of poverty has been defined in Turkey will be briefly explained.

The part continues with the definition of social protection, social security, social insurance. These terms are umbrella terms defining the social assistance. Each of them has vital importance on understanding the social assistance. However, concepts are defined or implemented differently depending on the countries. For that reason, basic characteristic of these terms are tried to be mentioned.

At last, concept of social assistance will be introduced. While doing this, some of the key features of the social assistance systems will be explained such as targeting, types and characteristics of social assistance etc.

Main purpose of this chapter is to build an informative background for understanding and interpreting the social assistances. In order to understand social assistance in healthy manner, these terms should be grasped properly.

2.2.1. Concept of Poverty:

As a general meaning, poverty means; not being capable of supply basic human need in order to survive. However, characteristic of conception changes due to social, environmental, economical conditions such as, the meaning of basic human needs varies from country to country or people to people. Moreover, concept of basic need has a high interrelation with development. As society develops, basic human needs become more complex, such as being unable to reach education, health organizations

which were not indicators of poverty 50 years ago. Thus, poverty covers a lot of different independent dimensions that alter the meaning of concept.

Since conditions are changing, the meaning of poverty gets different. Although poverty had never disappeared from the scene of history, at 16th century England, poverty was first become a hot issue. At that time, the term 'poverty' was used to describe the conditions of human beings that are 'incapable of work'. This explanation derives from the ideology of individuality of church. However, by the time passing, as population under the poverty line increased, concept of poverty accepted as a social phenomenon. Today, modern approach to poverty is it has not got only a social side but also a structural side that is related to capitalism. Moreover, 'the dominant approach in the EU considers poverty as a problem of "social exclusion" and devises policies to promote "social inclusion" (Keyder & Buğra, 2003, p: 10). Concept of 'social inclusion' and 'social exclusion' will be discussed in next part. Bauman mentions in his book that today poverty is measured by consumption which shows another aspect for poverty (Bauman, 1999, p10). Consequently, in modern era, poverty is taken into account as a social issue.

There are different explanations of poverty, such as World Bank (WB) mentions about 'deprivations in well-being'. Concept of 'well-being' simply is clarified under two approaches. First, 'command over commodities' which means people will have better life conditions if they have better command over resources so they can meet their needs. Second, 'well being' simply related to 'obtain a specific type of consumption' such as sheltering, education, health care or nutrition⁵. However, some scholar like Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder claims that World Bank approach to poverty is highly quantitative which cannot measure social background of the reason behind poverty. In their report (2003) they mentioned that;

It must be first mentioned that when institutions such as the World Bank use the word poverty, the concept is largely defined in quantitative terms Little attention is paid to social relations and the way in which the state of poverty comes

⁵ www.worldbank.com

about; it is based on a measure of biological need, a relative index depending on distribution of income, a specific amount of income per day, or magnitude depending on social norms (p.19)

On the other hand, according to United Nations Development Program (UNDP) poverty is a multidimensional problem which should not be observed directly from income deprivation. Poverty had different connotations but at last it is related to well-being and development. However, in a brief manner, UNDP explains poverty as a ‘material lack or want’⁶.

There might be different explanation of poverty but the single fact is; it is a global issue. Poverty was taken into account as globally by UNDP, United Nations and World Bank. Human Development Report (HDR) was first published in the year 1990, by UNDP, mentioning the end of economical development should not be wealth but human well-being⁷.

United Nations also take poverty into its agenda in Millennium Development Goals report in the year 2000. The first goal of this report was ‘eradicate extreme poverty and hunger’ and all member states of United Nations were agreed on this goal.

World Bank establishes World Development Reports (WDR) since 1978 and each report handle different issues. Mainly these reports focus on problems of social, environmental and global economy. The topic of first report was ‘Prospects for Growth and Alleviation of Poverty’. Moreover, World Bank established three other WDR that related to poverty since 1978. Eventually, these institutions are great examples of how poverty was handled and become global issue.

European Union (EU), on the other hand, takes poverty issue with related to ‘social inclusion’ and ‘social exclusion’. Actually, these notions become popular after restructuring the welfare regime which will be discussed in the next chapters. Basically, these terms refer to disintegration of society which is corrupted by

⁶ www.undp.org

⁷ <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1990/>

poverty. EU conceives poverty not only related to economical (income) deprivations but also social reflections. In other words, social exclusion and poverty are interdependent terms. Social exclusion reveals different kind of poverty. For example, one may have enough economical condition to survive but, at the same time, cannot reach education or health care system. This is a typical example of different understanding of poverty and social exclusion.

When it comes to EU, it was mentioned in the European Council meeting in Nice (2000) that economical development does not mean poverty and social exclusion will be decreased in EU, in contrast, poverty and social exclusion become less acceptable⁸. Moreover, EU Council announced in Lisbon (2000) meeting that up until the year 2010, important precautions will be implemented on eradication of poverty and social exclusion.

Poverty has different dimensions which make it harder to evaluate what are the outcomes from deprivations. 'Human poverty index' (HPI) is one of the sources measuring effects of poverty which was established by UNDP since 1997. Since HPI was developed, it has an enormous effect on social and economical policies because some countries have higher performance in HPI but not in economical ranking.

HPI aims to show aggregate deprivations in health, education and life standards. It mainly composed of three indicators that are dying before age 40, literacy, and life standards. There are also three sub-categories of 'life standards' which are lack of access to clean and safe water, the percentage of children who are underweight, and access to health services. However, HPI does not capable of identifying individuals, groups or large groups of people as jointly deprived⁹. Thus, UNDP uses new technique of calculation for this complex issue and established Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). It looks deeper causations of poverty rather than measuring income poverty in a macro level. The MPI reveals the combination of deprivations that batter a household at the same time (Sabina & Alkire, 2010, p:8). Principally,

⁸<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Nice%20European%20Council-Presidency%20conclusions.pdf>

⁹ www.undp.org

MPI uses same indicators as HDI but different sub-categories (health, education and standard of living). Moreover, MPI gives more accurate data about micro level.

Meaning of poverty may vary with respect to developments in welfare level of country. Thus, in order to determine who is poor in society or comparing different poverty conditions needs empirical measuring concept. There are mainly two approaches which are absolute poverty and relative poverty.

According to TUIK (Turkish Statistical Institute), the absolute poverty is the situation in which a household or an individual cannot reach the welfare sufficient to continue their lives. On the other hand, the relative poverty is the state in which the individual is below the average welfare level of the society¹⁰.

Absolute poverty engages with minimum needs of the individuals and since the needs of individual change day by day, absolute poverty may vary from generations to generations. However, in a report, WB addresses that an individual needs minimum 2400 kcal per a day in order to survive. According to WB, who cannot afford to buy 2400 kcal are in absolute poverty. Moreover, for underdeveloped countries, 1\$ per person /day is accepted as an indicator of absolute poverty¹¹.

Relative poverty considers average welfare level of society. Level of income is taken in to account determining the level of the individual or household welfare. Thus, while measuring the relative poverty, income inequality in a given society become obvious. In other words, the lower income inequality you have, the lower relative poverty will be resulted.

2.2.2 Concept of Social Protection

Today, globalization becomes a reality in all over the world which forces not only individuals but also governments to change the way dealing with risks. Globalization

¹⁰ www.tuik.gov.tr

¹¹ DPT, 2001, p:104

may offer different and high economical profit but, in exchange, it requires higher risks. According to The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), income gap between poorest and richest keeps widening; 20% of the world's richest people had almost 2 times the income of the poorest 20% in 1997 compared to 1960¹². Thus, positive economical indicators for the governments do not eliminate social risks but worsening. Social protection is one of the tools that cover this social trouble.

As a term, social protection does not equal to social security. Briefly, the difference is social protection includes private or informal security types. It was mentioned in the ILO (International Labor Organization) report that 'social protection is broader and more inclusive than social security since it incorporates non-statutory or private measures for providing social security, but still encompasses traditional social security measures such as social assistance and social insurance' (Garcia&Gruat, 2003, p:14). Generally speaking, social protection is a mechanism that protects members of a society from destructive effects of market and power relations. However, social protection system and social security system refers to almost same meanings in developed countries. Social protection commonly used in developing countries in which economies depends on informal relations. On the other hand, in developed countries, where informal economies at lowest level, rights and benefits of social protection directly refers to social security system benefits.

In additionally, social protection has a significant importance for social peace and integrity of society. Because, main purpose of this mechanism is to decrease social risks and stabilize welfare level. By doing so, social protection systems are vital parts of social policies.

In a simple definition, social protection system consists of three main categories which are social insurance, social assistance and labor market regulations. Social insurance and social assistance might be examined under social security concept.

¹² UNDP, 1999, p: 106

These three concepts will be examined in coming chapters. However, in a brief manner, social insurance refers to protection against contingencies. It includes contributory benefits of the insurance schemas covering; sickness, unemployment, maternity, old age, pensions etc. On the other hand, social assistance provides a support for vulnerable groups of society. Lastly, labor market regulations are closely linked to working conditions and standards.

2.2.3 Concept of Social Security

Human beings encounter various risks in every stage of their life. Thus, they build up systems that try to decrease those risks. Social security is one of those various systems.

Although there are many different explanation and implementation of social security, many scholar states that rapid industrialization was the main reason behind the in need for social security. For many countries, in the sense of implementation and content, concept of social security may alter. For example; in US, social security refers to government's social insurance retirement program, on the other hand, in Europe, social security is described as income protection programs, social assistance, social insurance etc (Tang & Midgley, 2008,p:17).

However, in a simple definition, social security means securing the members of society from social or economical risks by supplying social and economical needs. These risks might be physical such as loosing health, suffering illness or might be social likewise unemployment, becoming old or it could be referred as 'collective action to protect individuals against income deficiencies' (Hill, 2006,p:67).

Some of the tools of social security system are social insurance, social assistance and social services. Social insurance is a contributory program that benefits depends on contribution to system. On the other hand, social assistance program is mainly covers the vulnerable groups that cannot involve in social insurance system. Lastly, social services was explained in Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK)

that; ‘in relation to the individuals of any kinds of particular groups that have been experiencing difficulties in terms of leading a qualified life aiming the removal of their material, spiritual and social deprivations, and meeting their demands, preventing social problems, and helping these problems be solved and their life standards’ to be improved’¹³. These programs, except social insurance, are generally financed with tax.

Historically speaking, concept of social security is dates back to end of 19th century. First social security institution was established in Germany however, it had no sophisticated content and implementation. As ILO mentioned, since the organization of labor develops in time, new forms of social protection systems emerge in industrial countries, such as the term of ‘social security’ was introduced to explain various benefits of the schemas (Garcia&Gruat, 2003, p:20).

The understanding of modern social security concept began to occur after 1929 crisis in USA and spread all around the world. The Great Depression, in 1929, hit not only US economy but also world economy and resulted in high unemployment rates. Thus, US government, under control of President Roosevelt, had established ‘social security act’ in 1935 that covers miners, old age pension and unemployment.

With Beveridge report, one of the impactful changes was experienced in England. At 1942, Sir William Beveridge introduced a new report claiming that state should have responsibilities on all contingencies and social risks. Modern understanding of the concept social security was essentially formed by this report. Main importance of this report is; it is not only covering some part of the society but take it as a whole¹⁴.

After World War 2, with related to emergence of rapid industrialization and urbanization, demand for improved social security regulations become obvious. Moreover, whole around the world, countries tried to keep in step with these new

¹³ www.shcek.gov.tr

¹⁴ Hacımahmutoglu, 2009,p:21

emerging regulations. This may not be the result of altering in the world condition but may be a result of internal dynamics of the countries too.

Beside, social security became global right with article 22 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 which states that;

‘Article22: Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality’.

Turkey had also made first important achievement after World War 2. Although first labor regulations were established in 1936, Turkey had not achieved tangible result in the sense of coverage and implementation. However, in 1945, Turkey made its valuable movement by establishing ministry of labor. Before that time, Turkish government did not need to regulate labor or working conditions with an independent institution¹⁵.

2.2.4 Concept of Social Insurance

Main tool for providing and securing welfare by social policies is social insurance. Social insurance is a methodology of social security. In general manner, it is perceived as a mechanism that protects the members from contingencies and also future risks. Primal rules of social insurance system are ‘compulsory inclusion’ and ‘reciprocity’. Basically, compulsory inclusion refers to taking burden of beneficiaries without consent which means beneficiaries share the risks of all members in system. Other rule is ‘principal of reciprocity’ which means system depends on the same amount of premiums that are collected from members by social security institutions. In other words, social insurance can be identified as pooling of risks¹⁶.

¹⁵ Özbek, 2006, p:223

¹⁶ Menno,2011, p:4

Moreover, it is not only a risk management system but also an economical redistribution system. For example; it collects premiums from active members¹⁷ of the system and distribute it to the passive members¹⁸. Beneficiaries of the system, employees and employers, are handling some of the financial burden but the organization and redistribution is under control of state.

Social insurance is a well known welfare mechanism in all around the world. System, in general, organized by state and the main aim of this insurance is to secure labor force from social risks.

However, with the development of global economy, new fields become available for market investment such as commercial insurance. With those private enterprises, determination of risks begins to change. In this issue, increasing awareness level of individuals about risks should also be taken into consideration. For instance; some of the members of the insurance system may don't want to share the risk pool with other if they believe they have less risk than the other members and, depending on this, they may want to pay different premiums¹⁹. This condition brings two new concepts, 'good risk' and 'bad risk' which will be mentioned in coming chapters.

Originally, modern social insurance system spread from Germany and became model for European states. Otto von Bismarck was the first who implemented insurance benefits in 1882. Although it formed the modern shape of social insurance schema, its coverage and implementation was not the same as today. At first, Bismarck established health insurance, old age, accident and disability insurance. However, most of these insurance systems were to cover contingencies of labor force only. But, in modern aspect of the social insurance system, it covers not only labor force but also their dependent relatives.

¹⁷ Active member refers to working people with an insurance

¹⁸ Passive member refers to retired person with an insurance

¹⁹ Menno, 2011, p: 5

2.2.5 Concept of Social Assistance

Social protection system mainly consists of two parts which are contributory and non-contributory benefits. Social assistance system is the non-contributory part of social protection system. In other words, social assistance is the supplementary part of social security schemes. Moreover, social assistance can be in-kind or cash transfer. However, social assistance is the last solution system for social risks. In general, most of the states use this kind of protection at last resort since it is widely believed that it may have negative effect on social assistance beneficiary such as cultural dependency.

Basic goal of the social assistance system is to change the condition of being in need of something and help beneficiary to become a self-sufficient. Thus, what is expected from social assistance beneficiary is to become a producer that taking care himself²⁰.

However, system was designed to focus on the vulnerable groups in the society. In this manner, vulnerable groups are the one who cannot deal with social risks and contingencies. So, it is expected that social security system would cover most of the social risk and those who cannot benefit or those who have a limited benefit from social security system are potential nominees for social assistance. Moreover, in general, system is financed with tax. Thus, as the number of beneficiary increased, allocation of resources from the social security budget should be increased and this means a burden on contributors.

Assistance may be as old as human history. However, in modern manner, roots of social assistance in society may date back to beginning of industrialization. Social assistance system could be interpreted as poverty relieving strategy. These strategies started with 16th century English Poor Laws. Before industrial revolution, assistance was not identified as a right but rather it had a socially adopted structure. In this manner, questioning the reasons behind poverty or being in need of something was

²⁰ Taşçı, 2010, p:45

not a discussible issue because assistance was interpreted with respect to religious and moral codes. However, the first categorization of poor and social assistance was established with 1601, Old Poor Law. According to this law, people who are able to work are not poor but idle. On the other hand, people who are unable to work are poor. By this way distinction between ‘deserving poor’ and ‘not deserving poor’ was formulated. Moreover, disabled poor were protected by *parishes*²¹, but ‘not deserving poor’ were sent to house of correction or prison (Kovancı, 2003).

Conceptual meaning of social assistance may vary. For example; in USA, it could be understand as ‘safety net’ whereas in Europe, it is called as welfare strategies or social aid. Main reason behind this differentiation relies on various applications in social assistance system in different countries.

Commonly, state can distribute its resources in three ways; first, state can distribute its resources to all citizens within a certain category. Secondly, social security system may deal with the distribution of resources with respect to employment status or contribution paid schemas. Lastly, depending on the current resource of the beneficiary, state can use means-tested or income related benefits²².

2.2.5.1. Mean-Tested Benefits

There are two main characteristics of social assistance. First, social assistances are provided by state without remuneration. Second, social assistance distributions depend on the condition of ‘indigence’ of the beneficiary. Condition of indigence is almost equal to not being self-sufficient and being in need of others assistance in order to survive. Beside, countries tend to decide condition of indigence through means-tested or income tested. Simply, with means test, the average income of the typical family is calculated and decision of condition of indigence depends on this threshold.

²¹ Parish: in some Christian church polities, a geographic unit served by a pastor or priest. It is a subdivision of a diocese. (from Britannica Encyclopedia)

²² Eardley, Bradshaw, Ditch, Gough, & Whiteford, 1996, p:26

According to OECD report²³, means-tested benefits can be characterized under three main sub-topics.

1. General assistance: provides cash benefits for all or almost all people below a specified minimum income standard; for example, the UK Income Support or the Belgian Minimex.
2. Categorical assistance: provides cash benefits for specific groups. Examples include unemployment assistance in Germany and the Netherlands, social pensions in Italy, or almost all Australian and New Zealand benefits.
3. Tied assistance: provides access to specific goods or services in kind or in cash. Because of the importance of housing assistance, and because its relationship with cash assistance varies across countries, tied assistance is further divided as follows:
 - 3a. Housing assistance
 - 3b. Other tied assistance.

2.2.5.2. Targeting in Social Assistance

One of the most important points in social assistance is targeting. It is a vital issue since it doesn't only determines the population of beneficiary but it also determines efficiency of social assistance policy. If a policy was appropriately designed with a proper targeting schema then it would distribute resources more effectively. For example, imagine a social assistance policy that has a 100 million dollars budget and 10 million assistance beneficiaries. In this scenario, each beneficiary would receive 10\$. On the other hand, with better targeting policies, beneficiaries would have been decreased to 5 million and each beneficiaries would receive 20\$ or total consumption in budget would decreased to 50 million dollars.

There are mainly six different targeting method that are²⁴;

- Means testing: In this method, usually a government employee calculates individual or household income by asking some simple question and collect information. Then, if household income is below the

²³ Eardley, Bradshaw, Ditch, Gough, & Whiteford, 1996, p:28

²⁴ Coady, Grosh, & Hoddinott, 2004, p:47

average, household can receive benefit. This system best work with large number of official available. However, it requires a lot of paper work and the validity of information depends on statement of applicant. Moreover, information about household income may not supply accurate welfare level of applicant in developing countries.

- Proxy means testing: Based on some predetermined indicators, each household get some score and this score is used to decide eligibility for benefit. This methodology provides well information about welfare condition. However, it requires technology and skilled labor.

- Community-based methods: Social assistance beneficiary are decided by a group of community or community leader. However, these decision makers have no role over the transfer program; they can only decide who the beneficiary is. This kind of targeting method is useful determining the local welfare level. Thus, it is more appropriate to be used in small population areas. However, it may result in misuse of resources.

- Geographic targeting: In this method, target is the whole population in a predetermined district. Accuracy of this method is highly dependent to poverty maps. However, there are no criteria such as welfare level which, in turn, resulted in inefficacy of social assistance since those who do not deserve assistance might be beneficiary. On the other hand, administration is simple.

- Demographic targeting: Target population is determined depending on the demographic characteristic such as gender or age. Like Geographic targeting, administration is simple. On the other hand, demographic indicators have little to do with socio-economic status. Thus, selection of deserving poor might become difficult since, undeserving poor and deserving poor commonly have same demographic characteristic.

- Self-targeting: This type of targeting is opened to all but, in general, beneficiaries are poor. Its' administrative cost is below average, however, non-poor may also benefit.

2.2.5.3 Unconditional Social Assistance

Basically, unconditional social assistances are provided without any reimbursement or condition because main purpose of unconditional social transfer is to get rid of economical disadvantages. However, there are debates on this type of social

assistance mentioning that it encourages dependency culture. On the other hand, some scholar claims that this type of social assistance should be grasped as a social right that individuals should not bind with conditions.

2.2.5.4 Conditional Social Assistance:

Conditional transfers became widespread especially in Europe. Actually, its common usage is cash transfer. Conditional cash transfers are programs that transfer cash, generally to poor households, on the condition that those households make prespecified investments in the human capital of their children. Health and nutrition conditions generally require periodic checkups, growth monitoring, and vaccinations for children less than 5 years of age; perinatal care for mothers and attendance by mothers at periodic health information talks²⁵.

