

DEEPER INTO CHARITY:
THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE MECHANISMS IN TURKEY
AND THE CASE OF GREATER MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA

RAGIP EVREN AYDOĐAN

BOĐAZIĐI UNIVERSITY

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DEEPER INTO CHARITY: THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE MECHANISMS IN TURKEY
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Ragıp Evren Aydoğan

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Thesis Abstract

Ragıp Evren Aydoğan, “Deeper Into Charity: The Social Assistance Mechanisms in Turkey and the Case of the Greater Municipality of Ankara”

The main argumentation of this thesis is related with the social assistance mechanisms realized through the municipalities in Turkey. The preliminary emphases that this thesis includes are as follows; these assistance processes offers a discretionary structure and are comprised of patronage relationships. The current social policy system in Turkey coming out of these social assistance mechanisms is not based on constitutional rights based and publicly accountable administration system. It is based on a concept of charity and refers to the benevolence of the individuals and the state authority rather than constitutional citizenship rights of the citizens. That kind of a system composed of discretion and patronage, and not including the constitutional citizenship rights properly, renders the social distrust possible which damages the social solidarity among the citizens.

In this manner, the main methodology of this thesis is to analyze this structure of Turkey’s social policy system through the research on the discourse, methodology and the strategy of the social assistance mechanism of the Greater Municipality of Ankara. As a case study, the social assistance mechanism of the Greater Municipality of Ankara demonstrates not only the important role the municipalities play in social assistance mechanisms but also show how patronage and discretion were at play in the distribution of social assistance and their effects to the social solidarity and the social distrust issues. Hence, the main aim of this thesis is to scrutinize the contemporary characteristics of Turkey’s social policy system in terms of the concepts of discretion, patronage, social distrust, social solidarity and constitutional citizenship rights based social policy through the social assistance implementations of the Greater Municipality of Ankara.

Tez Özeti

Ragıp Evren Aydoğan, “Derinleşen Hayırseverlik: Türkiye’nin Sosyal Politika Mekanizmaları ve Bir Örnek Olay Olarak Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi”

Bu tezin temel savı, Türkiye’de belediyeler tarafından gerçekleştirilen sosyal yardım mekanizmaları ile ilintilidir. Bu yardım süreçlerinin keyfiyet ve patronaj (politik hamilik) kavramları üzerinden yürütüldüğü ise tezin birincil vurgu noktasıdır. Türkiye’nin bugünkü sosyal politika sistemi, anayasal haklar bağlamında bir temeli bulunmayan ve kamusal anlamda hesapverilebilirliği olmayan bu türden bir sosyal yardım mekanizmasını içinde barındırmaktadır. Bu mekanizma, anayasal vatandaşlık hakları temeline dayanmak yerine, hayırseverlik kavramı üzerine temellendirilmiş ve hem kişilerin hem de devletin (belediyelerin) cömertliğini, iyilikseverliğini öne çıkaran bir anlayışa dayanmaktadır. Anayasal vatandaşlık hakları temeline dayanmayan ve keyfiyet ile patronaj ilişkileri üzerinden yürütülen bu türden bir mekanizma, aynı zamanda- yurttaşlar arasındaki sosyal dayanışmayı zedeleyecek sosyal güvensizlik ortamına da zemin hazırlamaktadır.

Bu anlayış doğrultusunda, bu tezin temel yöntemi, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin sosyal yardım mekanizmasını söylem, yöntem ve strateji yönünden araştırarak, Türkiye’nin sosyal politika sisteminin sınırlı bir analizini yapmaktır. Hem belediyelerin sosyal yardım konusundaki konumunu belirlemek hem de keyfiyet ve politik hamiliğin yardım süreçlerinde nasıl ortaya çıktığını göstermek açısından, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin sosyal yardım mekanizması açıklayıcı bir örnek olaydır. Bu türden bir analiz, keyfiyet ve patronaj ilişkilerinin sosyal dayanışma ve sosyal güvensizlik konularındaki etkisini anlamak açısından da önemlidir.

Sonuç olarak, bu tezin temel amacı, keyfiyet, patronaj, anayasal vatandaşlık hakları temelli sosyal politika, sosyal dayanışma ve sosyal güvensizlik kavramları çerçevesinde Türkiye’nin bugünkü sosyal politika sistemini, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin sosyal yardım mekanizmaları üzerinden, değerlendirmeye çalışmaktır.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

My main argumentation in this thesis is related to the social assistance mechanisms realized through the municipalities in Turkey which have a discretionary structure and are comprised of patronage relationships. The current system of these social assistance mechanisms, in other words, is not a well-organized, constitutional rights-based and publicly accountable administrative system. It is based on a concept of charity and refers to the benevolence of the individuals and the state authority rather than to the constitutional citizenship rights of the citizens. Hence, this system offers arbitrariness through these assistance processes by means of its reference points.

This system has three main crucial effects. First, realizing this social assistance network through the concepts of charity and benevolence affects not only the relations between the state and citizens but also the interactions among citizens. In both cases, the people who use these assistance mechanisms are completely at the mercy of the alm-givers. Hence, such a position creates political patronage through these social assistances and increases the arbitrariness of these processes. As being the recipients of this system, these people acknowledge the mechanism of this system by the effects of the references to the traditional and religious background. Second, this system which emerged during the neoliberal era, damages the position of the Turkish social policy system in terms of the Southern European social policy model. Claiming that Turkey offers a median position between charity and the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy as being a part of the Southern European social policy model historically¹, the current system has even damaged

¹ This interpretation of the Southern European social policy model will be realized through various studies; Maurizio Ferrera, *The Bondaries of Welfare : European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Chiara Saraceno, ed., *Social Assistance Dynamics in Europe : National and Local Poverty Regimes* (Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2002); Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?", paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference *Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?*, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

this position and Turkey has gone deeper into charity in the last two decades.² This kind of transformation can be seen as the result of the elements of the system mentioned; discretion, patronage and arbitrariness.

Lastly, this system damages “the social solidarity among strangers”³ in society by means of its discretionary structure and patronage relationships. Namely, these two characteristics of the social assistance system in Turkey create a distrust problem in society in two ways. First, because of the ongoing discretion in these processes, the citizens cannot trust authority in terms of the equality and justice conceptualization of this system which is not based on the constitutional citizenship rights of the citizens. Second, this system damages the social solidarity among citizens by excluding some citizens because of this discretionary structure which includes the political patronage. It renders the distrust among citizens possible because there are no certain and constitutional rights based legal criteria through which assistance can be obtained.

In this context, the structure of this system will be scrutinized through the social assistance mechanisms of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA). I will try to explore the discourse, strategy and methodology of these assistance mechanisms by analyzing the elements of the discretion and patronage.

² This situation will be elaborated through the concepts of new welfare governance and the new system of welfare governance with the help of two works; Mary Daly, “Changing Conceptions of Family and Gender Relations in European Welfare States and the Third Way”, *Welfare State Changes: Towards a Third Way?*, eds. by Jane Lewis and Rebecca Surender (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Available [online]: http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=tmdR00hAXJIC&pg=PA135&lpg=PA135&dq=mary+daly+new+welfare+government&source=bl&ots=cYsfjBRPP&sig=oOlgWqGd7LPNsk02n6YdLAoGFE&hl=tr&ei=TF2OSr7XH MvD_gaV8_zZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8#v=onepage&q=mary%20daly%20new%20welfare%20government&f=false, Accessed 7 May 2009; Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), pp. 83-106.

³ Ayşen Candaş Bilgen, Ayşe Buğra, and Gürol Irzık, “Solidarity among Strangers: A Problem of Coexistence in Turkey,” *Constellations*, (forthcoming).