²⁵ Fiszbein, Ariel; Schady, Norbert; Ferreira, Francisco; Grosh, Margaret; Kelleher, Nial; Olinto, Pedro ; Skoufias, Emmanuel , 2009, p.4

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Recently, economical determinants of development shifted on poverty. This is a global issue as it is seen that World Bank established a network which is directly connected to poverty (Poverty.net) or UNDP puts eradication of poverty issue to its top in Millennium Development Goal (MDG) agenda. Yet the concept of poverty has different connotations and it varies depending on the cultural, social and economical condition that it's been described. One can talk about European poverty that is not valid for Africa or United States. There are also categorical differentiations such as rural and urban poverty which have few similarities. This complication in definition might misguide social policies to its aims. Since, depending on the description of the concept of poverty, alleviating strategies also vary. In that respect, from within an excessive literature, theories and approaches which fit to Turkish condition on poverty and to its welfare state history were chosen in order to analyze the issue on a convenient theoretical ground.

For that purpose, at the first part of the chapter poverty theories and approaches, liberal conservative, Marxist theories and culture of poverty approach, will be mentioned briefly. Basically, in this chapter, some questions like; how can we define poverty, is it something structural or individualistic are going to be answered due to asserted theories. At the second part of the chapter, there will be mentioned the welfare state theories. While doing this, brief explanation of the term welfare state will be asserted. Part will continue with Esping Andersen typology and their definitions. Afterwards, critiques over Esping Andersen typology are going to be discussed. Chapter ends with, poverty and welfare regime in Turkey part. In this part

of the chapter, characteristic and development of the Turkish welfare state and main indicators of the poverty in Turkey are going to be mentioned.

Before, it should be asserted that theories below mentioned are not perfectly fit with the Turkish case due to differentiation in economical, social and environmental characteristics. However, these theories are going to be used in analyzing section for better interpretation of field data. And then, chapter ends with description of the field research method. In this part of the chapter sampling strategies, analyzing strategies, limitations, and data collection process will be mentioned.

3.1 Poverty Theories

3.1.1. New Right Understanding of Poverty:

This is an individualistic explanation of the reasons behind poverty which blames poor for its poverty condition. It represents mixture of two ideologies that are liberalist and conservative theories. One of the main examples of this ideology was introduced by United Kingdom conservative regime, which was also known as new right, in 1980-90 claims that state shouldn't deal with the poor, rather poor should put some action to get rid of their poverty because they are responsible for their condition. This ideology influenced Thatcher government in UK which focused on cutting most of the unemployment payment and other state benefits. What lies behind this ideology was ultimate liberalization of market which was believed that freeing market from state intervention is the best way dealing with and alleviating poverty. Although the operation of the market would not narrow the gap between the rich and the poor, it would lead, it was argued, to improvements in the absolute living standards of those at the bottom of society through the operation of the so-called 'trickle-down' effect²⁶.

New right understanding of poverty defined poor as irresponsible individuals that benefit from state benefits. According to scholars of this ideology poor should learn

²⁶ Page, 2010, p. 120

how to survive, take responsibility of being individual and improve their life conditions. Thus, for most of the new right thinkers, welfare is a way of punishing hard working, successful individuals since they are obliged to pay higher taxes for taking care of poor. For this reason, new right thinkers totally disagree with welfare state transfers and they believe that in order to alleviate poverty, state should eliminate its welfare and encourage its citizens, especially those who benefit from welfare benefits, to work.

According to this view, as a short term action plan, welfare transfer should be limited to urgent conditions. Thus state transfer should target deserving poor rather than undeserving poor in order not to encourage culture of poverty.

‘The most important aspect of this ‘poverty relief’ – not preventing or eliminating– is selectivism: the poor who ‘deserves’ state support should be selected and targeted properly. The ‘deserving’ poor referred here are ‘those individuals and communities that are positively identified as poor’ not the ones who have a negative culture of poverty. (Bademci 2007, 47)

Poverty should be dealt with through nongovernmental organization. In other words, this new conservative approach of poverty rejects institutional welfare transfers and leave poverty to voluntary agencies²⁷.

New Right approach of poverty defines poor as a group which has different norm and culture. They are separated from society since they are marginalized, depended on state support. It was called as ‘underclass’ that was considered by conservatives as under the working class on the rank. The word ‘underclass’ basically refers to a group of people separate from mainstream society. Concept of underclass generally used together with deserving – undeserving poor in history.

According to Murray this underclass always been existed, there have always been deserving and undeserving poor, with the undeserving poor refusing to take responsibility for their

²⁷ Sallan, Songül Gül; Gül, Hüseyin;, 2008, p. 71

lives, look for work, to obtain qualifications to better themselves or to contribute to society in a positive way. They are at the very bottom of the society (Kane & Kirby, 2003, s. 105).

In this passage, as it can be inferred, a very concrete distinction between deserving and undeserving poor is drawn. According to Murray, deserving poor are those who are not refusing to take responsibilities and looking forward to work and, also, can attach positive attribution to society. While he was describing the characteristic of undeserving poor, he was actually describing eliminated, undeserved characteristic of mainstream society. In other words, he simply defines common characteristic of poor and mainstream society or what it should be. Thus, deserving poor might be understood as those who can integrate to larger society.

3.1.2. Marxist Perspective on Poverty

According to Marxist theory, capitalist society depends upon conflict between two classes which are proletariat and capitalists. Their difference lies behind the ownership of the means of production. Advocates of this ideology claim that poverty is a structural and perpetuating reality because capitalist system based on class conflict that would not disappear from the scene until social change. The conflict arises from ownership of the mode of production that owners of production structurally forces proletariat to be poor. Kane & Kirby claims that;

Inequalities of wealth, income, opportunities and power are deliberately created and perpetuated over time that one class is always dominant and other subordinate. Capitalism- a system that puts price and commercial value ahead of all other values- is subject of erratic fluctuations, with periods of boom followed by periods of depression and unemployment, especially among the proletariat. It therefore polarizes rich and poor. (2003, p. 111)

In a capitalist ideology, poor people can be explained through their position to means of production. According to this ideology, poor are those who get lesser than what they produce. Onur Acar claims that ‘the identification of these concerning groups

as poor is in fact determined by their class position and this class position is objectively determined by the collective dispossession of the large masses of people from the means of production and their ultimate products' (2009, p. 52.).

Another reason behind the structural poor is inequality of opportunity. Position of proletariat to means of production determines their condition of capabilities. They are not only suffering from low paid wages but also suffering from low skills that triggers long term unemployment.

3.1.3. Culture of Poverty:

The concept of 'culture of poverty' was developed and became popular in United State in 1950-60's and spread all around the world. It was first used by an anthropologist Oscar Lewis. The term, basically defines the social and economical conditions behind poverty that individuals devoted themselves to this system and they don't want to free from it. According to Lewis, culture of poverty is both an adaptation and reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalist society (Lewis, 1966, p.xliv).

Culture of poverty generally points at urban poverty and characteristics of individuals can be violence, helplessness, lethargy, long term un-employment, no long term plans but rather living present and deviant family structure. According to Lewis, the poor are bound up in a poverty trap that is perpetuated from generation to generation²⁸. In his *The children of Sánchez, Autobiography of a Mexican Family (1961)* book, he mentions about poor families in Mexico that all poor families interiorized to be poor and they do not want to get rid of it. In this approach, the term 'culture' in the meaning of values and norms that are attached to individuals' characters enchain individuals not to rebel to poverty so that they become slaves of poverty. In his book *La Vida; A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty- San Juan and New York(1966)*, he describes the conditions that culture of poverty may exist in society (p.xliii) that are;

²⁸ Kane, Sharon; Kirby, Mark;, 2003, p.98

1. A cash economy, wage labor and production for profit
2. A persistently high rate of unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor
3. Low wages
4. The failure to provide social, political and economic organization, either on a voluntary basis or by government imposition, for the low-income population
5. The existence of a bilateral kinship system rather than a unilateral one
6. The existence of a set of values in the dominant class which stresses the accumulation of wealth and property, the possibility of upward mobility and thrift, and explains low economic status as the result of personal inadequacy or inferiority

Culture of poverty is a sociological concept that emerged throughout modernization process which is used to understand the urban poverty. Lewis, who is the name giver of the concept, had mainly aimed at understanding the relation between subculture and larger societies and believed that culture of poverty was a result of the poor individuals' lack of participation and integration to the major social, economical and political institutions.

According to Sallan²⁹ there are three important characteristics in Lewis' approach to culture of poverty that are;

- Culture of poverty is the basic element that reproduces poverty and perpetuates poverty.
- Culture of poverty is expressing a vicious circle life style from one generation to another.
- There are different characteristics of culture of poverty from dominant culture

Main expectation behind culture of poverty thesis is that if poverty is eradicated, behavior will change³⁰. However, there is another obstacle that is children. According to Lewis, poverty flows from one generation to another by children since

²⁹ (Sallan, Songül Gül; Gül, Hüseyin, 2008, p. 69)

³⁰ (Kane, Sharon; Kirby, Mark, 2003, s. 99)

when they reach to their six or seven years, norms and values of the culture of poverty are attached to their attitudes that makes alleviating poverty became a lot difficult.

The term culture of poverty shouldn't be grasped as stigmatization of poverty; rather it should be interpreted as a reaction of poor individuals. Otherwise, it would be labeling them as 'undeserving poor' that do not put any action for getting rid of poverty condition. On the other hand, Lewis claims the opposite of this idea which poverty is not result of individual action but rather a result of norm and values. Between, some of the conservative scholars criticizes welfare state from that point by saying that social transfers and aids create socially and culturally dependent individuals.

'The poor are those who have some things but lack enough of the important things that they are considered poor' (Narayan, Pritchett, & Kapoor, 2009, p16). There are surely other explanations about poverty but what we consider in this research is close to that explanation since social assistance is considered as being a part of a relief strategy or could be understand as 'helping poor to help himself'. For this reason, it is widely accepted that poor do not suffer from being in need of everything but they suffer from being in need of some important tools to survive. Therefore, social assistance to poor is considered temporary because, hypothetically, poor are believed that they will be free from their poverty conditions in times.

On the other hand, Lewis claims that poor are lack of adaptation and integration ability to both society and its institutions. Even if they benefit from public relief system, it's just keep them alive but not eliminating poverty and the sense of hopelessness are perpetuated (Lewis, 1968, p.7).

3.2 Welfare State Theories:

3.2.1 What is Welfare State?

Welfare state is kind of a new deal in capitalist regime between state and citizens that social risks were handled by state in reply to individual duties to state. Historically speaking, social effects of Great Depression in 1929 forced state to take some precautions such as social transfer against severe poverty conditions, illiteracy and illness which can be adopted as the basis of Welfare state. One of the key characteristic of the welfare state is protecting individuals from social risks like poverty .According to Kenworthy;

A central aim of the social- welfare policies is to reduce poverty. Every major industrialized nation has a set of programs that transfer between %10 and %30 of country's gross domestic product (GDP) among the populace, a key goal of which is to improve the well-being of those at or near the bottom of the income distribution (1999, p.1119).

On the other hand, there are critiques on the poverty reduction strategies of welfare system from liberal thinkers. They mention that welfare state creates dependent individuals with a lazy character. Shraon Kane and Mark Kirby referred to liberal ideologist Friedman in their book (2003, p. 148). According to them, Friedman criticized welfare state with; 'Most of the present welfare programmes should never have been enacted. If they had not been, many of the people now dependent o them would have become self-reliant individuals instead of wards of state'. Thus, it would be interfered from the quote that welfare state should not distribute welfare but rather encourage individuals to take responsibility of survival.

When it comes to defining the characteristics of welfare state there is no single explanation since each state distribute welfare differently. Moreover, their institutional structure may also vary. On the other hand, Schuyt claims that, although some of the characteristics of welfare states changes, there are three basic material and moral principles of the welfare state that are (Schuyt, 1998, p.298);

- Solidarity: nobody should drop below the level necessary for a decent existence in a free society;
- Social justice: the distribution of incomes and the scarce commodities derived from this system may not arise through arbitrary factors (whether at the discretion of class society, the market, or the bureaucratic competencies of citizens in the services market);
- Economic policy based on maximum employment for all is considered the best means to eradicate the financial problems afflicting the 'state of welfare'.

Welfare and social policy has a close relation that social policy determines the national identity and solidarity in society. Social policy is tool for welfare state on implementing the welfare strategies to the society. According to Kleinman, social policy is a tool for both social inclusion and social exclusion by determining who is eligible for social benefits or who is not by defining social rights (2006, p.165). In other words, social policy draws the boundaries of the society that hold the individuals together. In addition to that, some scholars, like Ayşe Buğra, claims that social policies are crucial in the welfare state in the sense that de-commodification are achieved through them (2006). In capitalist societies, survival of individuals depends upon the sale of their labor in the market. With the newly emerging social rights, social services and transfers dependency to the market through sale of labor weakened in modern society. However, not in all welfare beneficiaries can be seen emancipation from market relations. De-commodification occurs when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market³¹. In other words, social assistance or insurance in welfare states are necessary elements of de-commodification if they are effective on reducing the market dependency of labor as a social right.

There are ranging discussions on classification of welfare state. Some says, every state has different characteristics in the manner of social spending and social services which makes it harder to categorize states. On the other hand, T. H. Marshall claims

³¹ Esping- Andersen, 1990, p. 22

that idea of modern citizenship forms the basis of welfare state. In his article (2006), he explains the historical development of modern citizenship and he adds three important stages in this process. These are civil rights, political rights and social rights. Marshall defines each stage within the historical perspective that at last all individuals are gathered under citizenship concept of modern states in which citizenship concept contains within itself civil rights, political rights and social rights. Basically, a civil right refers to rights that are required for individual freedom while political right refers to involvement to political power. When he mentions about social rights, he clearly defines the extensive social rights such as having economical welfare and security, receiving a share from social heritage and having a modern life standard in society³². In the light of above mentioned, he clearly identifies the welfare state by social rights attached to the citizenship status. On the other hand, according to Esping- Andersen, the welfare state cannot be understood just in terms of the rights. He adds that; we must take into account how state activities are interlocked with the market's and the family's role in social provision³³.

On the other hand, according to Esping- Andersen, welfare state is one of the third institutions that control the social risks with family and market (2006, p.34). Esping- Andersen demonstrated that welfare states could be distinguished not only in terms of relative generosity and spending but, more fundamentally, by their institutional logic for assigning welfare functions to the state, the market, and the family³⁴. He also added that, there are two other important criteria on theoretical conceptualization of defining welfare state that are de-commodification, social stratification and solidarity model. De-commodification concept of Andersen mentioned above. With the social stratification and solidarity model he basically refers to social services provided by state to the classed or status divided society. In the light of this information he grouped three different welfare states in Europe that are liberal, conservative and social democratic welfare state.

³² Marshall, 2006, p.21

³³ Esping- Andersen, 1990, p.21

³⁴ Myles & Quadagno, 2002, p. 39

3.2.2. Esping Andersen typology of Welfare State

3.2.2.1 Liberal Welfare State

In liberal welfare states, state intervention to market is being restricted and there is a tendency to encourage individual seeking their welfare in the market. In other words, social crisis is not taken into state agenda rather social problems are believed to be solved through individual investments. This kind of welfare state emerged in Anglo-Saxon countries and main characteristic of liberal welfare states are low social insurance benefits, mean tested basic security schemas, such as England. These types of welfare states build entitlements around demonstrable and abject need. With its mainsprings in the poor-law tradition, the social- assistance tradition is characterized by the application of a means- or income- test with varying degrees of stringency³⁵. There is no tendency of state to deal with social problems rather, they believe that free market would result the best for society. For this reason, social transfers are very modest and have a limited coverage in the society.

3.2.2.2. Conservative- Corporatist Welfare State

Secondly, conservative and corporatist welfare state have opposite view with regard to the liberal state in the sense that there is a limited role for market. On the other hand, system built upon powerful state, weak liberal tradition and there can be mention about the high conscious middle class and artisans³⁶. Compared to liberal welfare state, social rights are extensive, market intervention to welfare is limited and social spending is higher. However, social rights are attached to hierarchical status of groups. All social rights are based on work performance. Rights here are clearly conditional upon a blend of labor- market attachment and financial contributions, and have usually been subjected to a logic of actuarialism; i.e the idea that the individual has a personal entitlement of a contractual nature³⁷.

³⁵ Esping- Andersen, 1990. p.48

³⁶ Taşçı, 2010, p. 76

³⁷ Esping- Andersen, 1990, p.48

Moreover, this system was influenced by Catholic Church ideology that brought family institution at the heart of the system. In many instances, these corporatist regimes are shaped by Church tradition and this tend to determine their conservative attitudes to the family and gender as well as their endorsement in social policy of the principle of subsidiary³⁸. The concept of breadwinner male family member is widely famous in this type of system. According to Migione and their friends, the state intervenes only when the family fails. The model of the adult male breadwinner, protected by state and trade union action, is the main form of citizenship in terms of income maintenance (2001, p.43). Male member of a family is responsible for earning money on the other hand, women are expected to take care of child. While social spending in these nations is considerably higher than in the liberal welfare states, the emphasis is on income transfers sufficient to cover the income needs of the male breadwinner³⁹. This system is also known as 'Christian democratic welfare state' in the welfare literature and most distinct examples of this system are European countries, especially Germany.

On the other hand, there are debates on the categorization of southern European countries which will be mentioned in coming section. It is a vital issue since Turkey may have some characteristics like conservative- corporatist welfare state but also categorized under southern European welfare state.

3.2.2.3. Scandinavian Model

There are similarities between Scandinavian model of welfare state and corporatist welfare state in the manner of social rights. Both are providing extensive social rights. On the other, compared to conservative welfare state, social rights in Scandinavian welfare state are universalistic emphasizing the notion of citizenship and equality. According to Taşçı, Universalist ideology in Scandinavian welfare state can be observed under two arguments. First, argument claims that individuals would require more help as society would develop and care of indigent persons should be

³⁸ Pierson, 1998, p.778

³⁹ Myles & Quadagno, 2002, p. 40

maintained through collective responsibility (2010, p.77). Scandinavian welfare state is handling the subject of family structure different than the other two welfare states. System encourages women not only in the sense of social transfers but also in the sense of equality in job opportunities. Between, one of the purposes of this kind of welfare state is to achieve full employment. This is the result of the egalitarian and universalistic basis of the Scandinavian welfare. Compared to other two welfare state types, there are an extensive social services and social transfers. Moreover, there is only a marginal role on redistribution of welfare for market. As it can be interfered, this kind of welfare state can be observed in Scandinavian countries.

3.2.2.4. Critiques on Esping Andersen Typology and Southern European Welfare State

There are also critiques on categorization of Esping-Andersen in the sense that Southern European welfare states should be observed differently since it has different characteristics than European continental welfare. Basically those arguments focus on the institutional and organizational differences. In Andersen typology it was assumed that southern countries have a characteristic of conservative-corporatist welfare state depending on two characteristics that are family support mechanism and key role of breadwinner in family. However, many scholars like Ferrera(2002), Mingione (2001) and Gough (1996) do not agree with this comment. In this research, these critiques will play an important role since Turkey accepted as a part of a Southern European welfare state. For that reason, analysis will be made in coming chapters are going to be based on these arguments. However, it should be accepted that there is no keen boundaries in which Turkey also represent both southern and conservative -corporatist welfare state characteristics. In coming sections, welfare characteristics of southern European countries and distributive mechanism of welfare will be briefly examined.

Modernization and industrialization process are dominant factors on determining the characteristic of the welfare states. Since, welfare state constitutes institutions depending on the socio-economical and socio-cultural factors in society. In other

words, basic characteristic of the welfare state is shaped through industrialization and modernization process. Starting from this, many scholar claims that southern European states experienced different modernization and industrialization process which resulted in differentiation in the characteristic from conservative- corporatist welfare state. In his article, Mingione claims that southern states experienced late industrialization compared to central and western European countries. He says that; economy of south European countries in the 1950s was based mainly on agriculture and it is only in the 1960s and 1970s that it developed industrial standards comparable with France, Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands. With their more developed industries, in the first two post-war decades, these countries attracted low skill immigrants, mainly from Southern European countries. Migration helped to influence the features and programmes of their welfare system.⁴⁰ He also adds that this immigration process triggered prioritization of male breadwinner in society and weakened the proletarianization. This change in the labor market resulted in increase in the ratio of self- employment. In that manner, Mingione comments that ‘in Southern countries the self-employed remained partially excluded from the main benefits deriving from the labor market (e.g. Unfavorable pensions or lack of family allowances), as they had a weaker voice in the political arena, they were mainly integrated through the toleration of tax- evasion and informal labor (ibid. 44). In the same manner Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder interpret the Southern European welfare similarly with Mingione. According to them; issue such as the structure of employment, the nature of formal social security system and the extent of social security coverage, the peculiar characteristic of the relationship state and citizen, employment opportunities presented to individuals through informal networks were important issue to be considered in evaluating the nature of the southern European welfare regime (Buğra & Keyder, 2003, p.13). She also comments that distinctive characters of southern European Welfare state are;

- A labor market structure in which employment provided by small employers, self employment and unpaid family workers is very important

⁴⁰ Mingione, Kazepov, Hespanha, Gomez, Garcia, & Andreotti, 2001, p.44

- The large incidence of undocumented economic activity and unrecorded employment
- A social security system with corporatist tendencies, constituting a fragmented in which social rights are unequally distributed and universal health insurance is absent.
- The limited role of the state within the formal social security system; in contrast to this, state playing a large role in the income opportunities of the individuals through particularist mechanism in which patronage relationships play a large role
- Almost complete absence of social policies aimed at combating poverty exclusion (other than those linked to unemployment) and related to this;
- The importance of family, local government, religious or non-religious local institutions in promoting the welfare of individual and helping individuals to deal with risk situation (ibid. 13-14)

Main difference of the Southern European welfare from other welfare systems is the position and responsibilities of the family. First of all, it should be mentioned that in this kind of welfare regimes there exist both centralality of state and weak structure. It is centralized because the state's capacity to occupy and dominate - through political regulation- a non- hegemonized social space, due to the high heterogeneity and fragmentation of social interest in society⁴¹. It is weak because, although state allocate high amount of funds to social protection and services, there is high unbalance and inequality in distribution system. According to Mingione, all of the risks included by social risks are built upon the comprehension that family and relative web have the primary responsibility for protection and the state intermeddles just in an unsystematic way (2006, p.274). As it was mentioned before, family has a key role in southern European welfare states such as Turkey. In the same manner, in an article conducted on migrant families in Turkey, Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Tılıç (2000) pointed out that 'family pool', which is sum of social, economical and cultural resources, is highly effective in survival strategies of poor families. At the same time, it also lightens the pressure on public welfare institutions (p. 540).

⁴¹ Mingione, Kazepov, Hespanha, Gomez, Garcia, & Andreotti, 2001, p. 46

In the lights of these information, families receive modest benefits from state and left alone dealing with responsibilities of social risks such as unemployment, sickness etc. On the other hand, compared with conservative- corporatist welfare regimes offer extended services, in-kind and cash transfers to family. Depending on the de-ruralization and industrialization process, family structures are varying. In continental European state consists of nuclear families and there can be mentioned about individuality of women, emancipated from family ties, working in a firm and taking care of herself. On the other hand, this issue is very complex in southern European welfare state. First of all, family structure is extended compared to other European countries. Role of women and men is sharply specified that men are expected to work out while women are expected to take care of home. In that sense Mingione compares women in European countries that; in Southern Europe women emancipated within the family, doing the same care work, in the same professional way, with the only difference that they do it for their families. In that sense, women in southern EU states represent the link between the family and the state, as they deal both with modern public bureaucracy (i.e. hospital, schools, public administration) and family (ibid. 51).

Secondly, health care system of southern welfare states was insufficient in the sense of efficiency because of predominance of occupational differences that determined the range of healthcare benefits. As a result, private sectors are integrated into health care system. However, these states implemented new healthcare reforms for omitting the occupational differences which supplied healthcare benefits to all citizens. Despite, Onur Açar referred to Ferrara on the fact that;

None of these countries can yet achieve the target of tax-financing system of health-care due to the occupational differentiations dominant in access of health care services, territorial disparities and complex difficulties of financing structure.(2009, p. 42)

Another distinct character of southern welfare regime is extensive patron- client relation in the manner of welfare distribution. Most of the time, social aids are seen

as a tool for political support. As Gough referred to Ferrera in his article (Gough, 1996, p.16);

Welfare rights are not embedded in an open, universalistic political culture and a solid, Weberian state impartial in the administration of its own rules. They rather rest on a closed, particularistic culture and on a 'soft' state apparatus, both still highly imbued with the logic of patron-client relationships which have been a historical constant in this area of Europe.

3.3. Poverty and Welfare State in Turkey:

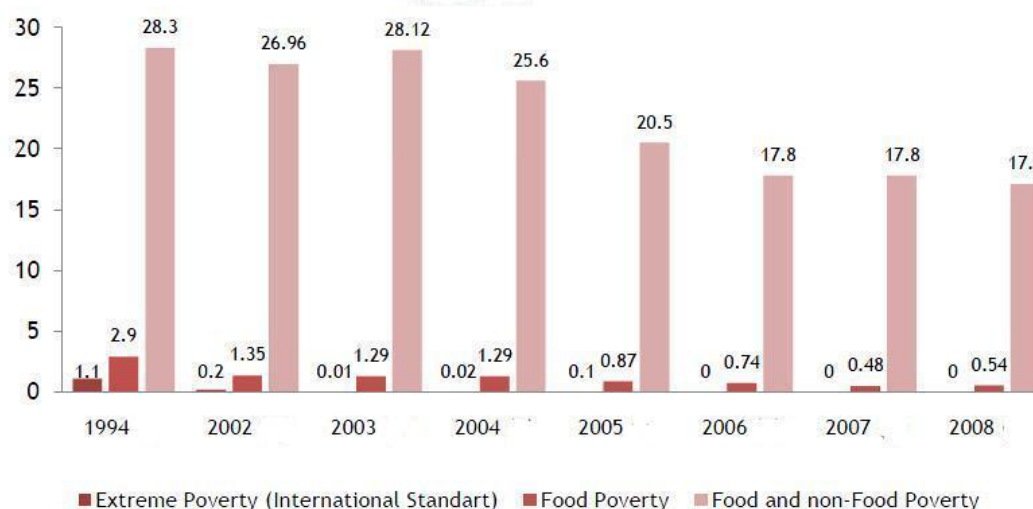
3.3.1. Poverty in Turkey

According to human development index 2010 indicators, that countries ranked through their life expectancy, literacy, education and standards of living measures, Turkey is standing in 83 among 169 countries.

Demographic indicators are important criteria for picturing the poverty. According to TUIK statistics (2011) Turkish population is about to reach to 74 million in 2011 and 77% of its population lives in urban areas whereas 23% of population lives in rural. Statistics reveals that Turkey has a young society that half of its population is under 30 years indicating the similar characteristic of the developing countries.

As one of the countries that became part of UNDP Millennium Development Goals in 2000, Turkey published a report representing its condition. According to that report poverty in Turkey decreased slightly in two decade.

Figure 1- Poverty Ratios in Turkey



Taken From: Turkey Millennium Development Goals Report, State Planning Organization-2010

It can be easily interfered from statistics that food and non- food poverty was around %28 in 1994 and decreased to 17 % in 2008. Similarly, food poverty decreased from 3% to 0.5 % from 1994 to 2008. Moreover, extreme poverty, which indicates people live on less than 1 dollar per day, eliminated by the year 2006. These indicators show that Turkey almost achieved its first target in millennium development goal that is halving the proportion of extreme poverty. However, depending on the global economical crisis in year 2009 food and non-food poverty increased to 18%.

Figure 2: Rates of Poor Individuals in Turkey

Methods	Rate of poor individuals (%)							
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007(*)	2008	2009
Food poverty	1,35	1,29	1,29	0,87	0,74	0,48	0,54	0,48
Complete poverty (food+nonfood)	26,96	28,12	25,60	20,50	17,81	17,79	17,11	18,08
Below 1 \$ per capita per day	0,20	0,01	0,02	0,01
Below 2,15 \$ per capita per day	3,04	2,39	2,49	1,55	1,41	0,52	0,47	0,22
Below 4,3 \$ per capita per day	30,30	23,75	20,89	16,36	13,33	8,41	6,83	4,35
Relative poverty based on expenditure	14,74	15,51	14,18	16,16	14,50	14,70	15,06	15,12

Taken from TUIK; www.tuik.gov.tr

According to statistics above, Turkey do not suffer from extreme poverty but rather suffer from relative poverty. Extreme poverty can be understood by the ratio under the below 1\$, 2.15 \$ and 4.3 \$ population that are decreasing regularly since 2002. On the other hand, relative poverty based on expenditure almost stayed constant through the same years.

Income distribution is another important aspect determining the poverty condition. The chart below supplies general information about the income distribution of Turkey.

Figure 3:

Distribution of Annual Personal Disposable Income by Quintiles of Household Population (%)

Household	1987	1994	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Lowest % 20	5.2	4.9	5.3	6.0	6.0	6.1	5.1	5.8
Second % 20	9.6	8.6	9.8	10.3	10.7	11.1	9.9	10.6
Third % 20	14.1	12.6	14.0	14.5	15.2	15.8	14.8	15.2
Fourth % 20	21.2	19.0	20.8	20.9	21.9	22.6	21.9	21.5
Highest % 20	49.9	54.9	50.1	48.3	46.2	44.4	48.4	46.9
Gini Coefficient	0.43	0.49	0.44	0.42	0.40	0.38	0.43	0.41

Taken From: Turkey Millennium Development Goals Report, State Planning Organization-2010

As it can be interfered from the table above, there is a fluctuation in Gini Coefficient⁴² in years indicating the unequal distribution of income in society. It dropped from %49 in 1994 to %38 in 2005 while EU-25 countries statistics shows 30 in same years⁴³.

⁴² The Gini index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Gini index of zero represents perfect equality and 100, perfect inequality. (taken from <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=4842>)

⁴³ <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/index.htm>

There is huge difference in shares of income such as; in 2007, the lowest %20 of the population shares % 5.8 of whole income while richest %20 of the population shares the % 46.9 of whole income which indicating the very gap between the rich and poor in society.

3.3.2. Development of Welfare State in Turkey

In this part of the chapter, main purpose of the researcher is to understand the development of welfare state in Turkey under the light of the previously mentioned theoretical framework of welfare state.

Republic of Turkey was build upon the social and economical heritage of Ottoman Empire. For that reason, early republic welfare institutions have tight links with Ottoman Empire era. Welfare structure of Ottoman Empire will be explained in next chapter under the topic of ‘Ottoman Period: Wakfs, Akhi Organizations and Religious assistances’ in detail. Briefly speaking, welfare institutions of this era depend upon the religious institutions and semi independent foundations (Wakfs) and family institution. Wakfs provide food, sheltering, heating etc. assistances for poor. Basic resource of these institutions was charities which has a religious connotation. Another important welfare institution of this era was family. Mostly, social risks such as sickness, old age, unemployment and disabilities were covered under family institutions. These risks were dealt with under close family relations. This condition also represents the limited intervention of the state in society and role of state in alleviating with risks.

In 1923 Turkish Republic was founded. In the manner of welfare institutions, the characteristics of Ottoman Empire period continued until 1945. This period (1923-45) was also known as republican period and economically speaking, state oriented development was adopted. Republican period was symbolized with single party regime. Newly emerging welfare institutions of this period were established upon the covering the wound of First World War.

Before the beginning of World War Two, multi party regime was adopted and Keynesian, full employment economy was taken into agenda. First involvement of state in social security was also achieved in this era such as new regulations established for working conditions. At 1960, Turkey experienced military coup which brought new constitution in to state agenda. This constitution was emphasizing the structure of 'social state'. At 1970's Turkey experienced economical crisis depending on the world petrol crisis. This also triggered questioning the import- substituting industrialization in coming years.

1980's were turning point in Turkish welfare state history. Economically, import-substituting industrialization was abandoned and, under control of Özal government, liberalization process was implemented. This new ideology also brought new capitalist accumulation process reshaping welfare state through lowering domestic consumption and lowering wages. Thus, the main aim of this liberalization process was to reduce the social expenditures of health, education and social services. In this era, education became privatized and market oriented, retirement age increased, amount of social assistances decreased, health and education expenditures lessened etc. As Buğra quoted from Boratav, compared to consumer prices, real wages in industry dropped around 32% within 1978 to 1988⁴⁴. Moreover, this era also represents the underestimation of rural population and, for the first time in Turkish history, urban population became equal to rural population in this era. This condition represents the rural resolution and changing in the family structure. Extended family structure of the rural areas started to become nuclear families in urban areas. In that manner, Rittersberger and Kalaycıoğlu (1998) introduced the rural resolution policies with;

The principal feature of the economic development experienced in the 1950s derived from the post-war re-ordering of the international economic system under the principles of market liberalism. Under such a design Turkey was advised to abandon its industrialization projects whose social impact had remained anyhow only limited. Attention was directed at a transformation of the agricultural sector.

⁴⁴ Buğra, Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika, 2008, p.200

The introduction of mechanization in agriculture led to a rapid increase in the area under cultivation and in agricultural output. It is misleading to argue that mechanization replaced labour and former sharecroppers were driven to urban areas out of poverty. It would be more correct to argue that general underemployment in agriculture constituted the push factor. (p.72)

In addition to this information, they claimed that Turkish state has different characteristics compared to European nation state in terms of responsibilities over family. They considered two possible reasons behind this situation;

Following the European model, the aim of this nation state formation was to create a state taking over responsibilities from the family. However, as it turned out, this large scale attempt remained rudimentary in a sense. It might be possible to argue that there are two apparent reasons behind the state's lack of realization of its ideals. One is that the different historical and state traditions of the East, coming from Ottoman times, influenced the Turkish experience of nation state formation. The Ottoman state was authoritarian and was only related to its subjects through tax collection (Mardin, 1962). The educational, administrative and bureaucratic facilities were not extended to the subjects. Thus, a Western type of state-subject (citizen) relation did not develop. The other one, as mentioned also by Käufeler (1988) is that the state tried to create modernity from above, as a neutral model. It remained largely at the legislative and administrative level alien to the experiences of individuals and families. (p.78)

It wouldn't be wrong to mention that state triggered emerging of new poverty in urban areas. Depending on this new emerging urban poverty state implemented new regulations such as Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund. Main purpose of this implementation was dealing with poverty which became obvious with rapid urbanization process. Still, there are some critiques on this implementation. As quoted Aksular (2008) quoted from Gül, this fund has been used for promotion of liberalism. It has also served populist aims with the prevention of parliamentary control. However, it became the major component of anti poverty activity and is used for creation of partisan voters in the poor urban areas (p.15).

In the same manner, liberalization period caused increase in poverty that poor cannot met their health expenditure. Thus, state established Green Card implementation. According to this implementation health expenditure of poor were covered by Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund.

Fragmented structure of social security system was an obvious indicator of traditional welfare system in Turkey. This fragmentation was based on occupation status. Buğra and Keyder mentioned that;

The formal security system in Turkey is comprised of the Retirement Chest, which covers state employees, the Social Insurance Institution which covers works, Bağ-Kur that covers the self employed, and various other career-related insurance funds.⁴⁵

Moreover, social security system basically covers only formal work. However, informal work is problematic issue in Turkey that 55% of the employed is not registered to any social security system (ibid, p.17). Thus, health expenditures of those working in informal work were generally covered within family relations which were one of the key characteristics of Southern European Welfare.

According to law no 5487 established in 2006, these institutions were gathered under Social Security Institution. However, fragmented character of system that depends on occupational difference still continues. Moreover, basic health services became available to all citizens under 18 years old with this regulation. Informal workers are still out of health service coverage.

Emerging of 'new poverty' is a hot debate in welfare transformation of Turkey especially after 2000. Basically, new poverty refers to disintegration of poor into society, especially into urban way of life. Basis of the term comes from rural resolution that Turkey experienced. According to Buğra; new poverty is a product of conditions that for the most part destroy the probability of being integrated into urban

⁴⁵ Buğra & Keyder, 2003, p. 17

society. People in this situation are not going to complete the transformation process from being villagers, or from small production and informal employment, to being integrated members of urban economies⁴⁶. Thus, it is asserted that this is a new form of poverty that is permanent due to disintegration of poor in to society.

Another important turning point in Turkish welfare state was experienced with Justice and Development Party (AKP) regime after 2002. Basically, AKP government adopted conservative- liberal ideology. Their ideology represents the limited intervention of the state both in economical and social sphere. According to followers of this ideology, instead of intervening economical and social life, state should regulate and control them for creating equal competition. In the same manner, traces of the Özal government on emphasis of charity and family institutions can also be seen in AKP government period. Actually, their conservative ideology highlights the importance of family institution as a management and balance mechanism of social risks in itself. In his article İnsel (2003) mentions that;

The AKP's defense of social justice is based on the strengthening of traditional relationships of charity and cooperation rather than the strengthening of individual and social rights. The AKP brings its conservatism to the foreground by emphasizing such traditions, especially those related to the family. (p.298)

On the other hand, Buğra claims that with AKP government there emerged a perception of social right. She adds that, in 2001, Turkey experienced very severe economical crisis that enabled poverty became obvious. Moreover, traditional social balancing and risk management mechanisms like family were not capable of dealing with this problem. Thus, state took some precautions for poverty alleviation (2008, p.222). One of the indicators of this alleviation process is dramatic increase in distribution of coal and food assistance to poor.

Another core characteristic of conservative ideology of AKP can be listed as the usage of political Islamist discourse. In that respect, religious images can be found

⁴⁶ Buğra & Keyder, 2003,p. 23

to be used within political speeches with a special emphasis on religion's empowering character of traditional ties among people and relations between individuals and informal social institutions. This is, at the same time, one of the factors that creates a slippery slope for the welfare state as a political and institutional subject in order to throw off its responsibilities by assigning them to informal web of social relations among people.

Another significant impact of gradually decreasing responsibilities of the welfare state can be listed as civil movements which began to increase by pervasion of globalization in 1990's. By evolution of increasing emphasis on liberalization and democratization through 1980's to a strong reference for the significance of organization and participatory/pluralistic democracy in 1990's, the conception of civil society also slithered to more organized and activist one from a conception which had taken recalling the state its responsibilities to discharge into its center. It can be raised that this evolution sniffs out a picture which matches up with the state's ideal of sharing its responsibilities with the liberal citizens/individuals in action. In parallel with this situation, the responsibilities of the state in civilian life dwindle. In other words, not only the poor and the state but also civil society as an active actor takes charge in social problem of alleviating poverty. As Acar (2009) quoted from Turk;

Privatizations must be accelerated by virtue of the downsized state. Whereas the effectiveness of the state in light of the productivity, transparency and principles of participation in public administration must be come true through restructuring. Thus, a new understanding of governance which is based on dialog and cooperation must be put into effect. The new understanding of governance must take shape on a trilogy consisting of privatization, empowering civil society and localization. (p.91)

As a summary, based upon the information above, it can be claimed that welfare state came into agenda after 1961 constitution. Before that time, state tried to achieve its economical transformation and left social risks within family and charity organizations. After 1980, Turkey experienced liberalization process that liberal

conservative government established new institutions dealing with social issues. However, family institution and charity were still very important and transformation of welfare state was substantiated under this ideology. The purpose of the government was to reduce the social expenditures. After 2002, AKP government came into power with conservative liberal ideology. However, economical crisis of 2001 compelled government to take responsibility. Thus, state implemented poverty alleviation policies but the main characteristic of this era can be summarized as decrease in social expenditures and emphasis on religion and family institution.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN TURKEY

It is obvious that social assistance has great impact on poverty alleviation. However, regulations and structure of social assistance experienced a lot of alteration. In this chapter, we will try to establish a connection between historical roots of social assistance institutions of Ottoman Empire to today's Turkish Republic and also try to mention the changing in the structure of social assistance institutions. The main purpose of this historical approach is to evaluate current social assistance suppliers and benefiteres correctly.

This chapter will be composed of four subtopics which are Social Assistance in Ottoman Empire, Social Assistance in Turkish Republic between 1923-1945, Social Assistance between 1945- 1980 and Social Assistance between 1980- 2011. The reason why we divide this chapter into three sub category is that these dates are important break points in terms of historical sense. Firstly, we will mention about social assistance regulations and structure in Ottoman Empire. In this part, we will try to illustrate social structure of Ottoman Empire and applications of social assistance in society. Also, in this part, we will try to define that modern structure of social security had based on the modernization process of that era. This part has a vital importance on perceiving the background ideology behind social assistance in Turkey. In second part, we will discuss in what manner this modernization process accomplished or not and in what extend this modernization process affected the understanding of social assistance in new Turkish republic. Moreover, in this part, link between Ottoman Empire and Turkish republic will be discussed in the sense of social assistance. Third part of the chapter consist of defining the industrialization process of the Turkish republic and with related to this issue regulations over social security system are going to be mentioned. In addition to that, emergences of social

state, social constitutions are going to be briefly explained. At the last part, liberalization process of the era is going to be introduced and depending on this shift in ideology, social assistance regulations are going to be explained. Some of the key figures of the social assistance system are going to be introduced in this part of the chapter.