In the first place, in order to define the boundaries of this argument, the concept of charity should be elaborated. As an initial definition; charity is a social organization mechanism, constituted to struggle with poverty, referring to the traditional and religious bonds of the society in terms of the benevolence of the rich and the duties of the believer. According to this definition, it is significant to consider the term charity as an indicator for understanding the historical, religious and social background of social policy implementations throughout history. Concerning its historical background, one should bear in mind that there are some other terms which can be used interchangeably with charity through in different contexts. For instance, through Islam, Amy Singer elaborates charity under the terms *sadaqa* with references to the Q'uran and the Arabic language. "The Hebrew term *sedaka* is cognate with arabic *sadaqa* and the two are related to the Semitic root/*sdk*/ meaning 'right', 'privilege', 'grant' or 'gift' and to the idea of giving a stipulated gift as an appropriate course of action."⁴ In addition to the verbal expression of charity in Islam, there are also some other expressions in Western literature such as; philanthropy, benevolence, aid, relief. However, Singer's emphasis on one little difference becomes significant at that point. She emphasizes that "philanthropy, literally 'love of man', is probably the English word most commonly used as a synonym for charity, (...) but charity is more religious, philanthropy is more secular and rational."⁵ At that point, considering this claim, the crucial point is not about the differentiation among these two by means of secularism, the main issue is the way in which such assistance is provided by both the state and private institutions. Hence, the interchangeable usage of these terms, by keeping their historical differentiation in mind, will be the basic approach in this thesis.

After providing the necessary clarification of the terms, I think it is appropriate to scrutinize the historical, religious and social background of charity a little bit more. First,

⁴ Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* , p.6.

charity can only be understood through the term poverty. Stating an obvious historical fact with regards to a cause-effect analysis, poverty is not only significant in terms of the appearance of charity but also significant as having an initial role in the academic studies on social policy. Talking about the historical and religious background of charity, it is significant to indicate the rules of Islam, which refer to a charity-based social assistance mechanism as in Turkey, a country with a Muslim majority.

Considering the arguments of Amy Singer, the rules of the Q'uran refer to a wealth-transfer among the rich and the poor. While emphasizing the obligation of believers to grant some certain percentage of their wealth, these kinds of rules indicate a charity organization. This obligation has its own criteria as religious belief and the self-consciousness of the giver. This is totally discretionary in terms of not having a mundane organization, such as a constitution or laws; except the reference to religious belief and its written rules. On the other hand, acknowledging the strong historical influence of Islam on people living in Turkey, the role of Islamic rhetoric and implementations becomes crucially significant to be able to analyze the current structure of Turkey's social policy regime.

Apart from the historical origins of charity, there are two other components of this system; the agents and organizations administering these social policy mechanisms and addressing the needs of the "objects" of this issue; the poor people. First of all, the agents can be classified under three different sub-titles within the social policy mechanism of Turkey; State institutions [The Directorate General for Social Assistance and Solidarity (SYDGM), Social Security Institution (SGK), Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK) and General Directorate for Foundations (VGM)], municipalities, and NGOs.⁶ Starting with an analogy, state organizations are the primary institutions followed by the municipalities and then the NGOs as the third player in Turkey's social policy arena. The biggest slice of the

⁶ "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?" Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference "Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?", 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

cake is provided by the central governmental organization in Turkey. However, especially during the last fifteen years, the role of the municipalities has started to become significant in terms of their sources, the amount of “aids”, their strategy, methodology and rhetoric during the realization of this “aid” mechanism.⁷ In this sense, by keeping the organizational, constitutional and obviously ideological bonds between the central government and the municipalities in mind, the main focus of this thesis will be on the implementations of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA) through its social assistance mechanisms. In order to explore the strategy, methodology and the rhetoric of this social assistance process, I made in-depth interviews not only with the administrators of the municipality but also with the citizens who are in need of these in-kind assistance processes.

In addition to this role of the municipalities as the core point of the thesis, the general structure of social policy implementations in Turkey is significant in two ways. On the one hand, it is important to see the larger picture of the mechanism and to analyze it by means of Turkey’s historical, religious and traditional features and the properties of the neoliberal capitalist era. On the other hand, as a significant component of this bigger picture, especially since the mid 1990s, one needs to analyze either the functions of the municipalities or their strategic place in such a social policy mechanism.

I will argue in this thesis that the system is created through patronage and discretion. This system recreates the charity based social policy conceptualization and does not refer to any kind of citizenship rights. The most significant reference point of this system is traditional and religious based charity implementations. The bond between the alm-givers and the poor is

⁷ This rising role of the municipalities is totally related with a legal code which was become legal in 1984. The serial number of this code is 3030. According to this code, the municipality administration had a legal basis in order to take conditional donations with/without any legal conditions. (This statement was said under the title of the income of the greater municipalities in the article number 18.) This issue is crucial in terms of the budgets of the social assistance mechanisms of the municipalities and the accountability problem of these budgets. This legal code gives way to closer relationships among the municipality administrations and the private sector representatives by not referring any kind of accountability mechanism over this relationship. This issue is totally related with the privatization of public assistance and patronage issues in terms of the social assistance processes of the municipalities along with the budgetary structure of them. For more information about this legal code see also; [Available online] <http://www.sinop.gov.tr/KurulGorev/mevzuat/3030.html>. Accessed 17 April 2009.

defined through the benevolence and religious virtues of the giver. I argue that the mechanism of this system can be seen through the social policy implementations of the municipalities in Turkey according to their rising role in the social policy system of Turkey.⁸

This thesis looks at the case of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA) as a case study to demonstrate not only the important role the municipalities play in social assistance mechanisms but also to show how patronage and discretion are at play in the distribution of social assistance and their effects on social solidarity and social distrust.

The third component of this system is the “object” of the system; the poor. It is obvious that the term poverty is positioned at the center of the social policy debates because social policy can be seen as a struggle against the poverty especially in the contemporary era. Therefore, it is obvious that the problems coming out of poverty can be discussed by referring any age of humanity.⁹ However, what I will focus on is the poverty resulting from the settlement of the capitalist economic system, in order to be able to discuss contemporary social debates in the first place. Secondly, living in the global and neo-liberal capitalist era and discussing one of the units of this system, Turkey, I will concentrate on poverty which is a result of the policies and the implications of the capitalist type of economy. Although I put an emphasis on the poverty which occurred during the capitalist era, I certainly acknowledge that there had been poverty in non-capitalist economies, perhaps not as intense as in the capitalist era, but obviously there. In other words, before elaborating the different points of view on the social policy issue, it should be considered that the basic fact which is the core of these debates has been poverty as an important social, economic and political variable throughout the history of human beings.

⁸ The contextual, ideological and legal bases of this transformation have been about the neoliberal context and its projections in Turkey. As one of the basic sources of this work, for detailed information see also; Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, “The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, no. 16(3), pp. 211-228.

⁹ Bronislaw Geremek, *Poverty: A History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

The poor, being the third link of this system, can be researched through the historical perspective that Geremek¹⁰ used in his study. He interprets the historical dimensions of poverty and its transformation through the political and economic conjuncture and the concepts come out of these conjunctures.¹¹ In addition to the historical background of poverty, the situation of the poor as the object of the social policy historically, as well as today, will be discussed in the last chapter in which the alternatives to this system will be elaborated in different senses. In addition, the position of the poor in terms of the definition and reconstruction of poverty is critical to this thesis as it is summarized very briefly as follows;

It is from the moment they are assisted, maybe from the moment their conditions might entitle them to social assistance, even if they still do not actually receive it, that they become part of a group which is characterized by poverty. This group is not unified through the interaction between its members, but through the collective attitude society as a whole adopts towards it.¹²

After analyzing the composition of this system, which we can observe through our research on Turkey's social policy regime, I am going to mention my two main assumptions and one secondary assumption that I had in my mind before going to the research field.