4.1. Ottoman Period: Wakfs, Akhi Organizations and Religious Assistances

In order to grasp modern form of social assistance in Turkey, one has to perceive its' historical development and its' historical roots. In that sense, brief introduction of Ottoman social assistance structure would make easier to interpret modern structure of social assistance in Turkey.

Foundation (Wakfs⁴⁷) and Akhi⁴⁸ organizations come first to mind when we talk about social assistance in Ottoman Empire. However, there were different social assistance providers in the Ottoman Empire. According to Dilik(1988), from middle ages through the industrial revolution, in all Islamic countries, there are three different type of distribution system in the sense of social assistance. These are; social assistances that related to religious obligations, Akhism and other working organizations and lastly, Foundations (Wakfs).

One of the most influential social assistance types in the Ottoman Empire was related to religious obligations. Zakat⁴⁹ (Zekat) was a religious must of Muslim believers which means giving some amount of your wealth to poor. According to Islamist ideology, Zakat is not a charitable bequest but a right for poor and duty for rich⁵⁰. Moreover, most of the Muslim countries used this obligation as a way of taxation. However, many theocratic countries changed this taxation system with the spread of

⁴⁷ Wakfs connotes an institution that works with the islamic codes. The main purpose of this institution is to gather charity and distribute to the society in the way of building schools, mosques, supplying food, shelter, coal for the needy.

⁴⁸ . Akhism connotes a brotherhood of craftsman in Ottoman Empire between thirteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Rules of this brotherhood are mainly on professionalism and ethics. It acts like a controlling mechanism not only in the sense of economical but also moral.

⁴⁹ Zakat; related to religious obligations, Muslims are oblinded to give their 1/40 of their wealth (surplus) to poors.

⁵⁰ Dilik, 1988,p.56

secularist ideology. This caused Zakat to become personal and social assistance. In other words, Zakat turn out to be an informal and personal assistance. Another religion based assistance type is alms-giving (Fitre). It is a kind of alms that required to be given in Ramadan which is a holy month in Islam. Believers, who are not poor, have to pay some amount of money to the poor.

Second social assistance provider in Ottoman Empire is Akhism and other working organizations. These organizations constituted kind of a social security system that protects only members of the guilds. They collect money from each other and collect them in 'Ahi Sandığı'. However, in terms of social assistance, they help poor or needy from this collected money.

Thirdly and most importantly, foundations (Wakfs) are crucial part of social assistance system in Ottoman Empire. In general, foundation means fund of money for charity, donation, property or properties donated by people according to Islamic laws and regulations (Ören, 2003, p.173). Thus, foundations have a side depend on religious codes. However, these institutions have autonomous structure and they were non-profit making organizations which all resources were collected from rich volunteers. Moreover, today's most of the state related issues such as construction of schools, hospitals, mosques, libraries etc. were done by those institutions for poor people. It was kind of a redistribution system that rich people are socially and economically responsible for the indigent welfare without considering its religion or race. In this way, Ottoman Empire tried to achieve social solidarity and cohesion in society⁵¹.

Thus, in Ottoman society charity has a very important role in society. According to Buğra (2008, p.129) there are three important points in Middle Eastern societies, including Ottoman Empire, in the sense of charity. First, charity is sanctioned by regulations through institutions. Second, charity do not focuses on eradication poverty but rather it is presented as a gift so that indigent can benefit from it. Third

⁵¹ Ören, 2003, p.180

thing is that foundations those acted significant role throughout Ottoman Empire had slippery running mechanisms that led up to inseparability off private sources from the public ones, as well as governmental expenditures from individual charities.

In Ottoman Empire, there are mainly two types of foundation with related to social assistance that are; Avarız Foundations and Hayri Foundations. They were both established for the indigents and social risks.

On the other hand, social structure of Ottoman Empire masks obvious indicators of poverty. This is because of family ties in society. Especially before industrial revolution, where rural production and population were high, importance of family ties became vital. Actually, fundamental characteristics of social assistance and also social security can easily be interpreted from helps within the family and these assistances are crucial because they are basis of social assistance in Ottoman Empire (Şenocak, 2009). In the conditions where central government intervention to social area is restricted, family ties, blood relations, may protect individual from social crises.

However, this structure of Ottoman Empire changed with respect to social transformation in the world with related to industrialization. Likewise, historical development of social assistance structure experienced critical shifts in these years and these changes were summarized by Özbek⁵² as ‘from the beginnings of 19th century, Ottoman empire got through important transformation for being modern and social state’. Emerging of capitalism, modern industrialization and liberal ideology in England expanded all European countries and also affected Ottoman social structure by removing guild system and working organizations⁵³. These organizations were the basic elements of social security system in country and with the removal of their working life, society become vulnerable.

⁵² Özbek, 2006, p.29

⁵³ Dilik, 1988

Moreover, foundations (Wakfs), most important tool for the social assistance system in Ottoman Empire, had lost its function since autonomous and economical independence of foundations were eliminated because of the centralization in governance⁵⁴. In other words, they became an apparatus of the state. For example, after Tanzimat (1839), incomes of foundations were collected by treasury. So that control over redistribution of wealth and implementation of social assistance were gathered in state. The fundamental reason beyond foundations' loss of prominence could be summarized as; foundations cannot meet newly emerging and varying needs, change in the global system compelled state to protect its citizens⁵⁵.

In a modern manner, even though it was implemented within a small population and implementation, social assistance in Ottoman Empire went back to middle of 19th century. One of the most important implementation in that era was salary of indigent (Muhtacın Maaşı). For example; at 1867, two disable person were given cash transfer from state budget for a life time⁵⁶. According to Ozbek, eligibility for Muhtacın Maaşı was determined through being unable to sustain basic needs for a life time (Özbek, 2006). However, some of the most well known social assistance institutions, which are still functioning such as Darülaceze, Darüşşafaka, Darüleytamlar, were also established in this era⁵⁷. Most of the services and transfers done by those institutions had no reimbursement which represents the modern approach of social assistance. Moreover, these institutions stand for a switch from traditional to modern institutions so that they survived after establishment of Turkish republic. Moreover, Ottoman Empire hadn't fully achieved the transformation to modern state since there was no enough regulation about the structure of social assistance. Actually, this transformation was not accomplished until the second half of 20th century after collapse of Ottoman Empire which will be discussed in coming parts of the chapter.

⁵⁴ Özbek, 2006 p.30

⁵⁵ Özdemir, 2008

⁵⁶ Özbek, 2006, p.32-33

⁵⁷ Taşçı, 2010, p.70

4.2 Early Republic Period (1923-45): Limited Interference of the New State:

If we accept that welfare state is a form of modern state, emerging of modern state is result of various transformations in economical and social conditions. This can be identified as changing in regime and relation between state and individual⁵⁸.

Turkish Republic rose over the wreckage of Ottoman Empire since at the end of World War 1 in 1923; Anatolia had lost its ¼ population. Moreover, newly emerging republic hadn't accomplished its industrialization process. Economical indicators show that rural production was the main income resource of young republic. This condition also influences social structure of the era.

Establishment of institutions hadn't been achieved yet, including social assistance institutions. Most of the social helps supplied within family relations or non-governmental organizations (NGO). However, most of the NGO were regional and had limited resources. In additions to that, the number of NGO was quite limited.

In establishment period of Turkey, state tried to attune new economical requirement by investing on industrialization and prepare new regulations for social risk. Thus, state first tried to establish social security system and left social assistance within families alone.

However, demographic structure of the period shows that, related to population lost in World War 1, there were high widowed women and orphan. According to 1927 census, 30% of female population was widowed in Western Anatolia⁵⁹. In that sense, it would be true to say that Turkish indigent of young republican era have difference from the industrialized country indigent. They are far away to be defined as inactive labor force⁶⁰. Thus, state focused on this issue and established semiofficial and

⁵⁸ Özbek, 2001

⁵⁹ Buğra, 2008, p.101

⁶⁰ Taşçı, 2010, p.102

official institutions for dealing with it. Main functions of these establishments were lowering cruel birth rate, encouraging multi-child families, nutrition, and education of orphans⁶¹. For instance; Himaye-I Etfal Cemiyeti was established in 1921 for assisting the children of World War 1 martyrs which became Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu in 1935. It was the first national foundation in Turkey and the goal of Himaye-I Etfal Cemiyeti was described as ‘assistance to widowed women and orphans shouldn’t be left to state alone’ in establishment of institution⁶².

Turkey experienced single party regime between 1923 and 1946. This period was defined by many scholars as alliance between Turkish elite and large land owners. This can be easily perceived through institutionalization of social assistance in young republic. When we look at the founders of the modern social assistance institutions, there can be seen trace of republican elites. For instance; Himaye-I Etfal Cemiyeti was established by a group of people which 19 member out of 21 were Member of Parliament, also Yardım Sevenler Derneği was established by notable Cumuriyet Halk Fırkası members which were the single party of the regime⁶³.

However, most of these assistances were available in urban areas. On the other hand, in rural areas where institutionalization hadn’t been achieved, Thus, especially in this era, family became major institutions against social risks. Aybars tells this situation in the way that ‘the one-party regime paved the way for the eventual institutionalization of Turkey’s social policy regime. It realized that population moves and the heavy legacy of war had made self-help systems and charitable help through family networks, the then dominant features of social assistance, inadequate’ (Aybars & Tsarouhas, 2010,p.751). Another important point was mentioned by Buğra (2008, p.152) that single party regime in Turkey was a representative of statist approach; however, we cannot see this representation in the sense of social assistance because poverty was suppressed in rural area by noble Turkish elite and state gave responsibility of dealing with poverty to charity institutions.

⁶¹ Özbek, 2006, p. 102

⁶² Buğra, 2008, p.137

⁶³ Özbek, 2006, p. 102

4.3 Social Assistance between 1945- 80: The First Modern Regulations in Social Assistance System

Beginning of this era symbolized with disorder in whole world due to World War 2. However, Turkey didn't become a part of this war; instead, Turkey was socially and economically suffered from the period. Due to war conditions economical activities of state restricted and related to economical crisis in world urban poverty increased⁶⁴. Thus, state revealed precautions against urban poverty by giving in-kind social aids to indigents. Actually, those days were remembered with state distribution of goods, such as bread, with ratio card (Karne). However, bread was not enough to deal with poverty in that era which state was compelled to deliver coal and wood, although there were no systematical distribution system and established institutions.

As it was mentioned before, 1923-46 were the years that Turkey experienced single party regime. However, after 1946, Turkey started to adapt market economy with the effect of multi party regime. In this era, Turkey established its first social security institutions and began to institutionalize.

Most important attempt about social assistance was made in 1961 constitution law. It defined and emphasized 'social' characteristic of state which resulted in protection of social rights under law. It generally refers to social security process; however it also formed the basic legislation of social assistance.⁶⁵

With related to these institutionalization process, significant changing hadn't been experienced until 1976 in the manner of social assistance system. However, depend on the legislation established in 1976, number of 2022, beneficiaries defined as those who are not under protection of any social security system and, also, have no close relatives taking care of them. In other words, this explanation emphasizes the great presence of family ties over social protection system in Turkey, since, if applicant

⁶⁴ Özbek, 2006, p.142

⁶⁵ Taşçı, 2010, p.105

has a close relative who is not in need of social assistance or who is not 'poor', cannot benefit from social assistance although applicant may deserve it. Thus, close relatives of applicants, who were not poor, were expected to take care of poor relatives.

On the other hand, this definition, made in 1976, may be interpreted as ongoing transformation process in social assistance system. Between, at the first time in the history of Turkish republic, state admitted the reality of poor individuals in Turkey.

4.4 Social Assistance Between 1980-2011: Liberalization Period

In his book, Taşçı (Taşçı, p. 109) categorized social assistance policies provided by state in Turkey after 1980's with three sections that are; fluctuation, continuity and change. With fluctuation, he basically refers to the unsteadily changing amount or the type of aids supplied by state and decentralized, unsystematic structure of the assistance institutions. With continuity, he refers to continuous character of aids provided by state. It can be low amount or high amount of assistances are distributed but there is continuity. Lastly, he explained the character of social assistance after 1980 with the changing both in implementation and regulation process.

After 1980, transformation in social security system in Turkey becomes more obvious. Although this era symbolized with social conflict in Turkish history, at these years, state became more responsible on social assistance distribution process. For example; in 1983, SHÇEK⁶⁶ distributed social aids both in kind and in cash to indigent individuals. There is a chart below indicating total number of SHÇEK social assistance beneficiaries and total amount that SHCEK distributed in Turkey from 2001 to 2009. Moreover, it should be mentioned that these beneficiaries are commonly children and their families.

⁶⁶ Primistry Social Services and Child Protection Agency

Figure 4. Number of Beneficiaries and Total Transfer of SHÇEK

	Total Number Of Beneficiaries of Social Assistance from SHEÇEK	Total amount of Transfer of Social Assistance from SHÇEK
2001	11.615	2.902.243 TL.
2002	12.075	5.233.236 TL.
2003	13.253	9.909.913 TL.
2004	21.817	11.484.000 TL.
2005	19.735	15.980.800 TL
2006	27.319	41.000.000 TL
2007	28.681	48.255.000 TL
2008	30.909	48.255.000 TL
2009	35.756	78.421.693 TL

Taken from SHÇEK annual report (2009) from <http://www.shcek.gov.tr/faaliyet-raporlari.aspx>

Another and the most important example of the state involvement to social assistance scheme was establishment of Fund for the Encouragement of Social Cooperation and Solidarity in 1986. Moreover, with the establishment of this law, it was considered that state would build up agencies in all towns under the name of Foundations of Social Assistance and Solidarity (Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıfları). Today, increasing number of those SYDV is more than 950 and it was established in all 81 cities in Turkey. Those institutions were employed to meet the basic needs of the indigent persons in their region both with in-kind and in-cash transfers.

According to scholars such as Nadir Özdek, poverty is not a new issue for Turkish history which became a hot issue after 1980 with respect to the increase in the gap between rich and poor. He claims that, especially after 1980's; state was in need of new regulations in the sense of social security but it kept distributing social assistance with its differing institutions. Accordingly, state established Social Assistance and Solidarity fund in 1986⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Özdek, 2006, p. 360

At the heart of this Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund, the ideology of state should deal with poverty lies. For that reason, funding of this establishment was expected to be met through charity. However, this expectation was not substantiated. As it can be interpreted, this ideology represents the single party regime of Turkish republic and pure liberal ideology. Moreover, the importance of family institution was still on agenda. With the emergence of slums as a result of high migration process, social problems were handled by family institutions, neighbors and *hemşehrilik*⁶⁸.

On the other hand, there are different critiques on this fund and law. According to Buğra and Keyder the establishment of the Fund in 1986 in part constitutes a response to the increasing inability of the family to carry the burden of care traditionally placed on it (2005, p.26). In the same manner Kalaycıoğlu (2006) mentioned that;

In these social assistance programmes (refers to Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund), the ‘family’ is emphasized as the basic unit to which social assistance should be transferred, and for the first time families in need are targeted as beneficiaries. Families were encouraged through the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund regional offices to participate in its social protection schemes. The fund’s social assistance package was later restructured and transformed into the ‘social mitigation project’, financed by the World Bank (p.233).

In addition to this, Kalaycıoğlu criticized the policies of 1990’s and emphasized the position of family and replacement of it by mentioning that;

The mid-1990s saw an increased focus on the heavy burden of social security financing on the state budget. Although the family was still held to be the basis of assistance programmes, discussions began to focus on potential reforms aimed at developing new institutions that would eventually replace the family support system (p. 233).

⁶⁸ Hemşehrilik connotes for borning at the same region. This is a social phenomena that individuals help each other depending on their origin.

Another implementation was Green Card (Yeşil Kart) law in 1990s'. Actually, this implementation was a result of newly emerging liberal ideology, adaptation of market economy. As a part of liberalization process, health institutions became an apparatus of market economy that employees, doctors, nurses of hospitals are given share from profit. Each hospital was expected to take care itself in economical manner. Thus, poor benefiting from health expenditures of main budget were expected to pay their health bills. By doing so, there occurred increasing problems related to payment of health expenditures of poor since poor has no money for healthcare. In that respect, state established the Green Card law in 1992. According to this law, those who have difficulties on compensating health expenditures were going to be provided Green Card and, their health expenditures were going to be paid through Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund. Basically, Green Card was available for those who have no security coverage. According to Ayşe Buğra, Green Card is one of the key figures in Turkish social assistance history by representing social assistance as a social right⁶⁹, because, with Green Card, individuals don't have to prove their poverty condition. Green Card is still on agenda and there are some projects ongoing about reshaping the implementation despite high debates on the issue. This reshaping debates based on liberal ideology that claimant of this ideology asserts that Green Card expenditures constitute the high ratio of social expenditures. On the other hand, what will be done if Green Card implementation is eliminated is still unclear. In addition to this, almost all of the social assistance receivers are benefiting from this type of social assistance since Green Card has a vital importance in their lives that they have no resource for health expenditures.

One of the important implementations in social assistance history of Turkey was held on after economical crisis of 2001. Depending on economical crisis of era, unemployment rates increased and this issue also triggered an increase in poverty rates. Thus, as a part of structural adjustment programme of IMF and World Bank, Turkey implemented Social Risks Mitigation Project (SRMP). The fund of project was borrowed from World Bank and the coordination of project was held by

⁶⁹ Buğra, Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika, 2008, p.215

SYDGM. Main purpose of SRMP is to mitigate the impact of 2001 economical crisis on poor households and to improve their capacity to cope with similar risks in the future⁷⁰. In that sense, SRMP consists of two important parts that are adjustment part and investment part. In other words, with SRMP, there defined two basic roles; saving poor from economical crisis and helping poor for future risks. In that manner, there are four main programme in SRMP that are; rapid response, institutional development, conditional cash transfer and supporting local initiatives.

Rapid response programme was the key figure on decreasing poverty. Basically, with this programme, food and cash transfers were encouraged. These assistances was organized and controlled by SYDV. Institutional development program refers to increase in the capacity of social assistance providing institutions. One of the fundamental objectives of the programme was to provide in-service training to social assistance employees and equipment for institutions (SYDV, SYDGM, SHÇEK). Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program aims to improve the living condition of the economically poorest %6 population. Basically, this programme encourages poor households to send their children to school and to participate health programmes. These two conditions determine eligibility to CCT. Lastly, local initiatives programme emphasize the improvement of poor citizens' economical conditions and life standard, encourage them to join economical and social life.

Social Risk Mitigation Project is very important for understanding the modern approach of state to poverty alleviation. Since, most of the current social assistances were shaped with this project in Turkey. Basic example of this issue is conditional cash transfers. These kinds of assistances are still on agenda although SRMP was ended at 2006. On the other hand, this project can be criticized through creating dependency which will be discussed in coming chapters.

⁷⁰<http://www.worldbank.org.tr/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/ECAEXT/TURKEYEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20188246~pagePK:1497618~piPK:217854~theSitePK:361712,00.html>

CHAPTER 5

STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL ASSISTANCE IN TURKEY

In this part of the chapter, structure of social assistance in Turkey is going to be described briefly. First of all, it should be kept in mind that this thesis explained the social assistance provided by state through its local administrations such as SYDV. Moreover, it should be recognized that Turkey has a centralized state structure which limits the decision making mechanism of the local administration. In other words, local administrations are obliged to implement the policies that are produced by the central government. For that reason, this part of the chapter will focus on the central structure of the social assistance providing institutions such as SYDGM. In the same way, this thesis is specifically focused on the family aids which are generally under control of Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SYDV). Thus, in this part of the chapter, social assistance providing institutions, structure of SYDGM and SYDV, application to social assistance are going to be explained briefly. In addition to that, other social assistance providing institutions such as SHÇEK and municipalities are also going to be introduced.

5.1 Social Assistance institutions in Turkey

5.1.1. Types of Social Assistance compensated by Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund

Main resource of the social assistance comes from Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund which was established in 1986. Basically, this fund is used by all state social assistance institutions such as SYDGM and SHÇEK. It was directly linked to prime ministry until 2004. According to Hakan Yılmaz (2010, p.14) there are different types of social assistance provided by Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund, those are;

- Periodical social assistance. This form of assistance aims at meeting daily and urgent needs of poor people across the country. It is executed by Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SSAFs) at provincial and district levels and relates to food, clothing, heating, health care, shelter, and education. It represented about 21 percent of the Fund's total budget in 2007. Moreover, it differs from a similar type of assistance mentioned below, as it basically aims to address the urgent, daily needs of relatively poor people
- Health-related assistance. This type of assistance is twofold:
 - The first form currently involves supporting curative and rehabilitatory assistance for people with disabilities who have no social security coverage. This type of assistance also used to be provided by the SSAFs, under the so-called —Green Card Scheme,¶ to outpatients with no social security for the purchase of their medicines, until 2005. Responsibility for the latter scheme was in that year transferred to the MoH. We classified these expenses as health expenditures under the health division. However, with the most recent change in legislation, Green Card payments are now the responsibility of the SSA.
 - The second form involves so-called —conditional cash transfers.¶ These cash benefits are regularly given to families on the condition that they take their offspring to a Government Health Center for regular check-ups. In our opinion, this sort of cash benefits is best classified under
- Education-related social assistance. This type of assistance can take different forms,6 among others, conditional cash transfers. These cash grants are given to the families that constitute the lowest 6th % of the population and who cannot afford to send their children to school. As long as these families send their children to school on a permanent basis, cash is handed over to the mothers.

- Family assistance. The following kinds of assistance are available for people in need:
 - Food aid. This assistance is provided by local SSAFs to people in need, before religious feasts, with money from the SSAF
 - Heating (coal for heating) assistance. Since 2003 the coal provided by the Turkish Coal Company (TCC), a state owned enterprises, is given to families in need by local SSAFs. The latter only help haul coal to people's houses. The purchase of coal from the TCC is paid from the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund.
 - Provision of Shelter. The DSAS provides cash or in kind assistance for home repair and renovation to poor people living in squalid houses.
 - Soup Kitchens. The DSAS daily provides hot food in its soup kitchens, located in areas where poverty and unemployment are manifest

Most of these assistances are carried out by SYDV. Thus, detailed explanation of above mentioned will be explained under social assistance in SYDV.

5.1.2. General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity (SYDGM)

There are various institutions providing social assistance in Turkey such as SHÇEK, Municipalities or SYDGM. However, this thesis will focus on the SYDGM and its local administrations (SYDV) since they are central organization for distributing social assistance in Turkey. According to law no 5263 established in 2004, SYDGM is appointed as main social assistance providing institution in Turkey. Moreover, it was mentioned in the 2006-2010 state action plans, established by State Planning Organization (DPT), that SYDGM will have a central role on poverty alleviation strategies. Budget of the institution depends upon the Social Solidarity and Social Assistance Fund which was established in 1986. Aims of SYDGM described as follows;

It is aimed to reach existing social assistance programs to citizens who have economic and social deprivation in a more efficient and faster way by restructuring of Fund administration as a General Directorate . Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate as State's most important social assistance and protection agency; fulfills states social responsibility throughout the country by helping to citizens who do not have social security , orphaned and needy and also by supporting employment-oriented training and projects. (SYDGM)

5.1.3. Social Assistance in Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation

Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SYDV) are under control of SYDGM and spread all around the Turkey, including rural and urban regions, with over 950 local administration. These local institutions are providing social assistances with respect to the policies that are produced by central government. SYDV are using the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund (SASF), each foundation receive resources from this fund. There are also some voluntary contributions from rich individuals. However, the amount of resource received from SASF is highly dependent on development rankings established by State Planning Organization. In parallel with this, population of the province, unemployment rates, contribution to GDP are taken into account simultaneously. Payments of staff are met through these resources.

Each SYDV has its own board of trustee (mütevelli heyeti) who are responsible for the process of the social assistance. Board of trustee has different members when it comes to rural or urban areas. For example, in urban areas, it consists of governor, metropolitan mayor, provincial director of education and health, provincial director of SHÇEK, and two members from provincial NGO's. On the other hand, in rural areas, it consists of district governor (kaymakam), mayor, district national education and health directorate and two members from local community (chosen by provincial assembly). The duty of this committee is to evaluate and approve the application for social assistance.

There are different types of social assistances distributed by SYDV. These are can be grouped under family assistances, health assistances and education assistances. As it was mentioned, main resources of assistances are Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund.

5.1.3.1. Application process

Main requirement for being a social assistance beneficiary is not to be protected by any social security schema. Another important criterion is evaluation of being indigence (muhtaçlık tespiti). In the lights of these two main principles, social assistances are delivered to these individuals, who have fulfilled these requirements. However, there is no concrete explanation of being indigence in Turkey, since cost of living cannot be easily measured and the term, cost of living, is highly subjective. Moreover, widespread informal labor is also hiding the real life conditions of individuals. For these reasons, in implementation process, not being protected by any social security scheme is taken fundamental indicator for evaluating the condition of poverty and delivering the social assistance.

Social assistances provided by SYDV are based on self application. If individuals do need assistance they have to apply for it at the nearest SYDV. When the people apply for social assistance from SYDV, their personal information, before all else, are checked over SOYBIS (Social Assistance Information System). Purpose of this information system is to crosscheck of social assistance applications. Once SYDV staff enters ID number of social assistance applicant to the system, it displays whether applicant applied for other assistances or applicant is a beneficiary from other SYDV assistances, he has a security coverage or not and he has a property or not. By this way, misuse of social assistance is tried to be prevented and fair distribution process to be achieved. With this process, criteria of poverty are evaluated rather objectively because, with SOYBIS, individuals are checked whether they have something or not. But, what if they have something and they are still indigent or they lie about their living condition? Thus, there is another control mechanism that individuals are being observed by SYDV staff at their house which

is called home visit. Once applicant meet the prerequisites for applying social assistance on SOYBIS, SYDV check their information and send staff for observing the living condition of applicant. After observation process, SYDV staff writes a report on his observation at applicant house and send report to the SYDGM or board of trustee. If these institutions approve the report, applicant becomes a beneficiary of social assistance.

5.1.3.2. Types of Social Assistances Provided by SYDV

5.1.3.2.1. Family Assistances:

The aim of this aid is to improve the living condition of the families. It can be examined under four sub categories that are food aids, heating aids, sheltering aids and cash aids.

Figure 5 Family Aids distributed by SYDV

**FAMILY AIDS
(2008-2010)**

Family aids	2008		2009		2010	
	Person / Number of Families	Allocated Resource (TL)	Person / Number of Families	Allocated Resource (TL)	Person / Number of Families	Allocated Resource (TL)
Food Aids	2.106.466	218.447.440	2.063.363	378.953.254,08	861.707	92.364.653
Heating (coal - transport)	2.347.728	6.615.750	2.256.265	9.126.000,00	1.240.150	6.350.200
Sheltering Aids	27.501	40.095.703	20.183	50.001.966,75	1.546	14.842.430
Total	4.481.695	265.158.893	4.339.811	438.081.220,83	2.103.403	113.557.283

Taken from: SYDGM annual report 2010

5.1.3.2.1.1 Food aids

It can be interfered from the chart above that within three years period SYDGM allocated its 92 million TL to food aid in total. These aids can be in cash transfer or in-kind transfers for meeting the basic needs of poor. If it is cash transfer, individuals

are given cheque twice a year. These cheques are valid only in some of the markets. Moreover, food beneficiaries are free to buy any food from these markets. Food aids are distributed through SYDV and they determine the type of aids whether it should be in kind or in cash transfer. It should also be kept in mind that these aids are given to families not individuals. In other words, nuclear families or extended families are given the same amount of food assistance. For that reason, it is identified as insufficient by some of beneficiaries. This issue will be discussed in coming chapters in detail.

5.1.3.2.1.2 Heating Aids

Another important family assistance is coal aids which are supplied from Turkish Coal Company and distributed by SYDV. Each social assistance beneficiary family is given 500 kg coal per year. Expenditures in distribution process are covered by Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund.

5.1.3.2.1.3 Sheltering Aids

Sheltering aids are available to those who are living under inappropriate and unhealthy living conditions in terms of sheltering. This kind of assistance might be in-kind or in cash, however, compared to food assistance and heating assistance, it has low beneficiary. This might be related to expensive cost of housing and its improvement issues. This type of assistance is also distributed by SYDV.

5.1.3.2.1.4 Cash Transfers

Cash transfers can be given for once, whereas they are more commonly given periodically. The amount of money transferred to poor is highly depended on a formula which basically calculates variables such as population, CDP, unemployment rates etc. The main purpose of this aid is to improve the well-being of individual and encourage them to take care of themselves. In most of the case, periodical cash transfers are given for urgent conditions or high poverty conditions.

In the interviews with Altındağ SYDV staff, they mentioned that there is a priority in cash transfers for disabled, old and forlornly individuals. However, this is not a formal implementation but rather preventing the budget for misuse. Thus, it would be true to say, this kind of transfer are used in extreme conditions.

On the other hand, this kind of transfer can be interpreted as a type of minimum income support since these aids are distributed without taking into account the individual's unemployment, disability conditions or old age. There is another similarity between cash transfers and minimum income support in the sense of their continuity, for which they are both periodically provided. But different from minimum income support, cash transfers are not right based.

Cash transfers are given with respect to the criteria of poverty but there is a contradiction in implementation process, since not all applicants who fulfilled this prerequisite are given this payment. Broadly speaking, an applicant who fulfilled the prerequisite for food assistance or heating assistance, are also fulfilling the prerequisite for cash transfer. However in an implementation process of cash transfer from SYDV is not widespread as food or heating aids. In other words, there is a tendency of SYDV to keep cash transfers at a minimum. This might be the result of the ideology of cash transfers might discourage individuals to take care of themselves. Board of trustee has a key role on determination of amount of the assistance since there is no concrete regulation about this issue, which might be interpreted as another resource of aforementioned contradiction.

5.1.3.2.2. Health Assistance

People with no health insurance and Green Card (Yeşil Kart) are given this kind of assistance to cover their health expenditures. However, payments given citizens with green cards are under control of ministry of health since 2005. Even though this assistance is generally in cash, there are also in-kind payments such as disabled citizens acquiring their wheelchairs, hearing aid and prosthesis via this assistance. SYDV is responsible for the distribution of health assistance. This type of social

assistance is used for decreasing child death rates and child illness. Accordingly, state implemented conditional health assistance since 2003. These transfers are distributed in cash. The purpose of conditional health assistance is controlling the health of child and mother. Thus, payments are given in condition of child health checkups. Moreover, payments are given to mother of children.

5.1.3.2.3. Education Supports

High amount of resources allocated for education support from Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund. These transfers are; training materials, education credits, sheltering, transportation aids and conditional education aids. Transfers can be in kind or cash depending on the SYDV decision. The main purpose of these assistances is to increase the education level and sustaining equality of opportunity.

Conditional cash transfer is one of the periodical transfers of SYDV. Beneficiaries are expected to send their child to school regular (child shouldn't be absent more than 20% of education day) and child checkup should be made in hospital. Depending on these requirements, SYDV transfers social assistance to mother of child. One of the most important issue in this transfer is positive discrimination. Around one million girls in preschool age cannot go to school because of the gender gap. Thus, with this conditional cash transfer, parent of girls are given higher amount of money than boys (25 TL for each Girls / 20 TL for each Boys) for decreasing the gender gap and encouraging families to send their girl to school. These transfers are made one in two months and transfer continues until child graduates from secondary school.

5.1.4 Social Services and Childcare Organization (SHÇEK)

SHÇEK is under control of prime minister. In a historical manner, it dates back to Ottoman Empire. In modern era, SHÇEK started to distribute in-kind and in cash transfers with 1983 regulations. As it was mentioned before, in general, this institution aims to provide welfare for poor child and their families. In that sense, it

provides various assistances such as; orphanages, elderly services, cash transfers, family support.

5.1.5 Municipalities

According to law no 5272, which defines the functions of municipalities, social aids can be provided by municipalities. The main purpose of this implementation is to build a protection for indigent families. Various kind of social assistances are provided through municipalities such as; food aids, heating aids, clothing, scholarship and health. However, these are regional aids and the type or amount of transfers can vary from region to region. It should be mentioned here that, in the field research, municipality transfers were very widespread. Almost, all of the SYDV social assistance beneficiaries were also benefiting from municipality aids. However, measuring the effect of this aid is difficult because there is lack of consolidated and detailed accounts of the system.

Chapter 6

Dimensions of Impact of Social Assistance on Beneficiaries

In this chapter, analysis of the field research data is going to be interpreted through theoretical background above mentioned. Before starting the analysis, there will be a brief restatement of sampling process. Next, socio-demographic features of participants will be mentioned such as education level, age, marriage status, place of birth.

There are going to be four sub topics in this chapter depending on the field analysis which are; effects of social assistance for different groups of poor; the assessment of social assistance by the poor,; how does social assistance integrate with gender ; and does social assistance make any differences in money management?

At first part of the chapter we are going to analyze the ‘concept of poor’ that was accepted by the state. In accordance with this conceptualization how poor perceive social assistance is also going to be discussed in this part of the chapter. The assessment of insufficiency of social assistance by the poor and the reasons behind applying to different social assistance providing institution is also stated. Afterwards, we are going to divide beneficiaries into two groups depending on their perception of social assistance on their life. While doing this, we are going to define some key features of these two groups and their approach to the idea of work.

At the second part of the chapter we are going to analyze the assessment of social assistance by the poor. This part consists of two sub topics which are; the assessment of quality and quantity of social assistances and to what extend social assistance is a necessity. At first we are going to analyze the perception of inadequacy of social assistance. We are trying to figure out the purpose of the state by supplying social

assistance and beneficiary's demand. Afterwards, the assessment of social assistance both in quality and quantity are going to be analyzed. While doing this, there is going to be comparison between SYDV assistances and other institutions assistances such as municipality. This comparison is used to understand beneficiaries' desire on assistances and to what extent social assistance is effective on their poverty. This part continues with evaluation of field data with theoretical background. The concept of culture of poverty was used in this part. At this part of the chapter we are trying to understand how beneficiaries internalize their poverty condition by asserting religious mechanism.

Third part consists of the different perceptions of social assistance by gender and different effects of social assistance to gender. Lastly, we are going to analyze the money management strategies of beneficiaries and effect of social assistance on these strategies are also going to be discussed.

Before starting with qualitative analysis of the field data, it is important to repeat some information about sampling mentioned at research and methodology part. As we have discussed before, research was carried out with 25 active social assistance beneficiaries of Ankara Altındağ SYDV. Interview questions designed as semi-structured and each interview took 45-55 minutes depending on the participants. In addition to this, there had been made two in-depth interviews with Altındağ SYDV staff who were social assistance specialist and officer. These interviews took approximately half hour.

Moreover, it is also significant to point out the demographic conditions such as age, origin, literacy, marriage status of 25 participants. This information is crucial for determination of average social assistance profile from Altındağ Social Solidarity and Assistance Foundation.

Research was carried out with 25 active social assistance beneficiaries. Beneficiaries, 20 of whom are women and the rest 5 participants are men. The generally observed picture is most of the social assistance applicants are women. Average age of 25 participants is approximately 38 and around 70% of them are married. Except one

man participant, who is single and have no child, other married, widow, widower or divorced participants have average number of 3,5 children. Almost all of the participants haven't accomplished their secondary school. Moreover, 8 of them are illiterate. When we look at the origin of the beneficiaries, we face with migration phenomena. Almost half of the beneficiaries had migrated from eastern cities or rural areas. 24 participants are living at gecekondü and 17 participants out of 25 are giving rent for their houses. Most of the participants live as nuclear family or alone. Those who are living alone are generally old age persons. Majority of the participants are also benefiting from municipality or NGO assistances.

6.1 Effects of Social Assistance for Different Poor

SYDV officers state that the “poor” definition of the state remains as superficial and ambiguous since it does not unreach the concept of indigence. In an interview with social assistance specialist, he mentioned that;

In the determination process of beneficiaries, the control mechanism of poverty remains as going to homes and checking out the reliability and accuracy of their declarations which were previously and initially inspected on SOYBİS system. However, if the applicant passed SOYBİS search then it is highly probable that this applicant will benefit from the assistance.

This procedure signals a critical point that “the poor” assisted by the state is determined via rough measurement of absolute poverty. Moreover, the measurement stays too broad for the distinction between absolute and relative poverty so that both the real indigent –absolute poor- and relatively poor people are supposed to benefit from the same types of assistance. It is observed that these unclear and broad definitions of poverty and the measurement criteria of the institution conduce two significant results. Firstly, it becomes impossible to categorize the poor and analyze their specific needs and secondly, deriving from the first condition, provided assistance remains inefficient since distributed amount for per family decrease while the number of systematically (SOYBİS) poor families increase. Correspondingly,

majority of respondents stated that they also benefited from other social assistance institutions' or NGOs' aids.

Illiterate and abandoned by her husband, 47 years old women said that;

Surviving with only SYDV social assistances is almost impossible. I have to apply to other institutions because these assistances are not sufficient.

A 35 years old women, graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed, mentioned that;

I receive assistances from different institutions. For example; I receive heating assistance from municipality. Because it is insufficient, why would I bother if it was sufficient?

A 34 years old woman proves the above mentioned;

I applied all social assistance providing institutions that I know but few of them are giving me social assistance. It is really insufficient. Do you know any other social assistance providing institutions? I have just applied all institution. They can decide whether I need or not. I do not hide anything; they can come and see my house.

The above mentioned conceptual ambiguity of “who is poor” is also observed for the respondents of this study. These 25 respondents can be easefully put into two categories. The first group of beneficiaries can be described as people who have nothing to sustain their life that their survival depends upon social assistance distributed by SYDV.

36 years old women, illiterate and migrated from Erzurum (Eastern Anatolia) says that;

Of course I define myself poor, I have nothing to eat, nothing to wear. Further, I cannot survive without social assistance that I receive from SYDV because I need it, I was left alone by my husband and family, and I am trying to survive.

25 years old women, graduated from primary school, mentioned that;

My husband is jailed, I have children at home, I have no chance to work I mean. We have huge debt that I couldn't pay house rent for 6 months. I left home so quietly not to be seen by the homeowner. I am frightened of thrown out of home. At least we are given food and coal by SYDV assistances. I don't know what to do, if all these assistances are cut down.

However, it was also observed that these individuals have no tendency to work. When it was asked to those individuals what would you do if all social assistance that you benefit would cut down, some of the answers given are;

25 years old women, graduated from primary school, mentioned that;

I have children at home that I have to take care of. How can I work in this situation? I would apply other institutions. What would I do?

Illiterate and abandoned by her husband, 47 years old women said that;

What else can I do other than thanking to god? How can I work at this age? I had tried to apply for work but they refused me because of my old age. After that, I didn't try to find a job. I would beg for money may be.

44 years old women whose husband is bedridden said that;

I would die starving. My husband is bedridden, he cannot work. I have to take care of him. I would be worst than today I believe. I would beg from my neighborhood or I would die (if no assistance given).

Beside, when we look at the demographic background of these kinds of beneficiaries, it is almost impossible to employ them depending on their educational, social background and age. We have observed that average ages of these individuals are higher than 40 and they have no job experience. Moreover, their family does not taking care of them and, mostly, their children or husband abandoned them.

Normally, SYDV supplies social assistances to a family, not individuals. However, when a member of extended family got married and became a family, she/ he can also apply for social assistance. In that manner, it is observed that those social assistances are shared within the extended family.

A 48 years old woman, who is illiterate and mother of 4 children, mentioned that;

My son resides upstairs and they receive social assistance since he got married. When I don't have something to eat or I need coal, they give it to me or I give them when they don't have.

These beneficiaries stated that social assistances they receive are very effective on their poverty condition. As we have observed, social assistances have vital importance in survival of beneficiaries that their poverty is decreased by social transfers. Further, food and heating needs of beneficiaries are completely provided by these social assistances. They have no resource to buy extra food or heating materials. Thus, their poverty condition is highly dependent on social transfers made by SYDV.

The statements of 52 years old illiterate women explicitly define how effective social assistance on their poverty

I have nothing except that social assistance I receive from SYDV. I wouldn't know what to do if I don't receive social assistance from here. Even, we make our bread at home with the flour that was given with social assistance.

48 years old women, illiterate and mother of 3 children, said that;

It reduces our poverty but we are still poor. They give me food, coal that I cannot buy with my money. My husband works at construction but we cannot survive with it. Between, he can work only in summer.