The first one was the possible outcomes of the patronage that result from these social assistance services of the GMA. Through the information that one can obtain from the media, the reports published on SPF's web-site, and the characteristics of the Southern European social policy model, patronage relations have been going hand in hand with the social policy implementations in Turkey. As one of the most powerful social assistance mechanisms among Turkey's municipalities, I consider that it will be useful to research the structure of GMA by means of patronage relations through social assistance. Secondly, I hypothesized that the

¹⁰ Bronislav Geremek, *Poverty: A History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

¹¹ For instance, he emphasizes the role of capitalism in terms of the bifurcation of poverty as urban and rural poverty.

¹² Chiara Saraceno (eds.), *Social Assistance Dynamics in Europe: National and Local Poverty Regimes*, (Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2002), p. 3.

discretionary characteristic of the social assistance mechanism of municipalities in Turkey can be seen by investigating the process, strategy and the rhetoric of the social policy implementations of the GMA.

I should also mention one “secondary assumption” related to these two in order to complete the list of assumptions I had before I went to the research field, Ankara. It is about the political conjuncture of Turkey in February-March 2009. Although I had these assumptions and assumptions about the patronage and the discretionary character of social assistance, I acknowledged that these features of the social assistance mechanism could be “hidden” in some ways through the political conjuncture. Bearing in mind the positive correlation between voting behavior and social assistance in Turkey, there was a serious potential for these assistance mechanisms to increase especially in the context of Ankara elections.¹³In this context, I thought that this situation might create an obstacle to reach some clear results about the assumptions that I had made through the first two main assumptions.

Leaving aside the discussion on these assumptions, and their correction or falsification, I should also mention the organization of this paper, including the theoretical background that will shed light on my way during not only the description of the bases of this system but also the discussion on the contingent alternatives of this system in today’s political and economic conjuncture.

To begin with, there are some basic concepts that should be touched upon in this discussion; poverty, justice, equality, social policy, capitalism, neo-liberalism, charity, patronage, discretion, privatization of public service, constitutional rights, social solidarity and distrust. First, I consider the concept of poverty as the initial concept in my thesis in

¹³ For further information on the relations among the election campaigns (and their social assistance expenditures) and the voting behavior of the people through local elections see also; “Campaign Contributions in Local Elections”, Arnold Fleischmann and Lana Stein, *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Sep., 1998), pp. 673-689.

accordance with the relations among poverty-charity-philanthropy-social policy politically and historically. In order to interpret the historical background of poverty, it has to be remembered that there are some main concepts that have been affecting the social policy arena in the contemporary social sciences in terms of this evolution process of the methods of struggling against poverty. These concepts are related with the economic, political and social transformations throughout history, especially the history of Europe being the scene of grand transformations in these areas. In order to interpret the today's debate on this issue, I will elaborate the distinction among the charity and citizenship rights based social policy as a bipolar theoretical framework.

Then, continuing that framework, I will mention the position of Turkey within this theoretical framework by analyzing the Southern European welfare regimes in the second part of the second chapter of this work.¹⁴

In relation with the theoretical framework, I will use the data that I obtained during my field research in combination with my reasons for choosing the GMA and the role of the municipalities' social assistance mechanism in general. At that point, the method of this thesis comes on the stage: in-depth interview method in the field. An in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique which gives the opportunity to talk with the respondents face to face. As well as being a flexible interview technique, the in-depth interview is helpful for exploring the feelings, discourse and the thoughts of a person on a certain subject.¹⁵ I also had the chance to be an observer of the home visits of the social policy experts of the GMA.

¹⁴ This interpretation of the Southern European social policy model in various studies; *"The Bondaries of Welfare : European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection"*, Maurizio Ferrara, Oxford University Press, 2005; *"Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99"*, Ian Gough, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2000; *"Social Assistance Dynamics in Europe : National and Local Poverty Regimes"*, edited by Chiara Saraceno, Bristol, UK, Policy Press, 2002; "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?", Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference "Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?", 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

¹⁵These information on the indepth interviews. Available [online]: www.dcc2.bumc.bu.edu/prdu/INRUD_2000_CDROM/Manuals/Qualitative_Methods_Manual/qm_ch3.doc. Accessed 13 November 2008.

Considering these visits as the last decision mechanism of the social assistance system of the GMA, this method was useful for interpreting especially the discursive bases of these processes.

The first reason for using this method was the intention to understand and interpret the discursive, methodological and strategic bases of this social assistance mechanism. In that sense, the interviews made by the municipality officers were important not only for these dimensions but also for the criteria applied through it. The second reason for choosing this method comes out of the significance of the interview realized with the poor people in a suburban neighborhood of Ankara. As the objects of the social policy mechanism in the contemporary conjuncture of the world economy and Turkey, the interviews with these people become crucial. Hence, in order to understand the perceptions of these people about the structure of the social assistance implementations of the GMA, I made in-depth interviews with them. I thought that it would be the most useful technique to assess the arbitrariness and social distrust issues within this framework during my field research.

At this point of the discussion, another crucial methodological question arises; why did I particularly choose the municipalities and the GMA in order to explore the mechanism of this system? One can answer this question in two levels.

First, why did I choose the municipalities as the main institutions to social assistance processes? In the first place, the municipalities are significant in the context of the neoliberal era in terms of realizing social assistance services by creating some funds in cooperation with the private sector representatives. This kind of structure refers to the benevolence of state institutions and individuals rather than a constitutional citizenship rights based social policy. Hence, this characteristic of neoliberalism renders the social assistance system, which is realized through charity by referring to traditional and religious philanthropic bonds, possible.

Second, in relation to this neoliberal conjuncture, Turkey realized her legal transformation which gave way to municipalities to collect donations for social assistance without any supervision mechanism mentioned in the law in 1984.¹⁶ Thus, this kind of structure is crucial to interpret the discretion and patronage in the social assistance system of Turkey. Not only the relation of this system with the neoliberal agenda, but also its discretionary characteristics are revealed by elaborating the legal and organizational structure of the municipalities in Turkey.

Third, the role of the municipalities which have pursued an Islamic agenda for the last fifteen years, their way of administering municipalities, and the role of their rhetoric and strategy in social assistance services are crucial. Namely, within the neoliberal context, the references to the religious duties of the believers, in terms of realizing social aids are revealed as an important determinant in this social assistance system. Hence, in the context of Turkey, it becomes crucial to understand the effects of religious discourse and the Islamic political agenda by means of understanding the ideological and organizational bases of these social assistance mechanisms.

Coming to the second part of the question, my reasons for choosing GMA as a case study are on the table. Taking the social assistance policies of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA) as the main point of concentration this thesis, the role of the municipalities in the overall social assistance mechanism is significant for our purposes. To begin with, a fifteen year old process should be acknowledged in terms of the rising contributions of the municipalities to social assistance services by referring to the victory of the political Islamist Welfare Party in the 1994 municipal elections in Turkey.¹⁷

¹⁶ There is a legal code numbered 3030 in which one of the articles is about the municipality budgets in terms of allowing the municipality administrations to receive conditional or non-conditional donations.

¹⁷ This process, realized especially in Ankara and İstanbul, should be mentioned in the context of neoliberalism in Turkey. Actually, the social assistance of these municipality administrators seemed to be truly compatible with the neoliberal charity conceptualization in terms of struggling against poverty. In addition, the effects of the

In this context, the question comes on the stage; “Why have I chosen the GMA in order to analyze this transformation?” GMA presents a good case study to demonstrate how patronage and discretionary practices emerged in the municipalities in the context of the social policy arena of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) as a neoliberal, Islamist actor ruling Turkey for seven years.¹⁸ Not only with the legal status of municipalities (which was enhanced through 1984 legal changes¹⁹) in terms of social policy but also with their position which is compatible with the neoliberal context that offers the blurring of the boundaries among the private and public sector in terms of local governance issues, the case of GMA becomes crucial. Through these concepts, there are several reasons for choosing the GMA as a case study.