However, we have observed that there is dependency on social assistance. In that sense, the main purpose of the social assistance cannot be achieved, which is helping

poor to help themselves, but it is a reality that these assistances are very important on their poverty condition. This issue is going to be discussed in coming part of the chapter, under the concept of culture of poverty.

In addition to these characteristics of the first group, family structure and crime rate is another important criterion for dependency. We have observed that first group consists of divorced, abandoned, permanent ill husband, widowed female headed families. In the same manner, Kalaycıoğlu drew a picture of poor depending on their family structure. According to Kalaycıoğlu (2006) some sociological characteristics of the poor are;

- families are more likely to have rural origins;
- family members are mostly unemployed, or employed in casual jobs (e.g. as unskilled labourers in the construction sector or selling petty goods on the streets), or are small landholders in the villages;
- the family does not own property in urban areas (house, land, or animals such as a cow, a sheep or a horse);
- the household does not have a regular cash income, and in the case of peasant households not enough income to live off their small plot of land;
- there is no male breadwinner in the household or else he is disabled;
- the household is female-headed;
- the household head has no social security or insurance;
- family members are uneducated and have no industrial skills;
- there is a large number of dependent family members, within a crowded household;
- family members are dependent on only one person, who is employed in the informal sector as a casual worker or is working as a seasonal labourer in the construction sector (in the case of small landholders or the landless);
- the household has no car or durable goods, except a refrigerator and a television set;
- the family has no outdoor entertainment (only visits to close relatives);
- there is no possibility of educating children (especially girls);
- most importantly, there is no material support from the larger kin group to provide a house, furnishings, education and childcare.

What we have observed in the field is proving these indicators. In that sense, related to the structure of family, dependency on social assistance seems to be higher. When

we have asked them about the social assistance and its effects on their poverty, some of the answers were;

43 years old women, abandoned by her husband mentioned that;

It has a significant importance for my survival. My husband abandoned me 5 years ago. I cannot survive without these aids. I have 4 children but none of them taking care of me. They don't even call me. At least I got food by these aids otherwise I would die starving.

44 years old women whose husband is bedridden said that;

Of course it has an effect on our poverty. My husband is bedridden, he cannot work. It decreases our poverty a little but we are still in need of food. I cannot imagine what would I do, if those aids cut down.

Other significant characteristic of this group is crime rate. We have observed that at least one member of a family in this dependent group is jailed. This situation increases their dependency to social assistance since they have to take care of jailed member of family.

A 35 years old women, graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed, mentioned that;

My husband is in jail for 2 years, I am in need of these assistances. I have 3 children that I have to take care. I have to meet the needs of my husband. This is why these aids are not sufficient for me.

The statements of 52 years old illiterate women, whose son is in prison, mentioned that;

My son is jailed because of drug dealing. I have two daughter and they got married. I am trying to give some amount of money to my son. He is in prison for 3 years. Before he was jailed, he used to take care of me. I wasn't in need of social assistance. But, now, I can't even find a bread to eat.

On the other hand, second type of social assistance beneficiaries can be described as those who identify social assistance as a family support. When we have asked them to describe what is social assistance some of the answers are;

28 years old women, who left her education after primary school and migrated from Amasya, said that;

It is a support that state distributes to families for their poor condition. It is given to widows, orphans, homeless people and indigents.

A 34 years old unemployed male described social assistance as;

It is a good thing. It reduces our poverty a little but I wouldn't receive social assistance if I got a work. I don't think that it is that effective. I mean, I cannot survive with only this social assistance. It is insufficient for my needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. If I find a job, I would quit using social assistance. Actually, I wouldn't need it.

25 years old women, mother of 3 children said that;

When I am thinking of my husband's working days, we are not living like those days with social assistance. However, I receive that I cannot attain today. So that it helps me. But we are not in a good condition comparing the days that my husband was working. I wish that my husband got a job.

General features of this group are; their average age is lower than the first group and they have informal relations with market. When it was asked to define their or their husband/wife job in detail, they generally mentioned self-employed (Serbest Meslek) indicating that they have no permanent job.

29 years old women, mother of 2 children, stated that;

My husband is self employed (Serbest Meslek), he does every job that he find. He usually works at construction if there is a

job available. He has no permanent job. We pay all our dept when he works and when he is unemployed we borrow money from our friends.

42 years old male, single and unemployed, said that;

I am self-employed. I usually work as tea maker (Çaycı) but my income only meets my own needs, not more. Sometimes, I work as waiter, sometimes construction worker but in winters I am unemployed. I earn very small amount of money that I cannot fulfill my family's needs.

Self-employment indicates the relation with informal market. It can be interfered from the answers that earned income from informal labor has vital importance than social assistance because beneficiaries emphasized that they cannot survive unless they do not work. In the same manner, this group has higher tendency to work compared to first group. When it was asked that what you would do if all assistance that you receive got cut down, some answered are;

42 years old male, single and unemployed, said that;

If all social assistances get cut down I would look for a job harder. What should I do? In the end, we have to survive somehow. I would borrow money from my friends and I would try to manage with it. At the same time, I would look for a job.

A 34 years old unemployed male said that;

After all, I wouldn't demand social assistance when I got a job. They should give it to the worst condition poor. If it is cut down today, I would manage somehow. In the end I will find a job, I won't take social assistance if I found a job.

28 years old women, married and mother of 3 children, stated that;

What can we do? We borrow money from close friends and try to survive with it. I can look for a house cleaning jobs. We would eat what my husband brings to home.

In this type of beneficiaries there can be mentioned about limited effect of social assistance on poverty. However, main purpose of social assistance, which is helping poor to help themselves in long term, is seems to be achieved in this type of beneficiaries. There cannot be mentioned about dependency culture on social transfers for this type of beneficiaries.

25 years old women, mother of 3 children said that;

Today, I receive that I cannot attain with social assistance. So that it helps me. But we are not in a good condition comparing the days that my husband was working. I wish that my husband got a job.

34 years old unemployed male described social assistance as;

I cannot survive with only this social assistance. It is insufficient for my needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. If I find a job, I would quit using social assistance. Actually, I wouldn't need it.

6.2The Assessment of Social Assistance by the Poor

The interviews reveal that the beneficiaries perceive social assistance as “a good thing which helps need-indigent people (poor, widow/ers, parentless children etc.) in order to make them survive. It is significant to point out the fact that no beneficiaries perceive those aids as “rights”. It is also observed that the beneficiary respondents do not have precise information about by whom those aids are distributed. When we have asked them ‘who distributes social assistance and why do they distribute social assistance’ some of the answers are;

33 years old women, migrated from Manisa said that;

I really don't know who distributes social assistance. I have just applied to this SYDV and Mukhtar (Muhtar) directed me. Actually, I have no idea about this institution and social

assistances. Some said there is an institution distributing social assistance and I came here for application. Probably, government, Erdoğan (Prime Minister of Turkish Republic) give a fund to this institution, or rich individuals.

A 38 years old divorced women, left school after primary school, mother of 4 children, said that;

They distribute social assistance for poor to help them. For example; they give food and heating assistances to the poor and Melih Gökçek (Metropolitan Major of Ankara) distributes it, I know that exactly. Here in Altındağ, state and wealthy persons distributes in my opinion.

Although the process of assistance distribution has a cyclical permanence, the respondents, at every turn, state that distributed amount for per family fails to satisfy their needs. This general view basically arises from beneficiaries' perception that aids should be the basis of entire household maintenance. In an interview with social assistance specialist of Altındağ SYDV, he clearly explained what would be the reasons behind why social assistance was considered as insufficient;

The main two reasons behind state's providing social assistance to poor is to support the household maintenance in order to make these families stand on their own feet in long term and elevate their living conditions to a certain level. However, they want to live with social assistance, and then, they describe it as insufficient. Yes, it would be insufficient when we take social transfers as main source for family survival but they should consider social assistance as a support to family, not a transfer for their survival and they should put some action for their life.

In that manner, the perception of social assistance by beneficiaries confirms that issue. When we have asked them whether social assistances are sufficient or not, some of the answers are;

33 years old women, beneficiary of both municipality and SYDV food assistances, mentioned that;

Social Assistance is not enough for our needs. Assistances do not last for a month. We have to buy In additional product for our survival. They should increase the amount of assistance.

A 35 years old women, graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed, mentioned that;

Assistances are really insufficient. They never fully meet my needs. I would prefer assistances to be more but still, I thank to god. I know that other people in worst condition.

That mentioned cleavage between perception of beneficiaries on assistance and purpose of the state also signals misinformation on process for the applicants and it is also key for understanding why beneficiaries evaluate aids as “insufficient”.

6.2.1 The Assessment of Quality and Quantity of Social Assistance

One of the significant results from the field related to beneficiaries’ perceptions on social assistance is beneficiaries’ highly positive responses on heating aids. Related to those heating aids, most of the respondents state that this type of assistance, quantitatively, being satisfactory in meeting their families heating needs that there is no necessity for In additional expenditures for heating.

25 years old women, mother of 3 children stated that;

Heating assistance is fairly enough to meet our needs. We can manage with the assistance for a year without any problem. Considering its quality, it is below average in my opinion because it cannot burn that quick and there is a smell. However, it is sufficient; we just need to collect some wood for light a fire.

33 years old women describe her satisfaction from heating assistances by saying that;

I pray god for not to harm the government. At least my children can live at a warm home in winters since, heating as aids are really sufficient and continuous. They also bring these aids just in front of my house. I am really satisfied with these heating aids.

One reason behind this fact is that beneficiaries do not benefit just from one institution which means SYDV, in fact, is not the only institution they get assistance from. Most of the respondents express that they take those kinds of aids also from municipalities or other NGO type of institutions. This condition stems from the fact that there is not a control mechanism which inspects whether beneficiaries or applicants make use of other institutions' aids and which makes arrangements for these instances. In our interview with SYDV staff, it is clearly identified this disconnection between SYDV and other social assistance providing institutions by mentioning that;

Most of the beneficiaries aim is to survive with those social assistances. By doing so, they apply all institutions they know including public and private NGO. We cannot prevent this issue. Actually, there are some action plans on this problem but there is no announced date for the application. In that manner, SOYBİS is a good implementation. Before SOYBİS, we had no information about beneficiaries. As I know, before SOYBİS, some of the beneficiaries traveled city by city for applying the same social assistance. Now, we can detect with SOYBİS whether applicant was or is a beneficiary of social assistance in other SYDV or other state institutions. However, we cannot control nongovernmental organizations.

In addition to that he mentioned some deficiencies in controlling mechanism of social assistance providing institutions like NGO;

In recent times, private NGOs (like Cansuyu, Kimse Yok Mu?, Deniz Feneri, Dost Eli etc.) also have begun to make investigations on their beneficiaries whether they get assistance from various institutions. Some of these foundations demand a written document from the beneficiary about s/he does not benefit from SYDV aids. People come and ask for this document almost every day. That control may be efficient but by this way they can only control SYDV as a public NGO. On the other hand, many of the beneficiaries get assistance from various private NGOs or they apply. They also can get assistance from SYDV and municipality spontaneously and we do not control it.

In that sense, disconnection between institutions decreases the efficacy of poverty alleviation since it allocates higher resources and encourages dependency culture.

Heating aid is one of the aid types which beneficiaries take from two basic institutions, SYDV and municipalities. As respondents state, although SYDV is providing nearly overall need of coal for families yearly, due to the fact that beneficiaries also get coal from municipalities, some amount of total heating aid remains residuary. Furthermore, that condition helps beneficiaries economically by making them get cash money from sale of excessive amount of coal to other needers in their environment.

The statements of 25 years old women points out that issue;

Each year, I receive coal assistance both from SYDV and municipality. I have a house with two rooms and I don't need coal throughout winters. Sometimes, the coal is more than our need that we sell the excessive part for 10 TL per package. We also sell the coal when we need cash. In fact, we arrange our usage in accordance with our needs. If we need cash for example, we use less coal and we try to sell the rest.

When the issue comes to food aids, there is not seen a much different picture. Beneficiaries, again, benefit both from SYDV and municipality assistances which can be listed as cheque aids of SYDV and food packages of municipalities. In that respect, it would be useful to evaluate perceptions of beneficiaries on both types of assistances. For municipality food aids, respondents think that although they are quantitatively satisfactory, products, in quality, are useless and expired so that they do not directly relieve them. Nevertheless, respondents also state that the amount of essential nutrients like legume, flour, oil, sugar, dry foods etc. given in one period is sufficient until the succeeding period of aid.

33 years old women, beneficiary of both municipality and SYDV food assistances, mentioned that;

Municipality assistances last for 2-3 months. They give everything such as flour, sugar, oil, cleaning materials. However, their quality is really low that some of the products are expired. Last time I receive food package, spaghetti was expired and I threw 10 package of spaghetti away. Taste of some product is different than usual. But they give, 10 kg of flour which lasts for 2 months. It lasts longer than SYDV assistances.

However, it is stated by beneficiaries that these aid package products may not respond to their specific needs as users. For instance, a diabetic beneficiary cannot consume sugary products in the package so that these kind of misused products are distributed to neighbors by them or they are thrown away.

48 years old diabetic patient women, illiterate and mother of 3 children, stated that;

My next door neighbor is poor, poorer than me. I am a diabetic patient. I give all sugar including foods to that neighbor or other neighbors. Sometimes, I throw away some of the packages. They always give the same amount of product, same brand and same foods. I wish they can change that. They should ask me about my needs.

When compared to municipality food package aid, cheque aid of SYDV is observed to be found more beneficiary by respondents. The major problems with this kind of aid are indicated as limit of cheques' being low that does not meet needs of beneficiaries quantitatively and as cheques' availability in just a few markets.

44 years old women whose husband is bedridden mentioned that;

Comparing with the food assistances of municipality, SYDV cheque assistances are very low in the manner of quantity. It lasts for 2-3 weeks. Some products do not even last for a day. Further, cheques are not available for some markets which means I have to buy expensive product sometimes. I can buy

only few amount of product with cheque. Before my shopping basket gets full, I am running out of money.

On the other hand, SYDV aids are thought to be more effective on poverty reduction by beneficiaries since they feel themselves free to decide on and buy their specific needs up to a certain level. As a researcher observation, it would be fair to state that flexibility of aid options and involvement in what to consume make beneficiaries feel more comfortable about their poverty.

In an interview with 29 years old women, she stated that;

Cheque assistances are really effective on my poverty. It is low in the manner of quantity but I am free to buy high quality products. This is my decision. Further, I can buy whatever I need. For example; If I have a flour at my house, why should I buy for more? I would buy that I don't have, I would buy that I need. I am having less poverty in that way.

Cash transfer, as another type of assistance provided by SYDV, has the least and very limited number of beneficiaries. There are different reasons behind this limited distribution.

In an interview with social assistance specialist of Altındağ SYDV, he stated that;

We are a little mean on giving cash transfer I may say. The main reason behind this attitude is beneficiary's tendency toward laziness. In addition to that, most of the beneficiaries of this SYDV have low education level. We cannot estimate which need they are going to meet with this assistances. Further, a lot of families are suffering from alcohol and gambling addiction. Thus, we prefer in kind transfer instead of cash transfers because, they can still be in need of supplying their basic requirements after cash transfer. No one can guarantee that. On the other hand, when we give in-kind transfer, we are sure that their basic needs are provided. We have a tendency to give cash transfers to those who are left alone by their family, old, homeless or handicapped individuals. This kind of assistance is given after the approval of board of trustee. Moreover, cash transfers are directly linked to fund of Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation that is transferred by the central institution. This

fund is not sufficient for supplying cash transfer to all beneficiaries.

The most common type of cash transfer assistance is conditional cash transfers. Respondents find amount of this assistance type very low for satisfaction of their needs. We have asked beneficiaries whether they found Conditional Cash Transfer satisfactory or not and some of the answer we get are;

25 years old women, mother of 3 children said that;

They give 30 TL per child, which need can I meet with this money? Needs of children do not end. After buying two chocolate we are running out of money.

29 years old women, mother of 2 children, stated that;

It is insufficient in the manner of quantity but still, thanks to god, it meets our needs a little. What if we don't receive any assistance? I am trying to do my children's desire but it is insufficient. The amount is too low that it doesn't last until we come back to home.

Furthermore, it is understood that those aids are used out of its institutional purpose that is to meet children's educational expenditures. Instead, beneficiaries generally use periodical cash assistance for daily disbursements of household.

34 years old women mother of 4 children stated that;

Of course I found it insufficient; I cannot even pay one of my bills. I can only meet the basic needs of the house such as bread. Sometimes, I go to the market. Sometimes I want to buy cleaning materials but it is not sufficient.

6.2.2 Poverty as a Way of Life: Impact of the Social Assistance

It can be specified that there are two prominent dimensions of poverty in the research case of this thesis. The first dimension can be put forth as the structural feature of

poverty which fundamentally depends upon some infrastructural and institutional constraints in opportunities provided by the state to its citizens. It is a fact that there is not an effective systematic mechanism of the state to find its own poor citizens and map/arrange/renew its poverty alleviation policies in accordance with these people's needs; for instance, all of the respondents state that they get information about and apply for the assistance by themselves.

41 years old women, mother of 3 children stated that;

My friend told me about this institution. She heard from her friend. She asked me 'why don't you apply for it? Everyone I know applied for it except you'. Then, I went to Mukhtar (Muhtar) and told him about my poor condition. He directed me to this institution.

49 years old women, mother of one child, lost her husband 12 years ago, said that;

After I lost my husband, I couldn't pay the health expenditure of him. They did not give back the corpse of my husband. My neighbors directed me to Mukhtar. I went to Mukhtar and told him about the situation. He told me about this institution and directed me to here. I came here and applied for assistance. They also paid the health expenditure.

Furthermore, in accordance with the opinions of the respondents, the poor are always living with the highest potential of being unemployed, uneducated, criminal or diseased in society resulting from the structural problems of economy, politics, education, health and jurisprudence systems. If there occurs any misfortunes in anyone of these systems, it is felt by beneficiaries that the poor part of the society would initially be suffered from the situation. The second dimension, on the other hand, refers to continuation process of internalized patterns stemming from poverty itself and the way how poverty is reproduced through social assistance.

The research has also been avail for revealing implicit perceptions of beneficiaries on smooth acceptance of their poverty as part of their faiths. In accordance with their fatalistic world-view, it is observed that although beneficiaries are not satisfied with

their living conditions and assistances in quantity, they approach to their situations, at last, as “volition of God” and state that there are still other people who live in worse conditions when compared to them. In that respect, all of the respondents, either positively or negatively criticizes the assistances, say “thank God (*Allah’a Sükiir!*)” for their situations and the aids they get.

Illiterate and abandoned by her husband, 47 years old women said that;

What else can I do other than thanking to god? How can I work at this age? I had tried to apply for work but they refused me because of my old age. After that, I didn’t try to find a job. I would beg for money may be. Thanks to god, we are not in that bad condition.

A 35 years old women, graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed, mentioned that;

Assistances are really insufficient. They never fully meet my needs. I would prefer assistances to be more but still, I thank to god. I know that other people in worst condition.

At this point, it can be claimed that beneficiaries’ religious internalization of their conditions and their fatalistic standing result for them in no/little intention or motivation for getting rid of their situations and poverty. Furthermore, this brings the fact that they do not attempt to change their situations by giving tongue to their complaints or problems in front of authorities or revolting at their poverty. It cannot be denied that religion and conservative structure of society and family life have a powerful effect on this picture.

6.3. Traces of ‘Culture of Poverty’: Endless Heritage

Signs of “culture of poverty” which has been discussed in theoretical framework part can strongly be felt on beneficiaries. All of the participants can be identified as caught by poverty trap. Theoretically speaking, these individuals have no resource and no chance to create a resource to get rid of poverty. The term ‘cycle of poverty’ is seems to be the main reason behind this condition. According to Şenses (2001)

‘cycle of poverty is related to inhibition of recovering poverty by deprivations which are in interrelation and mutually reinforcing each other via generating a vicious circle. Negative conditions like unemployment, working at a low-paying job or a precarious marriage, for instance, might be the cause of inadequacy of parents and child rearing conditions and, at a later stage, of poverty of children. (p.201).

The respondents, who are trapped in such kind of a circle, are also observed of having some different characteristics, norms and values when compared to people who are not in kind of their poverty. As an example; the respondents who are interviewed are densely observed to be dependent on social assistance, hopeless, taking each day as it comes, not forward-looking, pessimistic and unmotivated to work.

The statements of 52 years old illiterate women states that;

I have nothing except that social assistance I receive from SYDV. I wouldn't know what to do if I don't receive social assistance from here. Even, we make our bread at home with the flour that was given with social assistance.

43 years old women, lost her husband because of leukemia and migrated from Erzurum, said that;

Before receiving social assistance, I was asking for help to my neighbors. Now, I receive social assistance and ask for help too. I am dependent on those assistance, why should I ask if I don't need it? Otherwise, I would die starving. I cannot survive without assistances. I lost my husband, my children are unemployed. Every day I am thinking of what we are going to eat today.

These characteristics may also be approached as consequences of the formation of “new poverty”. In fact, it can be claimed that both “culture of poverty” and “new poverty” theories, intrinsically, try to point out the same problematic of disintegration to urban way of life which play significant role in generation of aforesaid features in lives of the poor.

A male participant, migrated from Kirikkale, 42 years old and single, stated that;

I have relatives in my village; they were giving me a job or helping me to find a job. It was easy to live in my village compared to live in Ankara. I have been in Ankara for 6 years and I had always problems, I was looking for job, I was looking for money. I was better at my village. Even my relatives cannot find me a job in Ankara. I have been unemployed for 3 years. I am trying to survive with assistances. I have debts and when I pay them back, I will return to my village. I cannot live in Ankara, I don't want to live in Ankara.

Another significant consequence of that observed culture of poverty is long term unemployment. It can be said that most of the respondents do not have inclination to work individually. Even though female beneficiaries state that their domestic role and responsibility of children's care and education is main barricade in front their working lives, it is also understood there is no special attention paid to education of their children. This signals a critical result that poverty is transferred from generation to generation.

41 years old women, illiterate, mother of 3 children stated that;

I am taking care of my children. If I work, who would take care of my children? Accordingly, I have no education. Who is going to employ illiterate 41 years old women? I don't want that my children to be like me but they do not go to school too. Actually, we have no money to send our children to school. So that, my daughters left school. They are helping me at housework. Only my son is going to school but I cannot say that he is a bright student because we are poor. I cannot send him to private lessons. I hope that he would graduate from high school.

It wouldn't be wrong to mention that as a result of these norms and values determined by this culture of poverty, poverty conditions are transferred from generation to generation. In that respect, it is observed that children who are grown up in these families are likely not to internalize the today's rigid middle class norms and values. Correspondingly, these children have higher probability to work at their young ages, working in precarious jobs, commit a crime, being long term

unemployed, and remain uneducated. Some of the participants mentioned in our interviews that;

43 years old women, mother of 3 children replied to the question of how do you evaluate your children success in school as;

He is not that bright, he generally tries to skip school. In fact, I do not mind this that much. I have relatives in my village who are graduated from high school. Even, they cannot find a regular job to work.

38 years old women, mother of 2 daughter and a son, mentioned that

My daughters are helping me at home. They asked me about leaving the school. They didn't want to go to school, I swear. Of course, I accepted, at last they are girl. Further, we had no money to compensate the expenditures. My son will graduate from high school this year. But, he will not go to university. He has a job currently; he has been working in a baker as an apprentice (Çırak) for 3 years, especially in summer. He spend that he earns.

6.4. Gendered Poverty: The Poor Women

In general, social assistances are distributed through women. Actually, male members of household, as a head of family, are obliged to apply for assistances. However, we have observed that male member of household rarely come to SYDV for application process, even if he comes, he waits out of the building and send his wife for application. In that manner, Kalaycıoğlu (2006) mentioned the social background of this issue as men's pride;

Women themselves are the major resources of the family pool⁷¹. They either work outside and earn money to 'contribute to the family budget', undertake homeworking/piecework for very low returns and no security of any kind, or are the ones who are sent to local governors or

⁷¹ The concept of 'family pool' refers to sum of all social, economical and cultural resources of every individual within family/kin group.

to the neighbours to ask for money or food, since cultural pressures dictate that men's pride should not be diminished. (p. 239)

However, in general, the information about social assistance is firstly heard by women. When it is asked that how did you get information about social assistance, a women answered as;

34 years old women mother of 4 children stated that;

My neighbors were talking about aids. I asked them about it and they told me that there is an institution providing social assistance. At night, I told about the issue to my husband and we came for application.

In that manner, it is obvious that women have a vital role on building a network or finding a resource for survival. As Kalaycioğlu (2006) stated;

Women also have a major role in connecting social networks to the family/kin network through their relations with other women in the neighborhood; they obtain information about cheap food, or news about a possible job, or about the help distributed by the municipalities. Nevertheless, even if women are employed and earn money, they do not have the right to keep their own incomes, and thus are more severely affected by poverty. This gendered poverty is invisible if we take the family, rather than the individual, as the unit of analysis. (p. 239)

Turkish family structure can be simply explained by patriarchal point of view that economic, social relations are determined by male member of household. This structure is also effective on job search tendencies of women. We have observed in field that women are restrained by male member of household in the sense of job search. We have asked to all interviewees whether they are looking for a job and some of the female interviewees stated that;

Answers of 42 years old women points out that;

No, I have never looked for a job because my husband does not allow me to do so. Women do not work in our region.

25 years old women, married for 5 years stated that;

I don't work since I am a woman with the responsibility of taking care of children and doing housework.

34 years old women mother of 4 children stated that;

How can I work when I have 4 children at home? Who is going to take care of my children?

It is widely believed that women are supposed to take care of children and housework. It is observed that, even though they are working, jobs are precarious and their work condition is highly insecure that their social security premiums are not paid and they are hired with lower wages. In addition to our observation, working women is generally those who is divorced, lost her husband, abandoned by family or her husband is jailed. What we have tried to say is; a woman as social assistance beneficiary is not expected to work if she is not compelled to.

A 35 years old women, graduated from primary school and her husband is jailed, mentioned that;

My husband is in prison for 2 years. I have to work. Otherwise, how can I survive? I go house cleaning works in order to cover the meets of my children needs.

32 years old women, divorced and mother of 1 children, doing handiwork (El işi, örgü), said that;

I was abandoned by my husband 8 years ago. In order to take care of my children, I have been working at home and doing some handiwork for 2 years. I know someone who sells my products at bazaar. Sometimes our neighbors buy it. I receive around 200-300TL in a month. I am living with my family but still it is insufficient for providing my needs.

In that manner, Songül Sallan mentioned parallel consideration with our observation. She mentioned that; providing the needs of family is expected from male member of

household. No matter which age category women belongs to, women beneficiaries are not expected and encouraged to work. Women are perceived as the self-sacrificing mothers and wife who are responsible for taking care of the little children, arranging housework and satisfying the fundamental needs of the household with the available income. These women are supposed to get family together by attaching themselves to the house (Sallan, 2008, p 381-382). It can be claimed that this situation increases the importance of the social assistances in women poverty. Women are face with the negative consequences of poverty more than men by being isolated from the outside world since male members of the family are generally spend their times out of their homes which mean that they have less awareness of domestic needs and their insufficiency.

In an interview with 32 years old women, mother of 3 children, stated that;

Yes, I define myself as poor. You know what bothers me most? Your child ask you that I want this and that, and you answer him we have no money, we cannot but it. This makes me very sad. You prepare a food at home and your child says 'why do we eat this all the time'. What can I do? I can only cook what we got at home. At nights, my husband comes home, I tell him about this and he becomes sad too, but, it saddens me more.

On the other hand, we have observed that women beneficiaries do not have a tendency to work. In most of our interviews, female respondents answered our 'do you want to work?' question in the way that 'how can I work while there are children at house which I have to take care of. In the same direction, when we have asked them 'what if your social assistance would cut down, what would you do', they generally said that 'we eat what we got, we eat what our husband brings to house, what can we do?'.

On the other side, male beneficiaries have tendency to work that can be a result of the social pressure we have discussed above. Majority of beneficiaries stated that instead of supplying social transfers, state can employ us.

39 years old men, unemployed father of 4 children, said that;

I have been unemployed for 5 years. Social assistances are not sufficient for meeting our needs. If I had a job, we would live much comfortable. State should give us a job instead of giving a social assistance. Our poor condition can only be relieved that way.

28 years old unemployed male, father of 3 children, stated that;

I have a family that I have to take care. Their needs do not end. I have a new born baby. All of the house expenses are on me and I have no job. In what extend can I meet those needs with social assistance? I borrow money from my family and friends. I have to find a job. Instead of giving a social assistance, state can provide us a job, permanent job. And then I can take care of myself and family.

Majority of the male beneficiaries identifies social assistances as insufficient. In addition to that, most of the male beneficiaries stated that they would not survive unless they work. When we have asked ‘can you describe your current job?’ they mentioned as; building worker or seasonal worker. As it can be easily interfered from these answers jobs are highly insecure and temporary. Moreover, these jobs are not included in social security schemas. Depending on seasonal character of these jobs, male beneficiaries stated that they do not work at winter.

34 years old unemployed male described social assistance as;

I cannot survive with only this social assistance. It is insufficient for my needs. I have to find a job. Considering my working days, we were much better than these days. If I find a job, I would quit using social assistance. Actually, I wouldn't need it.

29 years old women, mother of 2 children, stated that;

My husband is self employed (Serbest Meslek), he does every job that he find. He usually works at construction but when there is a job available. He has no permanent job. We pay all our dept when he work and when he is unemployed we borrow money from our friends.

42 years old male, single and unemployed, said that;

I am self-employed. I usually work as tea maker (Çaycı) but my income only meets my own needs, not more. Sometimes, I work as waiter, sometimes construction worker but in winters I am unemployed. I earn very small amount of money that I cannot fulfill my family's needs.

6.5. Does Social Assistance Make any Differences in Money Management?

Control over monetary resources which was transferred from SYDV is a complicated issue in poor families. As we have said, benefits of conditional cash transfers are given directly to female member of the household. These types of social assistances are small amount of money compared to other cash transfers. Thus, decision making over this consumption is under control of women. Despite, in our interviews with SYDV desk staff, she claimed that some of the women beneficiaries are subjected to violence by their husband due to discussion on control of conditional cash transfer.

Beneficiaries are very ignorant. I have been facing with a lot of beneficiaries in everyday and they are very ignorant. Women are subjected to violence because transfers are made to women account. Yesterday, a woman came for conditional cash transfer. She had a scar on her face that it is obvious she was subjected to violence. Then, I asked what happened and she replied 'my husband wanted child transfer (conditional cash transfer), I know that he will buy alcohol with that money, so that I refused to give money to my husband and we fought.'

In In addition, she said that if the amount of money becomes bigger, the control over money shifts directly from women to men.

All transfers are given to head of family (aile reisi) except conditional cash transfers. This is also valid for periodical cash transfers. Actually, when the amount of transfer increased, women give money to her husband because she is frightened of violence and women try to manage with the money that their husbands give to them.

We have observed that depending on the small amount, beneficiaries of cash transfer, such as conditional cash transfer, encounter some problems on usage of money. These problems can be classified under two headings that are rapid consumption and unnecessary consumptions. First of all, conditional cash transfers are very low that beneficiaries consume whole money rapidly.

A 28 years old women, mother of 4 children mentioned that;

The cash aids that we are provided are really insufficient. It runs out since I get to home. I cannot use this money in an efficient way.

25 years old women, mother of 3 children said that;

They give 30 TL per child, which need can I meet with this money? Needs of children do not end after buying two chocolate we are running out of money.

Secondly, depending on the amount, beneficiaries cannot meet their urgent needs but rather they consume it for their daily or unnecessary needs.

34 years old women mother of 4 children stated that;

Of course I found it insufficient; I cannot even pay one of my bills. I can only meet the basic needs of house such as bread. Sometimes, I go market. Sometimes I want to buy cleaning materials but it is not sufficient.

This situation is also the main obstacle for the achievement of the purpose of conditional cash transfers which is supplying the educational expenses of the children.

Beneficiaries have no tendency to receive cash transfer instead of in-kind transfer. When we have asked to beneficiaries that ‘would you prefer cash transfer instead of in-kind transfer’ most of the beneficiaries preferred in-kind transfers. There are

different reasons behind this choice but the main reasons can be the control of men over high amount of money, fear of misuseage of money, and economical condition of poor that they have huge debt including state.

41 years old women, mother of 3children stated that;

I prefer food and coal assistance, I want that. We are in a huge debt. Further, I have nothing in my house. There is only one sofa in my house and that is all. They can come and see. If they give me money instead of product, I would meet these needs. And then, I cannot buy either food or coal. Thus, I prefer products.

43 years old women, lost her husband because of leucemia and migrated from Erzurum, said that;

I would pick coal and food assistances. My electricity is cut for three months because I couldn't pay the bills. I hope sequestration will not happen. I have a lot of debt that I couldn't pay back. This money, that SYDV would give, may go to those debts.

49 years old women, mother of one child, said that;

I prefer coal and food instead of money because I cannot buy the amount that state give today. For example; cheques assistances, the amount is very low that I cannot even meet my basic needs. If state gives us money, we cannot buy the same amount that today we receive. Further, when we buy coal, we have to transport it by ourselves which means we have to allocate some amount of money for that. Thus, I prefer food and coal assistance instead of money.

We get parallel answers in our interview with social assistance specialist. He said that;

Actually, giving money instead of in-kind transfer is more suitable both for state and Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations. For example; all heating aids, such as coal, are

delivered to the beneficiaries' home. There is a high expense in that process of transportation. This expense would be diminished if those assistances are going to be given in cash. We can redirect that expense to the assistance which would be fine. However, beneficiaries do not know about money management that wrong usage of money can lead to worst conditions than today's. What changes if beneficiary consume money on alcohol or cigarettes and if they cannot meet their basic needs? Or, what can they do if they pay their debt and then they cannot meet their basic needs? They become worst than today that they cannot buy heating or food needs.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Turkish welfare state fits with the conceptualization of Southern European Welfare state typology. However, there are no exact boundaries on definitions in which Turkey also represents some characteristics of other welfare regimes. We have explained some key features of Southern European Welfare regime and Turkish welfare regime. Furthermore, we have emphasized the changing in the ideology of Turkish welfare state.

One of the most important welfare institutions in Turkey is SYDV. We have identified institutional structure of social assistance system and how poverty is alleviated through social assistance. Moreover, we have identified types of social assistance, purpose of social assistances and application process.

The history of social assistance system in Turkey, historical roots with Ottoman Empire in the sense of social assistance, limited role of state between 1945-80 and liberalization process of state after 1980 were briefly asserted.

Aftermath we have discussed the field data with respect to above mentioned literature and we have identified the effects of social assistance on poverty. That is to say, social assistance has a vital importance on poverty alleviation in Turkey. While arriving this conclusion, we have used various theoretical frameworks on poverty and welfare regime in Turkey. Then, we have discussed these concepts with respect to the field data. While doing this, there have been mentioned four subtopics that each topic specifically identifies how social assistance affects poverty, the perception of poor on social assistance and assessments of social assistance.

Concerning the ‘effects of social assistance to different poor’ part, we have identified how poor and indigent are described by state. Depending on the identification of state, we have discussed that state definition of poverty is superficial and ambiguous that determines the efficacy of the social assistance. In that sense, there have been identified two different types of beneficiaries depending on their perception of social assistance. First group identifies social assistance as permanent and indispensable for their survival, while second group identifies social assistance as temporary and support for their survival. This identification is also represents some attitudes towards working which was stated in analyze section. Moreover, there have been compared some socio-demographic characteristics of these groups and we have found that first group of beneficiaries feels more dependent to social assistance than the second group. This feeling of dependency directly linked to identification of social assistance by the poor and their poverty condition.

Concerning the ‘the assessment of social assistance by the poor’ part, we have discussed how poor identifies social assistance both in terms of quantity and quality. Firstly, it was claimed that there is no tendency to perceive social assistance as a right but rather it is perceived as kindness of state or government. In addition, we have tried to figure out the reasons behind insufficiency of social assistance that was identified by the beneficiaries. It was pointed out that insufficiency of social assistance is a result of perception of beneficiaries and misinformation of beneficiaries. That is to say, beneficiaries want to survive with those aids although the main principle of social assistance, which was determined by state, is to support family’s survival. Thus, there occurs insufficient character of social assistance. However, when it comes to assessment of the impact on their poverty, it was discussed that beneficiaries identifies heating, food and cash transfers very effective on their poverty. Beneficiaries believe that heating aids are sufficient for meeting their yearly needs that some of the beneficiaries are getting cash by selling the excessive part of the coal. This is because beneficiaries are receiving the same assistances from different institutions such as municipalities. It was discussed that food assistance was defined as more effective on poverty when beneficiaries determine the products provided by food assistance. On the other hand, cash aids

identified as insufficient for meeting the child expenses. At the second part of this section we have tried to define poor mechanism of state on finding poor that individuals have to apply social assistance institutions for being identified as poor. Afterwards, we have look into deep analyze of internalization process of poverty by the beneficiaries and we have mentioned the religious and social background on the acceptance of poverty conditions by the poor. This internalization process also proves that social assistance is not accepted as a social right. Since, beneficiaries believe that their current situation is not a result of social and economic structure of state but rather they accept their condition in a holistic ways. In that manner, the effect of social assistance on poverty decreases because; they think social assistance as a gift not a right.

Concerning the culture of poverty part, it was mentioned that beneficiaries have no chance to cope with their poverty situation. They are trapped by their norms and values. Moreover, it was stated that, these norms and values transferred directly to the children that they became a trapped person. These situations resulted in permanent and intergenerational poverty.

Concerning gendered poverty part, we have discussed different perceptions of social assistance by different genders. Female beneficiaries have a higher tendency to identify social assistance as a vital part of their survival on the other hand male beneficiaries have higher tendency to identify social assistance as support to family, because, as it was emphasized, women are facing with poverty more than male beneficiaries in the sense of supplying the daily needs. This differentiation in perception, with social pressure, is also effective on job search that women become an object of house life. In addition to that, not only become an object of house life, at the same time they become an object of poverty because they are experiencing the poverty condition in all areas of daily life. In that sense, depending on the gender, the effect of social assistance on poverty can change.

Concerning the ‘does social assistance make any differences in money management?’ part, control over cash assistance was described. It was stated that the

amount of money transferred by assistance determines the controller; small amount of social transfers such as conditional cash transfers are under control of women while big amount of transfers are under control of men. Moreover, beneficiaries have no tendency of getting cash transfer instead of in-kind transfer. They believe that if they receive cash transfer instead of in-kind transfer, their husband can misuse it on alcohol or gambling, they can consume money on unnecessary needs or they can pay their debts. These reasons indicate money management in poor families is a problematic issue. Thus, as poor have little idea on money management, supplying huge amount of money may not achieve its purpose on poverty alleviation.

These results shows that the distribution system of social assistance as unconditionally given which is particularly observed in Altındağ in that research brings into open a vicious circle. Firstly, it would not be unfair to claim that the circle produced by the system brings out some clientelist relations between beneficiaries and the state since it is picked out that the state does not establish long term relations with beneficiaries and just provides the service to them as they are the clients without expecting any contributions in return for the aids. For this reason, it cannot go beyond procuring numeric and economical improvements in poverty rates rather than removing social causes and effects of poverty in long run. This situation might be linked as a real stand to the fact of absolute poverty is almost zero while there is still a current poverty problem within the country. As the second respect, this unreturned relation which the state created over social assistance causes a deeper settlement of dependency culture as one of the significant reasons behind reproduction of poverty among beneficiaries. Under these circumstances, even though social assistance as unconditionally given helps beneficiaries for a temporary, periodical relief in lives of beneficiaries, it, in fact, does not directly mediate for the permanent overcoming of poverty. Instead, a kind of reproduction of poverty is continued to be derived over this dependency. In additionally, while beneficiaries cannot throw off their economical poverty (unemployment, limited access for money and better living conditions etc.) in the long run, they also are unable to break “culture of poverty” which is one of the causes of continuation of poverty due to being locked up by their particular social and cultural circumstances. Under the light

of all these inferences and arguments, it can be stated that social assistance might not be so efficient for the achievement of long term goals/plans in poverty alleviation. When inefficacy of the system in poverty alleviation and insufficiency for achievement of its goals are taken into consideration, crucial points like not being able to systematically monitor the effects of social assistance on poverty of beneficiaries, not being able to establish a constant and mutual dynamic relation with beneficiaries, failing to provide a permanent functionality and coordination for continuation of the system in terms of its success in balancing both negative and positive outcomes sourcing from itself and to ignore recycling of the assistance in terms of their resources by taking into account reproduction of their natural resources, regarding their being exhaustible etc. propounds the unsustainability of the system.

As a policy suggestion, state should reconstruct its definition of poor. This definition should take into account the social and economical background of poor. In addition to that, it should not be vague definition that target individuals should be defined in detail for each type of social assistance. By that way, distributed social assistances would have higher effect on poverty, since, current definition of poor is very superficial that state cannot exactly target who the poor is. As a result, social assistance cannot maintain its purpose and consume more resources.