To begin with, as one of the biggest organizations in terms of in-kind social assistance, the implementations of GMA have been crucially significant in terms of the dimensions of this social assistance system. The first reason was the visibility of the in-kind assistance processes in the media.²⁰ Alongside this visibility, the method and amount of assistance services immediately became political through the election process and played an important role in terms of dominating the public debates. Hence, the process realized by GMA is crucial

legal code 3030 should be kept in mind while analyzing this rising role of the municipalities by means of the assistance budgets. For detailed information about this fifteen year old period of the municipalities' social policy perceptions see also; Akinci in “Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?”, Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom; Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder “The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), pp. 211-228.

¹⁸ For more information about this process see also; İlhan Uzgel and Bülent Duru (eds.), “*AKP Kitabı - Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu*”, (Ankara: Phoenix, 2009).

¹⁹ These legal regulations are about the legal code number 3030 and its article about the municipality budgets in terms of allowing the municipality administrations to receive conditional or non-conditional donations.

²⁰ There is a lot of news about the social assistance offered by GMA, especially about the coal assistance during the elections of March 2009. More information can be obtained from the archives of the newspaper *Hürriyet*, [Available online] <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/>, Accessed 4 February 2009, for the last three months before the elections.

to understand and interpret the methodology, strategy and discourse of social assistance in Turkey.

Second, the administration of GMA is part of the ruling party, JDP. This situation is crucial in two ways. On the one hand, it is important to analyze the effects of party politics in social assistance mechanisms in terms of the coordination between the government and the municipality administrations. On the other hand, as part of a party which seeks a neoliberal agenda with its Islamic roots²¹, the social assistance implementations of GMA are crucial to understand the transformation of Turkey's social policy system in the context of neoliberalism. In addition, it is also significant to analyze the role of the traditional and Islamic discourse through the realization of this assistance, thus the references to the conceptualization of traditional charity.

Third, there has been long-term municipality leadership in GMA. This kind of leadership creates some settled patterns in terms of the discourse and the methodology of social assistance services. This situation becomes more significant when the process coming through the 1994 local elections and its transformative characteristic in terms of the social policy implementations of municipalities are acknowledged. In this context, the long term leadership of GMA creates a serious opportunity for analyzing the role of the discursive and methodological strategies of municipalities in sustaining the social assistance mechanism of GMA. In this manner, the pattern created through in-kind social assistance services is an important case study for understanding the political and economic background of the social policy structure of Turkey within the neoliberal context. The ideological and paradigmatic shifts can be seen alongside the discourse and methodology of the social assistances of GMA which gives clues about the transformation of the social policy structure within the neoliberal context in Turkey.

²¹ İlhan Uzgel and Bülent Duru (eds.), *“AKP Kitabı - Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu”*, (Ankara: Phoenix, 2009).

Fourth, in relation to the two other reasons, the case of the GMA has been politically important in terms of its visibility through the election process and its capacity to show different political approaches to social policy in Turkey. Visible due to the effects of its long-term leadership and the great amount of in-kind assistance, the case of GMA reveals the political projections of in-kind assistance services. Namely, acknowledging that winning the mayor elections of the capital of Turkey four times is a political victory; this situation also partially shows the political and social connotations of these in-kind assistance services. The relation between the continuity of this political position and the social acknowledgement of in-kind assistance services become significant in order to interpret the political, economic and social dimensions of this social assistance system. In addition, the financial sources of the in-kind assistance services of GMA, which has been declared by the media through various different cases, and the gaps between the amount of the assistance and the municipality budget, has also been crucial. Namely, the assumptions on the privatization of public services through the assistance of GMA are related with to these financial budget problems. Although the privatization of public services can be understood in terms of the privatization of the security services of the state and municipality institutions or the privatization of some mass transportation systems, I argue that there can be a different type of “implicit” privatization of public services in the case of social assistances. In other words, these assumptions can be summarized as follows;

Therefore, the social assistance expenditures of municipalities may be higher than this figure just because the financial resources of this in-kind social assistance may go unrecorded as they come either from private conditional donations to each municipality and/or derive from informal clientelistic networks between the officials of the municipality and the private sector, conceptualized as ‘charity brokerage’.²²

²² This quotation is cited in the work of Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom, with reference to the work of; Ayşe Buğra, Çağlar Keyder , “New poverty and the changing welfare regime of Turkey”, (Ankara: UNDP, 2003).

In conclusion, considering the scheme of Turkey's social policy mechanism, the municipalities have an important role in social assistance processes. The GMA offers a complicated and elaborative case study, in order to examine their role in terms of discourse, strategy and methodology in the context of the neoliberal agenda of the twenty-first century.

Thus, the preliminary questions, that this thesis aims to answer, are the following:

- What is the criterion of the social assistance that is provided by the municipalities?
- In what way is the social assistance scheme related to the questions of social inclusion and exclusion in terms of its discretionary structure?
- What is the relationship of social assistance with political clientelism (patronage) and electoral politics?

Although the boundaries of this thesis are not great enough to give comprehensive answers to these questions, I will try to give some clues about the answers through my field research. During this field research, I completed eight interviews, four of them were with the officers of the GMA and the municipality of Altındağ and the others were the interviews with poor people. These interviews will constitute the third chapter following the second chapter which includes theoretical backstage of this interpretation. The second chapter will include the characteristics of the Southern European social policy model and the characteristics of the social policy mechanism in Turkey. There will an interpretation of the concept of social solidarity and the social citizenship in order to draw the theoretical boundaries of this thesis and to demonstrate the two different way of struggling against poverty in today's era: charity and the constitutional citizenship based social policy. Second, I will mention the Esping-Andersen' categorization in terms of the types of welfare regimes in order to explain the characteristics of the Southern European social policy model as a fourth cluster of this

typology. Then, I will try to elaborate the history of social policy in Turkey and the contemporary institutional scheme of Turkey's social policy structure in order to state Turkey's position in a theoretical background. Following this chapter, there will be the third chapter in which I will reconcile this theoretical background with the data revealed in the research field.

After giving this information, in the fourth chapter, I will try to reveal whether there were some alternatives to this system by referring to the possible policy alternatives in the conclusion of this study. Keeping the initial three questions of this thesis in mind, I will try to give some clues about the issues of discretion, patronage, possible social exclusion (objectively stated), and social distrust (subjectively experienced). At that point, I plan to use the argumentations of T.H. Marshall²³ in terms of social citizenship rights and capitalism. Also, I will try to discuss the "solidarity" issue within the framework of the contingent alternative of this system by using the arguments on solidarity.²⁴ By using these concepts and reconciling them with Marshall's emphasis on the social citizenship right in terms of transforming social policy implementations in the neoliberal era, I will try to put the contingency of transforming this social assistance system on the table in the conclusion of this thesis.

²³ T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class" (abridged version) in D. Held et al, *States and Societies*, (Oxford: Martin Robertson in association with The Open University), p. 249.

²⁴ Ayşen Candaş Bilgen, Ayşe Buğra, and Gürol Irzık, "Solidarity Among Strangers: A Problem Of Coexistence In Turkey," *Constellations*. (forthcoming).

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP AND SOLIDARITY: HOW TO RECONCILE THEM WITH TURKEY'S SOCIAL POLICY REGIME?

This chapter includes the definition of the constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy as a counterpart to the conceptualization of charity in terms of struggling against poverty. First, through the social citizenship argumentation of T.H. Marshall and the concept of solidarity among strangers, the logic of constitutional rights-based social policy becomes more elaborative. In order to clarify the position of Turkey in this theoretical background, second, the interpretation of the Southern European social policy model will be the main point by means of the categorizations of Esping-Andersen and Ian Gough in terms of social welfare regimes. Then, thirdly, the two possible trajectories from this model will be discussed comparatively through the dichotomy of new welfare governance²⁵ and constitutional citizenship rights based policy. Lastly, the trajectory of Turkey will be analyzed in order to answer the question “How can the social assistance system of Turkey be worse than both models in the context of neoliberalism and the possible distrust in society?” In other words, “What makes Turkey go deeper into charity in the contemporary era?”

To begin with, the theoreticians who argue at least some sort of transformation of capitalism especially in the neo-liberal era²⁶ refer to the organizational capacity of the state and to its organs such as the constitution and any other constitutional units while emphasizing the issues of social policy. In addition, they emphasize the universalist way of thinking by means of international human rights and the concept of equality. Thus, it is obvious that these approaches point to some sort of social welfare regime under the control and the regulations

²⁵ The concept of new welfare governance is used with reference to the article of Mary Daly mentioned above.

²⁶ For further information about this transformation of last two decades see also; Ayşe Buğra, “*Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye’de Sosyal Politika*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), and Sencer Ayata, “Patronage, Party, and State: The Politicization of Islam in Turkey”, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Winter, 1996), pp. 40-56.

of the welfare state. Namely, all these constitutional citizenship rights which refer to the eradication of poverty can be seen as the indicators of the social welfare state. At that point, one can point out that these approaches refer to some sort of a “modern solidarity”²⁷ which defines legal constitutional rights under the umbrella of state governments by laws.

Here, the arguments of T.H. Marshall are relevant. According to T. H. Marshall, the interrelations among social, political and civil rights constitute the concept of citizenship;

I shall be running true to type as a sociologist if I begin by saying that I propose to divide citizenship into three parts. ...I shall call these parts, or elements, civil, political, and social. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom- liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. ...By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. ...By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society.²⁸

Through triangular conceptualization, Marshall argues that it is not vitally necessary to abolish all inequalities coming out of the economic structure. However, he emphasizes that in order to avoid the transcendence of economic inequalities and their preventive features in terms of the usage of social and political rights, social citizenship rights are crucial. This kind of an approach to citizenship avoids the problems resulting from the double citizenship²⁹ issue in terms of social assistance processes. At that point, the following question should be raised in order to interpret this argumentation more comprehensively: What is the double citizenship issue? What are its effects on the regulation of the social policy mechanism in Turkey?

²⁷ H. Brunkhorst, *Solidarity: From Civic Friendship to a Global Community*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005), pp. 55-63.

²⁸ T.H. Marshall, “Citizenship and Social Class” (abridged version) in D. Held et al. (eds.), *States and Societies*, (Oxford: Martin Robertson in association with The Open University), p.1.

²⁹ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder “The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), pp. 211-228.

This double citizenship issue is connected to the social rights argumentation in its essence. This differentiated character of citizenship in Turkey is mainly comes due to the characteristics of the labor market. The great informal economy rates have indicated a high percentage of labor force that is excluded from any kind of social security service.³⁰ Due to the dualist organization of social security, the informal employees have stayed out of the social security umbrella of the state. This situation, obviously, indicates the excluded position of these informal workers in comparison with those who are working under the social security of state institutions.³¹

Thus, it is clear that with the reference to the triangular structure of rights as the constitutional base, the social citizenship rights, that Marshall emphasizes, offers a constitutional rights-based social policy in order to realize solidarity and equality through society.³² Thus, his “social citizenship” concept becomes more interpretive in terms of analyzing the social policy in Turkey through such an argumentation. In this manner, the problems resulting from the citizenship regime of states becomes crucial. Especially in the context of Turkey, this argumentation around social citizenship can be elaborated through the term “double citizenship”.

To summarize, through such a double citizenship context, the dualist structure of social policy implementations in Turkey emerges. Namely, while one group of citizens have taken advantage of their constitutional social citizenship rights in terms of their capability to negotiate with state organizations, the other group have not had such an opportunity. Hence, the two main problematic characteristics of Turkey’s social policy system appear at that point.

³⁰ Ayşe Buğra, “Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı”, paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

³¹ As mentioned through in the introduction, there have been three different social security organizations in Turkey which had recently united under the name of SGK.

³² Ayşe Buğra, “Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı”, paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

First, “the disadvantaged group could not reach any sort of social security in terms of illness, poverty, and elderness. Hence, it had been foreseen that they would solve these kinds of problems by using their family bonds, and other informal social solidarity mechanisms.”³³ Second, the presence of this kind of a disadvantaged group in terms of negotiating with the state authority on the basis of their constitutional rights and using their informal solidarity relationships to reach any kind of social assistance has been significant. In a sense, this situation affects the negotiation capacity of the other group with the state authority.³⁴ While the most disadvantaged group has been creating a worse option in terms of social citizenship rights, the negotiation capacity of the first group has been respectively declined by the state authority. Furthermore, this kind of a double citizenship structure damages the contingent effects of union movements in terms of fighting against poverty at a universal level of analysis.

According to these arguments, the social solidarity in Turkey is not based on some sort of a social citizenship concept as Marshall conceptualizes. The absence of a solidarity model which is based on these constitutional rights can be seen not only through this double citizenship issue but also in the legal codes of Turkey. Namely, the emphasis on the social assistance system which is based on traditional and religious heritage can be seen clearly in the legal codes of Turkey.³⁵ This emphasis on the traditional and religious bond of the society in terms of maintaining social assistance has strengthened the charity based social policy mentality in Turkey while recreating the fundamental basis of these social assistance processes of the municipalities. Hence, social solidarity through a universal citizenship rights-

³³ The translated sentence from the article of Ayşe Buğra which is as such originally: “*Bu ikinci kesimin yaşlılık, hastalık, işsizlik, yoksulluk gibi durumlarda aile bağlarına ve enformel nitelikli diğer sosyal biçimlerine yaslanması öngörüliyordu.*”.

³⁴ Ayşe Buğra, “Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı”, paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 164.

based social policy becomes harder considering the neoliberal context and its emphasis on charity organizations.

At this point, the term “solidarity” needs to be defined clearly within some theoretical boundaries. I argue that the term solidarity should be elaborated through the distinction between solidarity among strangers and the solidarity based on familiarity by means of its relation with constitutional citizenship rights and social policy implementations in the contemporary world. Through this argumentation, the distinction between these two different solidarity models can be summarized as follows;

...Solidarities forged around group interests, as in references to ‘class solidarity’ are often taken as paradigmatic, or solidarity may refer to as a sort of bond that holds together a complex society differentiated by a structure of divergent interests. ... What, then, is the form of solidarity which could coexist with equality and liberty, one that would go along with equal freedoms for all in a pluralist democratic society? To answer this question, one needs, first, to distinguish between two kinds of solidarity, ‘Solidarity among strangers’, which we will designate with capital S, and other forms of solidarity informed by group interest or ascriptive identity, designated by small s. While both kinds of solidarity refer to a sense of belonging, feeling of togetherness and cooperation, the former is more inclusive than the latter and therefore has normative priority over the latter. Without precluding the existence of in-group solidarities, S provides an inclusive framework that makes inter-group solidarity among strangers possible. ... As we understand it, unlike s, S is the type of bond which addresses not only ethnic and religious differences to render their recognition compatible with equality, but also one which addresses gender and class related conflicts and issues.³⁶

The distinction between these definitions has been crucial in the contemporary context. This focus on ‘s’ or solidarity based on familiarity largely dominates the social policy debates on equality and citizenship in the neoliberal era. Referring to the solidarity based on familiarity in terms ethnic, religious and regional boundaries, ‘s’, has been compatible with the neoliberal agenda through the conceptualization of social policy. Neoliberal economic

³⁶ Ayşen Candaş Bilgen, Ayşe Buğra, and Gürol Irzık, “Solidarity among Strangers: A Problem of Coexistence in Turkey,” *Constellations* (forthcoming).

policies indicate the role of traditional bonds resulting from the family-bonds, religion and ethnicity in terms of struggling against poverty through society.³⁷ Hence, this agenda renders the 's' by emphasizing on its capabilities of regulating poverty and social security organization within a group of society.