Another improvement can be achieved by flexible social assistance. Social assistances should be flexible that beneficiaries can determine what they need and quantity of social assistance should be considered through total member of nuclear family This type of change in distributing mechanism leads to higher effects on poverty because beneficiaries cannot use some of the products depending on their health condition or the needs of nuclear family and extended family can change. Thus, needs of beneficiaries should be identified clearly by correct policy mechanism.

There are different social assistance providing institutions in Turkey both in public and private sphere. Basically, these assistances are completing each other by

supplying different needs of applicants. However, they also provide same social assistance to applicants. In that sense, state should build up a network including all public and private social assistance providing institutions. By establishing a network between public and private institutions, state can achieve better poverty alleviation since individuals can be in need of clothes instead of food which is not provided by state institutions but private social assistance providing institutions. In that sense, different institutions can direct beneficiaries to other social assistance providing institutions and meet their needs. With this network, state can also achieve improvement on repeated social assistance that individuals can only benefit from one institution for one type of social assistance. By this way, state not only decreases its allocated resources but also indirectly encourage beneficiaries to join in economical life.

Most importantly, the perception of beneficiaries on social assistances, which is surviving with the aids, should be eliminated. In that manner, state should provide social assistance in return for an action of beneficiaries. This return can be a social job that enforces beneficiaries to identify social assistance not as a gift or unconditional transfer. By that way, state can also eliminate the norms of culture of poverty, since beneficiaries would be encouraged to join society not only economical ways but also in a social ways.

To sum up, although social assistance perceived as insufficient by the beneficiaries, the social assistance is very important for poverty alleviation in Turkey. Despite all those debates and literature, in-kind transfers have significant importance on beneficiaries. However, it was confirmed that distributed social assistance creates a dependency for some group of beneficiaries, social assistance has different effects on poverty depending on gender. In addition to that, it was found that, although social assistance decreases poverty, it doesn't enforce poor to struggle for their survival.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Appendix 1 - Questionnaire of Social Assistance Beneficiaries

1. Personal Information:

1. Age :
2. Gender:
3. Place of Birth: City.....
4. Literacy : (Graduation)
5. Occupation:
6. What is your monthly average income?
7. Can you describe your current job in detail?
8. Do you have social security coverage? Yes... No...
9. How long have you been working?
10. **If unemployed** / How long have you been unemployed?
11. Marital Status: a. Married b. Single c. Widow/ Divorced
12. How would you describe your status within family?
13. **If married** / Is your husband / wife working and what is his/her job?
Yes... No...
14. **If married** / Does your husband/wife have social security coverage?
Yes... No...
15. Do you have child or children? How many children do you have?

16. What is your child/children literacy?
17. Do your children work? (if yes) What are their jobs?
18. Do your children have social security coverage? Yes... No...
19. What is your mother's literacy and job :
 - a. Literacy.....
 - b. Job.....
20. What is your father's literacy and job?
 - a. Literacy.....
 - b. Job.....
21. Does your current house belong to you?
22. How many rooms do you have in your current house?
23. How long have you been living in this house?
24. Do you live in an apartment or detached house?
25. Whom are you living with in your current house?
26. Is there any unemployed in family? ***If yes*** / Who is it?
27. Is there anyone working in family?
28. What is your source of living?
29. What is your family's monthly average income?

2. Information about Social Assistance

30. What is social assistance for you?
31. Who distributes social assistances and to whom social assistances are distributed?
32. How did you get the information about social assistance?
33. What kind(s) of social assistance do you benefit?

34. Did you apply for social assistance in person or are you detected by an authorized person/institution?
35. How long have you been benefiting from social assistances?
36. Is there any change in social assistance in the manner of quantity or quality? If there is, what was the changing? What is the impact of this changing?
37. Is there any other social assistance beneficiary in your family?
38. Does your family know that you are social assistance beneficiary?
39. Do you get social assistance from municipality? If yes, what do get from municipalities and how often?
40. Do you know any other social assistance providing institution?
41. How did you get the information about the institution you apply distributes social assistance?
42. **If he/she gets social assistance from different institutions,** what is the reason behind benefiting from different institutions?
43. Did you look for a job while you were getting social assistance?
44. Does social assistance have an impact on your search for a job?
45. Do you get any other assistance apart from institutions (such as family, neighbors, friends). If yes, what are they?
46. What do you think about poverty?
47. Do you identify yourself as poor? Why?
48. Do you have green card?
- **Socio-economical condition (Before / After Social Assistace)**
49. When you think about your current condition, how do you describe your and your family's socio economical conditions/status?

50. When you think about your condition before getting social assistance, how would you describe your and your family's socio economical conditions/status?

Working Life

- After social assistance, did you change your job?
- Did anyone in your family change his/her job?

Nourishment

- How often do you eat in a day?
- What are the foods you frequently eat?
- Do you consume fruits-vegetables, meat, beverages? **If yes**, how often? (Does s/he go to market, grocer, greengrocer or shopping center? Or is food need met by relatives living in motherland?)
- How often do you shopping? (daily, weekly, monthly)
- Where do you eat if you are not at home?
- Do you eat outside? **If yes**, Where? How often?
- How do you provide your drinking water? (tap or prepared water?)

Clothing

- How do you provide your (and family's) clothing needs? **If s/he buys**, Where do you buy your clothes? Do you buy it in person? How often do you buy?

Heating / Sheltering

- How long have you been living in your current house? (did you change your house after social assistance?)
- How many rooms do you have in your house?
- How do you heat the house? (stove, gasoline etc)
- How do you provide your heating expenditures? (social assistance, coal dealer, paying bills etc.?)

- Can you meet your heating need in a regular way? (especially in winters)
- Do you have electricity and water infrastructure in your house?
- Can you bear water and electricity expenses of your house? (Can s/he pay bills regularly?)
- (If the house is rented) Do you pay your rent regularly? How do you pay it? (Assistance, salary etc.?)

Health

- Do you have chronicle disease?
- (If yes) Can you benefit from social security for your disease?
- (If yes) Can you get your medicines regularly?
- (If yes) Can you go to doctor controls regularly?
- Do you go to doctor when you feel sick in your daily life or do you individually try to overcome it?
 - When you need medicines, how you meet your need? (goes to doctor, buys from pharmacy, asks to neighbors/ friends, uses nothing, etc.?)

Education

- Can you bear your child/children's education expenditures? (pen, book, clothes etc). How? (money assistance, own salary, neighbors/friends etc.?)
- How would you define your child/children's educational success?

Cleaning

- How do you bear your cleaning expenditures?

Overall Evaluation

51. (if receiving periodical assistance) Do you think frequency of assistance is proper?

52. (If receiving in kind assistance) Are you satisfied with the quality of your product? Why?
53. (If receiving cash assistance) Are you satisfied with the amount that you are given? Why?
54. Which type of social assistance do you prefer? (In cash or in kind) Why?
55. Did assistance you get ease your life?
56. Do you find sufficient the amount ofassistance you get in one go?
57. Do you think the assistances you get affect your household poverty? Could you explain?
58. To whom do you think social assistance should be provided as a priority?
59. Do you think does getting social assistance have negative sides? (like exclusion)
60. It is told that getting social assistance is something tarnishing people's honour. What do you think about that?
61. It is thought that people who get social assistance are excluded from society. What do you think about that?
62. For which needs of yours do you use these assistances?
63. How would your life change if you get more/less social assistance?
64. Which spendings/expenditures of yours would you cut down if you get less assistance? Why?
65. What kind of spendings you would make if you get more assistance? Why?
66. To what extend do you think social assistances are effective on poverty alleviation?
67. Are you satisfied with these asisstances in general? Why?
68. What would you do if all assistances that you benefit would cut down?

69. Does getting social assistance affect you in different ways other than your subsistence conditions? (voting behavior, political opinions etc.?)

70. Could you please grade the assistance you get in accordance with your satisfaction? (5- at most, 1- at least, do not grade the assistances that you do not benefit).

..... Food Assistance

..... Clothe Assistance

..... Heating Assistance

..... Cash Assistance

..... Health Assistance

..... Other.....

The Assessment of Interview

1. How was the environment in where the interview was conducted?
2. How did you reach to the participant?
3. How was the interviewee persuaded for the interview?
4. How was the attitude of the interviewee towards the interview? Could s/he clearly understand the questions?
5. Observations of researcher

Appendix 2 -Questionnaire of SYDV Staff

- Could you give information about currently distributed aids by the institution? What types of social assistances do you provide?
- What are objectives of social assistance?
- What are the criteria for determining the poor, could you please give some specific information?
- Could you give some information about SOYBİS?
- What is the importance of home visit on determination process of poverty? Which specific indicators do you look at home visits?
- What are the basic resources of SYDV?
- What are the socio demographic indicators of the region, Altındağ?
- What are the effects of social assistance on beneficiaries?
- Are there any negative effects of social assistance on beneficiaries? If so, what are they?
- What do you think about the quality and the quantity of distributed social assistance?
- To what extent social assistance is effective on poverty alleviation?
- Which one is better on poverty alleviation in kind transfers or cash transfers? Why?
- What do you think about the dependency of beneficiaries to the social assistance??
- What should be done for better poverty alleviation?

Apendix 3- Social Assistance Application Form of SYDV

EK-1

SOSYAL YARDIMLAŞMA VE DAYANIŞMA VAKFI BAŞVURU KAYIT FORMU

Kayıt Tarihi:...../...../20....

Kayıt No:

1) BAŞVURANIN ADI-SOYADI: BAŞVURU NO :

2) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN KİMLİK BİLGİLERİ

T.C Nüfus Cüzdanı Seri :.....No:..... Nüfusa Kayıtlı Olduğu
T.C Kimlik No :..... İl / İlçe :.....
Baba Adı :..... Mahalle/Köy :.....
Ana Adı :..... Cilt No :.....
Doğum Yeri/Tarihi:..... Aile Sıra No :.....
Medeni Durumu :..... Sıra No :.....
Uyruğu :.....

BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN EŞİNİN KİMLİK BİLGİLERİ

TC.Kimlik No :.....
Baba Adı :..... Anne Adı:..... Doğum Yeri.....Doğum Tarihi:...../...../.....

3) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN AİLE VE DİĞER BİLGİLERİ

Telefon No.....
1)Yaşı :..... 2) Cinsiyeti 1) K 2) E
3)Eğitim Durumu
1) Kendisinin :.....
2) Eşinin :.....
4) Eğitim Gören Kişi Sayısı.....
5)Mesleği :
1) Kendisinin :.....
2) Eşinin :.....
6)Geçim Kaynağı.....
Geliri(Aylık) :..... TL
7)Mesken Durumu:
1) Ev sahibi
2) Kira..... TL
3) Diğer.....
8) Hanede Yaşayanlar:(Rakamla)
Kendisi ve eşi :.....
Çocuk Sayısı :.....
Anne-baba :.....
Diğer kişiler :.....
Toplam :.....
9) Özur Durumu / Derecesi:
.....%.....
10) Kronik Hastalığı
.....
11) Sosyal Güvenlik Durumu:
(SSK,Bağkur,Emekli Sandığı)
1) Var.....2) Yok
12) Sağlık Güvence Durumu
 Üzerinden
1) SSK 2) Bağkur
3) Emekli Sandığı
4) Yeşil Kart var 5) Yeşil Kart yok
13) Başvuru Nedeni
1) Herhangi bir geliri yok
2) Gelir var ama yeterli değil
3) Diğer.....

4) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN FAYDALANMAK İSTEDİĞİ YARDIM TÜRÜ

1) Aile Yardımları
1) Gıda
2) Yakacak
3) Barınma
4) Sosyal Destek (Nakit)
5) Diğer Aile Yardımları
2) Eğitim Yardımları
1) Öğrenci İhtiyaç (Kırtasiye, bot, vb.)
2) Öğrenci Barınma (Yurt vb.)
3) Şartlı Eğitim (ŞNT)
3) Diğer Eğitim Yardımları
3) Sağlık Yardımları
1) Tedavi Destekleri
2) Şartlı Sağlık (ŞNT)
3) Diğer Sağlık Yardımları
4) Özürlü Yardımları
1) Özürlü İhtiyaç (Araç-Gereç vb.)
2) Özürlü Özel Eğitim
3) Diğer Özürlü Yardımları
5) Özel Amaçlı Yardımlar
1) Afet Destekleri (Yangın/Sel vb.)
2) Aşevi
3) Diğer Özel Amaçlı Yardımlar
6) Proje Destekleri
1) Gelir Getirici Proje.....
2) İstihdam Amaçlı Eğitim Projesi
3) Diğer Proje Destekleri

5) Yukarıda bilgilerin doğruluğunu beyan ederim. 4. bölümde işaretlenen veya vakıfça öngörülen yardım programlarından faydalanmak istiyorum.Hakkımda gerekli inceleme ve araştırmaların yapılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Başvuru Sahibinin;
İmzası :.....
Adı Soyadı :.....
Tarih:/...../.....

6)Başvuruyu Alan Vakıf Personelinin;

İmzası :.....
Adı Soyadı :.....
Tarih:/...../.....

EK : T.C. Vatandaşı ise kendisinin ve eşinin nüfus cüzdanı fotokopisi

EK : Yabancı uyruklu ise ikamet tezkeresinin/ pasaport fotokopisi

EK : Yardım türüne göre gerekli ek belgeler

7) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN İKAMETGAH BİLGİLERİ**MUHTARLIĞIN**

İLİ :.....

İLÇESİ :.....

MAHALLESİ :.....

Başvuru Formunun "1.,2." Bölümlerinde açık kimliği ve nüfus kayıt bilgileri yer alan'ın Mahallemize bağlıCaddeSokak No'lu yerde oturmakta olduğunu onaylarım.

...../...../.....

(TARİH)

.....

(Muhtarın Adı/Soyadı)

.....

MAHALLESİ MUHTARI

İMZA / MÜHÜR

" 7. " bölüm, başvuru sahibinin ikamet ettiği mahalle/köy MUHTARI tarafından doldurulacak ve onaylanacaktır.

8) SOSYAL GÜVENLİK SORGULAMASI**2022 SORGULAMASI****1) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN KENDİSİ :**1) BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3)EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK 1) VAR **2)BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN EŞİ**1)BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3) EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK 2) YOK

Vakıf Personelinin İmzası.....

Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

9) YEŞİL KART SORGULAMASI1) VAR 2) YOK

Vakıf Personelinin İmzası :.....

Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı :.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

10) BAKMAKLA YÜKÜMLÜ OLAN KİŞİLERİN SORGULAMASI (Sağlık Yardımları için)1) BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3)EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK

Vakıf Personelinin İmzası :.....

Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı :.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

"8.9. ve10." bölümlerdeki sorgulamalar vakıf personeli tarafından yapılacak ve imzalanacaktır.

SOSYAL YARDIMLAŞMA VE DAYANIŞMA VAKFI
BAŞVURU KAYIT FORMU

Kayıt Tarihi:...../...../20....

Kayıt No:

1) BAŞVURANIN ADI-SOYADI: BAŞVURU NO :

2) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN KİMLİK BİLGİLERİ

T.C Nüfus Cüzdanı Seri :.....No:..... Nüfusa Kayıtlı Olduğu
T.C Kimlik No :..... İl / İlçe :...../.....
Baba Adı :..... Mahalle/Köy :.....
Ana Adı :..... Cilt No :.....
Doğum Yeri/Tarihi:..... - .../.../... Aile Sıra No :.....
Medeni Durumu :..... Sıra No :.....
Uyruğu :.....

BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN EŞİNİN KİMLİK BİLGİLERİ

TC.Kimlik No :.....
Baba Adı :..... Anne Adı:..... Doğum Yeri:.....Doğum Tarihi:.../.../.....

3) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN AİLE VE DİĞER BİLGİLERİ

Telefon No.....

1)Yaşı :..... 2) Cinsiyeti 1) K 2) E

3)Eğitim Durumu
1) Kendisinin :.....
2) Eşinin :.....

4) Eğitim Gören Kişi Sayısı.....

5)Mesleği :
1) Kendisinin :.....
2) Eşinin :.....

6)Geçim Kaynağı.....
Geliri(Aylık) :..... TL

7)Mesken Durumu:
1) Ev sahibi
2) Kira..... TL
3) Diğer.....

8) Hanede Yaşayanlar:(Rakamla)
Kendisi ve eşi :.....
Çocuk Sayısı :.....
Anne-baba :.....
Diğer kişiler :.....
Toplam :.....

9) Özürlü Durumu / Derecesi:
.....%

10) Kronik Hastalığı
.....

11) Sosyal Güvenlik Durumu:
(SSK,Bağkur,Emekli Sandığı)
1) Var.....2) Yok

12) Sağlık Güvence Durumu
 Üzerinden
1) SSK 2) Bağkur
3) Emekli Sandığı
4) Yeşil Kart var 5) Yeşil Kart yok

13) Başvuru Nedeni
1) Herhangi bir geliri yok
2) Gelir var ama yeterli değil
3) Diğer.....

4) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN FAYDALANMAK İSTEDİĞİ YARDIM TÜRÜ

1) Aile Yardımları
1) Gıda
2) Yakacak
3) Barınma
4) Sosyal Destek (Nakit)
5) Diğer Aile Yardımları

2) Eğitim Yardımları
1) Öğrenci İhtiyaç (Kırtasiye, bot, vb.)
2) Öğrenci Barınma (Yurt vb.)
3) Şartlı Eğitim (ŞNT)
3) Diğer Eğitim Yardımları

3) Sağlık Yardımları
1) Tedavi Destekleri
2) Şartlı Sağlık (ŞNT)
3) Diğer Sağlık Yardımları

4) Özürlü Yardımları
1) Özürlü İhtiyaç (Araç-Gereç vb.)
2) Özürlü Özel Eğitim
3) Diğer Özürlü Yardımları

5) Özel Amaçlı Yardımlar
1) Afet Destekleri (Yangın/Sel vb.)
2) Aşevi
3) Diğer Özel Amaçlı Yardımlar

6) Proje Destekleri
1) Gelir Getirici Proje.....
2) İstihdam Amaçlı Eğitim Projesi
3) Diğer Proje Destekleri

5) Yukarıda bilgilerin doğruluğunu beyan ederim. 4. bölümde işaretlenen veya vakıfça öngörülen yardım programlarından faydalanmak istiyorum.Hakkımda gerekli inceleme ve araştırmaların yapılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Başvuru Sahibinin;
İmzası
Adı Soyadı
Tarih:/...../.....

6)Başvuruyu Alan Vakıf Personelinin;

İmzası :
Adı Soyadı:
Tarih:/...../.....

EK : T.C. Vatandaşı ise kendisinin ve eşinin nüfus cüzdanı fotokopisi

EK : Yabancı uyruklu ise ikamet tezkeresinin/ pasaport fotokopisi

EK : Yardım türüne göre gerekli ek belgeler

7) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN İKAMETGAH BİLGİLERİ**MUHTARLIĞIN**

İLİ :.....

İLÇESİ :.....

MAHALLESİ :.....

Başvuru Formunun "1.,2." Bölümlerinde açık kimliği ve nüfus kayıt bilgileri yeralan'ın Mahallemize bağlıCaddeSokak No'lu yerde oturmakta olduğunu onaylarım.

...../...../.....

(TARİH)

.....

(Muhtarın Adı/Soyadı)

.....

MAHALLESİ MUHTARI

İMZA / MÜHÜR

" 7. " bölüm, başvuru sahibinin ikamet ettiği mahalle/köy MUHTARI tarafından doldurulacak ve onaylanacaktır.

8) SOSYAL GÜVENLİK SORGULAMASI**2022 SORGULAMASI****1) BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN KENDİSİ :**1) BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3)EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK 1) VAR **2)BAŞVURU SAHİBİNİN EŞİ**1)BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3)EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK 2) YOK

Vakıf Personelinin İmzası.....

Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

9) YEŞİL KART SORGULAMASI1) VAR 2) YOK

Vakıf Personelinin İmzası :.....

Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı :.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

10) BAKMAKLA YÜKÜMLÜ OLAN KİŞİLERİN SORGULAMASI (Sağlık Yardımları için)1) BAĞKUR 2)SSK 3)EMEKLİ SANDIĞI 4)SOSYAL GÜVENCESİ YOK

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Vakıf Personelinin Adı-Soyadı :.....

Tarih:...../...../.....

"8.9. ve10." bölümlerdeki sorgulamalar vakıf personeli tarafından yapılacak ve imzalanacaktır.