In that sense, 'S' offers a solidarity conceptualization which unites the different groups of society under the roof of the terms equality and universal citizenship rights rather than emphasizing the solidarity networks within different groups of society. At that point, 'S' becomes compatible with the social citizenship concept of T.H. Marshall with regards to maintaining equality and solidarity in society on the bases of universal constitutional rights.

This perspective composed of social citizenship and 'S', offers a potential to handle the equality problem resulting from the double citizenship issue. Namely, the citizenship regime of Turkey damages the solidarity among strangers in a complex society in terms of the absence of constitutional citizenship based equality perspective. This structure allows the conceptualization of charity to dominate the social policy regime in Turkey. In this sense, the composition of 'S' and social citizenship offer a way to transform the social policy regime based on the conceptualization of charity.

As a result, the main theoretical debate rests on the ongoing debate about charity and constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy. In order to analyze the position of Turkey, the history of Turkey's welfare regime should be elaborated under the umbrella of Southern European welfare regimes by considering the different welfare regimes according to the work of Esping-Anderson, *Three worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.³⁸

³⁷ In order to analyze the role of the diminishing character of the state organization in terms of social policy in neoliberal context, it is crucial to see also; Loic Wacquant, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: The Social and Symbolic Remaking of the Black Ghetto and Elias in the dark Ghetto", in S. Loyal and S. Quilley (eds.), *The Sociology of Nobert Elias*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³⁸ Gosta Esping-Andersen, "*Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*", (UK, Polity Press, 1990).

*Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*³⁹ and the Southern European

Social Policy Model

In order to show the Turkey's compatibility with the Southern European social policy model, it is crucial to lay out the main clusters that Esping-Andersen labeled in his work. Mainly, he analyzes the welfare regimes under three different categories; liberal, conservative and social democratic.⁴⁰ However, the debates on the deficiency of this conceptualization and the need for a more comprehensive typology generated the Southern European social policy model.⁴¹ Although this approach theoretically indicates this deficiency, the claims about the Southern European model can be seen as the fourth branch of this scheme as it is stated in the following sentences;

For over the last two decades, research on social welfare systems has contributed to the advancement of a new strand of analyses aiming to discuss the particular patterns of welfare developments. Initiated by Esping-Andersen's much debated seminal work of *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, this strand of literature have been dealing with clustering and typifying the models of welfare and institutional settings (Esping-Andersen, 1990 and 1999). Within this comparative literature on welfare regimes, southern European cluster, as a 'fourth world', has long been highlighted as distinct from conservative corporatist model.⁴²

³⁹ Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, (UK, Polity Press, 1990).

⁴⁰ This categorization is not the main argument of this work. Thus, brief information will be helpful for understanding the bigger picture that Esping-Andersen draws. First, liberal welfare regimes can be understood in the context of the USA. The main characteristics of this regime are its organizational structure which is based on market-based formations of the welfare regime. Second, the conservative welfare regimes include high state expenditure for social policy implementations while referring to traditional family bonds at the same time. Such corporatist regimes can be seen in western continental states. Third, the social democratic welfare regimes offer the highest public expenditures for public services and places in the Scandinavian region.

⁴¹ This interpretation of the Southern European social policy model will be realized through various studies; Maurizio Ferrera, *The Bondaries of Welfare : European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Chiara Saraceno, ed., *Social Assistance Dynamics in Europe : National and Local Poverty Regimes* (Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2002); Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?", paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference *Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?*, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

⁴² Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?", paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference *Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?*, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

Acknowledging this typological background through such a comprehensive scheme, the characteristics of the Southern European model and its distinctiveness from the other models can be summarized as follows:

1. A dualistic income maintenance system in which very high benefits are provided for privileged groups with strong attachment to the formal labor force alongside zero or low and discretionary benefits for the rest of the population.
2. The health care systems are universalistic and the private sector is integrated into the public health services.
3. The planning and delivery of certain public welfare services is characterized by particularism, clientelism and even corruption.
4. The inefficient tax collection creates a financial gap through the expenditures of government.”⁴³
5. “The risks that the welfare system has to bear are left to be tackled within the family and kinship network, putting family as a proxy for welfare institutions.”⁴⁴

First, this kind of a system refers to the “low level of institutional autonomy of the administrative system”⁴⁵ as the basis of all these deficiencies. The deficiency of the state autonomy renders the social assistance mechanism less universalistic and comprehensive. In such a social policy structure, the role of the family becomes significant in terms of fulfilling the gaps created through this system. “In other words, the lack of a structured network of basic services by the state in Southern Europe has left a large part of the responsibility to the family in welfare services.”⁴⁶ This kind of a reference to the role of the family reinforces the

⁴³ Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 131-132.

⁴⁴ Cited in “Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?” Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom, from Mingione, 2001.

⁴⁵ “Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?” Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.3.

redefinition of charity in terms of the traditional and religious background of the society. As a matter of fact, this deficient structure of the state organization renders philanthropic acts possible and recreates the ideological basis of the charity-based social assistance system.

Secondly, the organizational problems about the tax incomes also refer to the deficiency of state organization in terms of fair redistribution. This kind of structural deficiency has been another significant indicator in terms of the similarities among these countries' social policy mechanisms.

Due to these characteristics, one can argue that the social policy system of Turkey can be considered under the title of the Southern European social policy model as Gough did in his categorization.⁴⁷ While categorizing the Southern European states according to their social policy structure, he distinguished three main groups by referring to the features of the assistance services, and created a scheme in terms of means and income tested programmers:

1. General Assistance: makes available cash benefits for all or almost all people below a specified minimum income standard. This comes closest to what most would think of as a guaranteed national safety net.
2. Categorical Assistance: provides cash benefits for specific groups, such as the elderly or unemployed.
3. Tied assistance: provides Access to specific goods or services in kind or in cash, such as housing or medical care.⁴⁸

According to this information, the classification had realized as such;

Table 1: The Comparative Categorization of Gough through the Types of Assistance

Country	General Assistance	Group Assistance	Tied Assistance
Greece	No general Assistance	Scheme for Unprotected Children, Scheme for the Protection of Maternity; Scheme for non-insured	Housing benefit for non-insured elderly

⁴⁷ Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 134.

		elderly.	
Italy	Local Cash Assistance (<i>minimo vitale</i>)	<i>Pensione sociale</i> ; <i>Pensione di inabilita</i> ; Veteran's Pension;	Local assistance services Housing benefit
Portugal		Family Allowance; Supplementary Allowance; Nursing Allowance; Orphan's pension; Social Invalidity Pension; Social Old Age Pension; Young People's integration benefit; Survivors Grant	
Spain	<i>Ingreso Minimo de Insercion</i>	Means-tested Aged pension; Means-tested Disability Pension; Unemployment Assistance	
Turkey	Social Assistance and Solidarity Scheme	Old age and disability assistance	Green card medical assistance

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⁴⁹ Ian Gough, "Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99", (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 134-135.

Through this scheme, it becomes obvious that there are lots of common points in the social policy regimes of these countries. According to Gough's arguments:

1. There is no national income safety net.
2. Yet national group-specific assistance schemes do exist.
3. The basic schemes are decentralized and discretionary.
4. Residential conditions are common.
5. The means test is both stringent and informal.
6. Social assistance has low salience within social security.
7. Assistance benefits are low.
8. Poverty is extensive.⁵⁰

The position of Turkey in this scheme can be elaborated through the historical and structural characteristics of Turkey. Hence, in order to interpret the methodology that dominates Turkey's social assistance mechanism, one should analyze not only the overlapping characteristics of Turkey through these schemes but also the differentiations among the systems. These theoretical, historical, methodological and discursive differentiations become significant to state Turkey's position in terms of the social policy implementations alongside its structural similarities with the other Southern European models.

At this point, one should acknowledge the two possible trajectories from this model. The first one is obvious; the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy in order to diminish the deficiencies of the social security system and the double citizenship issue. The second part is related with the issue that Mary Daly⁵¹ emphasizes under the title of "new welfare governments" of Europe or the "new system of welfare governance" as Buğra-Adar closely analyze⁵². This new governance system that arose in a neoliberal context during the

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 137-141.

⁵¹ Mary Daly, "Changing Conceptions of Family and Gender Relations in European Welfare States and the Third Way", in *Welfare State Changes: Towards a Third Way?*, eds. by Jane Lewis and Rebecca Surender, Oxford University Press, 2004, in http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=tmdR00hAXJIC&pg=PA135&lpg=PA135&dq=mary+daly+new+welfare+government&source=bl&ots=cYsfjBRPP&sig=oOlgWqGd7LPNsk02n6YdLAoGFE&hl=tr&ei=TF2OSr7XH MvD_gaV8_zZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8#v=onepage&q=mary%20daly%20new%20welfare%20government&f=false

last three decades of history is defined as follows; “The global reach of the self-regulating market economy through a massive structural change involving privatization, deregulation, and liberalization of trade and capital flows appears to be the defining characteristic of the international developments of the last three decades.”⁵³

Under these circumstances, the question is as such; “How does Turkey fit or not fit the Southern European social policy model in such an international context?” The answers to this question can be found not only through the interpretation of Turkey’s social policy history but also through the institutional structure of the contemporary social assistance mechanism in Turkey.

Turkey: Does it fit or not fit?

How can one evaluate Turkey’s social policy regime within this context? This question, an analysis of the historical backdrop of the Turkish welfare system and the particular role of the municipalities in the contemporary context is what follows.

I will try to elaborate this characteristic of Turkey’s social policy structure by referring to three basic dimensions; theoretical, historical and institutional. These three characteristics should be elaborated not only to interpret its political and economic bases in the national context of Turkey but also to analyze Turkey’s position in the international context in terms of its social policy mechanism and implementations. However, since the theoretical basis of this triangle has already scrutinized through the Southern European social policy model, touching on this basis briefly will be the first part of this interpretation. The theoretical background of this social assistance structure is closely related with the Southern European social policy model. The characteristics of this model construct the theoretical basis of these arguments in combination with Turkey’s political, economic, and social developments. In this context, the

⁵² Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), pp. 83-106.

⁵³ Ibid, p.85.

answer for a question such as “Does Turkey fit the Southern European social policy model, if it does, how?” becomes crucial, as well as “What is even worse than these characteristics in Turkey in the neoliberal era in terms of these two possible trajectories from the Southern European social policy model?”.

Historical

First of all, the history of Turkey’s social policy regime can be elaborated under the two interrelated concepts of tradition and religion, i.e. Islam. The traditional charity organization of the Ottoman Empire refers to Islamic law and its connotations in terms of the articles of the Q’uran.⁵⁴

To begin with, charity alms are one of the most important religious duties of the believers in Islam. Muslims should realize their duties strictly by means of giving some percentage of their wealth to the poor. Thus, Islam is a religion “in which charity is repeatedly praised and recommended to the believers.”⁵⁵

Through such a religious base, the charity foundations established under the authority of the Ottoman Sultan functioned for six centuries in the Ottoman Empire. We can see the projections of this structure in the social policy structure of Turkey as the sequent state of Ottoman Empire in many senses.

Ottoman society, which did not witness the grand transformations that its European friends had struggled with for two centuries, continued to implement traditional practices in terms of struggling with poverty according to Islam and *zeqat*.⁵⁶ This kind of a religious and

⁵⁴ There are examples of waqfs in this context that Amy Singer emphasizes in her book (“*Osmanlı'da Hayrseverlik: Kudüs'te bir haseki sultan imaret*”, Amy Singer, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 2002) through an orphanage constituted in Jerusalem by referring to the Islamic duties of the Sultan and the articles of the Q’uran.

⁵⁵ “Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 4.

⁵⁶ The terms *zeqat* means the duty of the believer to give some amount of money to the poor according to Q’uran in Sura 30, Ayat 39; http://www.islamicity.com/mosque/arabicscript/Ayat/30/30_39.htm. Accessed 15 March 2009.

ideological heritage of Ottoman Empire, obviously affected the social policy structure and its projections through the society in the modern constitutional Republic of Turkey.

There is another dimension in which Turkey can be considered as having a welfare regime which is a corporatist type of regime⁵⁷. This regime is based on the double citizenship issue including the problems of an informal economy, the references to traditional institutions in terms of social assistance, and informal housing as a serious sub-title of this system.⁵⁸ This structure has been the main point which constructs the position of Turkey in such a theoretical context. The historical experiences of the republican state clearly point to this situation from the very beginning.

First, in the early republican statism, *waqf* (philanthropic foundation) has been frequently mentioned at least as a point of reference if not a model in arguments around the necessity of developing modern forms of philanthropy.”⁵⁹ As the most important institutions of the Ottoman social assistance system, the emphasis on *waqfs* in the republican era⁶⁰ clearly points to the references in Turkish welfare regime to the traditional and Islamic charity organizations. Namely, the corporatist welfare regime of the early republican period shows the characteristics of charity based social assistance. In addition, there were fewer problems in terms of urban poverty in that era due to the limited migration during the first decades of the

⁵⁷ In the book of Ayşe Buğra, “*Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye’de Sosyal Politika*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009),, Ayşe Buğra emphasizes on the corporatist welfare regime of Turkey from the beginning of the Republican regime.

⁵⁸ The informal housing issue has been critical to evaluate the visibility of the informal features of Turkish social policy system, the relations among formal redistribution practices and political movements. As Ayşe Buğra stated briefly in her article; Ayşe Buğra, “The Immoral Economy of Housing in Turkey”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2 (6) (1998), pp 30-307: “The historical evolution of the societal context of Turkish *gecekondu* (the name of the informal houses in Turkish) highlights, first that the informal housing sector can hardly be studied without reference to state redistributive practices. It is because the shortcomings of the latter that the informal sector acquires a basis for social legitimacy defined by the entitlement of the unprivileged members of the society to public generosity.”

⁵⁹ Ayşe Buğra, “Poverty and Citizenship: an overview of the Social-Policy Environment in Republican Turkey”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 39, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.37.

⁶⁰ Ayşe Buğra, “Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı”, paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

republic. In that sense, the social policy implementations of that era referred to rural poverty in two ways. While indicating the merits of the traditional and religious charity based social struggle against poverty, it also encouraged the peasant to stay in their villages rather than migrating to the cities as the cities did not have the capacity to employ this labor force due to the limited percentage of industrialization.⁶¹

To sum up, during the early republican era, Turkish social policy had been part of a corporatist, statist political-economic structure by referring to the traditional and religious charity conceptualization. In other words, some sort of a citizenship regime embodying the social citizenship rights in terms of struggling against poverty had been absent.

Second, after World War II, “as far as approaches to poverty and social policy are concerned, a certain awareness of postwar developments leading to the establishment of the welfare state was present in Turkey.”⁶²This situation is closely related with the rise of social welfare states in the European context and its projections to Turkey’s socio-economic structure. Especially with the constitutional system established after the 1960 military coup, the first legal institutions were founded in terms of social security.⁶³On the one hand, through these organizations, Turkey had become more compatible with the Southern European social policy model in terms of its social security umbrella, at least concerning formal workers. On the other hand, by ignoring the exclusive characteristics of this system in terms of the high rates of informal economy, Turkey revealed another characteristic of the Southern European system. However, one should admit in terms of social citizenship rights that: “Western forms of regulating the poor designed to face the consequences of such dislocations were largely

⁶¹ Ayşe Buğra, “Poverty and Citizenship: an overview of the Social-Policy Environment in Republican Turkey”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 39, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 32-55.

⁶² Ibid, p. 41.

⁶³ These were the institutions which have recently united under the roof of SGK. They were the Retirement Fund (referring to state staff), Social Security Institution (referring to the employees) and Bağ-Kur (referring to those who own their own company).

absent in Turkey until the 1980s. Absent also was the influence of notions of social citizenship rights in shaping state-society relations.”⁶⁴ Hence, one can argue that the deficient implementations during this period can be considered in the context of the Southern European social policy model in terms of the double citizenship issue.

Therefore, one can claim that the double citizenship issue becomes crucial again in terms of the adversity of transforming this system. Namely, one should acknowledge that there have been privileged groups within this social policy system in terms of the higher inclusion rates in comparison with those of the informal sector. In this sense, this double citizenship issue renders the inequalities in terms of the redistribution of incomes possible by differentiating social groups as those having access to the social policy system or not.⁶⁵

Third, the post-1980 era is critical to understand the transformation of the welfare regime in Turkey.⁶⁶ This period is specifically crucial for the rising role of the municipalities in Turkey.⁶⁷ Namely, during the neoliberal era, the connotations of social policies and social citizenship rights changed in terms of the defoliation of the role of state institutions by means of regulating the market. Thus, philanthropic assistance processes became popular and applicable in this ideological and political-economic context. The characteristics of the contemporary neoliberal era are, therefore, crucial to interpret these social policy debates in Turkey in the context of the broader international picture.

⁶⁴ Ayşe Buğra, “Poverty and Citizenship: an overview of the Social-Policy Environment in Republican Turkey”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 39, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.48.

⁶⁵ Ayşe Buğra, “Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı”, paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

⁶⁶ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder “The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), pp. 211-228.

⁶⁷ This situation is related with the issue of the budgets of the municipalities mentioned in legal code number 3030 and its article number 18.

Neoliberalism⁶⁸ can be defined as a political and economic agenda which advocates the capabilities of the market by means of the whole social, economic and political structure in its essence. Through this essence, the role of constitutional nation-states changes in terms of its regulation capacities due to the effects of the comprehensive structure of the global market economy dominated originally by the forces of finance-capital. Namely, the regulation of the capitalist market economy has not been the main capability of the state for the last three decades of the neoliberal era. The areas dominated by state institutions have been limited by the advanced capacity of the market economy to regulate the socio-economic structure of societies. This situation inevitably affects the political agenda of the state by turning its transforming role in terms of its historical dominance on these areas. In this context, the state becomes visible due to its capacity to regulate security-producing processes rather than its role of regulating the socio-economic structure of the society.⁶⁹

Turning back to social policy, the role of the state in the welfare policies becomes less comprehensive in terms of regulating the socio-economic structure of the society during the neoliberal era. Especially the discourse maintained by the neoliberal agenda has been based on traditional solidarity structures rather than on constitutional citizenship rights. In that sense, it emphasizes on not only the virtue of family bonds but also secular philanthropic acts in terms of the social assistance mechanism.

⁶⁸ In order to have further information about the neoliberal agenda and its effects on Turkey see also; İlhan Uzgel and Bülent Duru (eds.), *AKP Kitabı - Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu*, (Ankara: Phoenix, 2009).

⁶⁹ The article of Loic Wacquant, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: The Social and Symbolic Remaking of the Black Ghetto and Elias in the dark Ghetto", in S. Loyal and S. Quilley (eds.), *The Sociology of Nobert Elias*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), demonstrates this situation through the concepts of underclass and hyper ghetto. Namely, by referring to America's black ghetto and its transforming socio-economic structure in terms of the social regulations of the state, he emphasizes the social exclusion which is realized by the social policy implementations of neoliberalism.

As referring to the debilitation of the state in terms of regulating the socio-economic structure, this kind of an approach has been the criticism of the welfare state⁷⁰. This approach is originally compatible with the neoliberal agenda. In addition, the boundaries between the state institutions, municipalities and NGOs are blurred in terms of the social policy implementations as being compatible with the post-modern way of academic interpretations.⁷¹

To conclude, the economic, social and political structures dominated by the neoliberal agenda do not render the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy possible in its essence. Namely, by arguing on the weakening of the state institutions in terms of regulating the socio-economic structure, the neoliberal agenda refers to the traditional charity bonds of societies while realizing the social assistance mechanisms. Such a position renders the religious and traditional bonds of the societies as a crucially significant variable in terms of regulating poverty. By doing this, the neoliberal agenda realizes two main problematic situations in terms of the concepts of citizenship and solidarity.

First, by considering the major reference of the neoliberal agenda to the role of the private sector in terms of regulating the social assistance processes, it is obvious that this mentality has been based on the conceptualization of charity rather than on some sort of constitutional rights based social policy area. Second, such an agenda renders the significance

⁷⁰ Welfare states arose after World War II in the context of Bretton Woods' economic system and the Cold War. Although there have been lots of definitions of the welfare state, the constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy will be in relation with this part of interpretation. Nevertheless, its major definition obtained through the web site [Available online] <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/639266/welfare-state>. Accessed 27 march 2009, as such very briefly: "concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization." I argue that this definition gives the basic structure of welfare state. Especially the emphasis on equality through citizenship rights becomes crucial in order to be able to discuss the social policy issue in accordance with the relations among solidarity and the citizenship.

⁷¹ This information about the relation between post-modernism and neoliberalism becomes crucial in order to interpret the whole picture of the international economic and political conjuncture. For more information see also; Ayşe Buğra, "Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı", paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163.

of solidarity 'within' some social groups possible solely by emphasizing discretionary philanthropic acts through some traditional and religious bonds. This situation harms the solidarity among different ethnic and religious groups by means of by-passing the universal constitutional rights of citizens which constitutes the main problematic of this chapter. This complex character of neoliberalism in terms of the social policy implementations of states can be defined as follows;

Neoliberal principles and practices can threaten actual or potential democratic processes by transferring economic and regulatory powers from state and local governments to unaccountable corporations, international financial institutions, and financial speculators seeking short-term profits. Governments throughout the world have lost much of their ability to enact socialist or even Keynesian in pursuit of development, full employment and other national economic goals.⁷²

Through these interpretations of neoliberalism and its relation to solidarity and social citizenship, this international context creates a new welfare regime in Turkey by reconciling three things. The corruption issues in state expenditures, the rising role of municipalities through the social assistance system in terms of the local governance⁷³ issue, and the redefinition of traditional and religious charity under the roof of a double citizenship-based constitutional system. In that sense, Ayşe Buğra summarizes her provisions about the social policy regime of Turkey in the first decade of the 2000s by acknowledging the role of the ruling Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its liberal-conservative political position in terms of the contingent redefinition of the historical conceptualization of charity and the EU candidacy of Turkey:

In the post-1980 period, with the country's insertion into the capitalist economy, Turkey is now faced with pressures in the direction of full commodification of labor generated by a market economy. These pressures

⁷² Steve Niva, "Alternatives to Neoliberalism", *Middle East Report, No.210, 'Reform or Reaction? Dilemmas of Economic Development in Middle East*, (Spring, 1999), p. 16.

⁷³ In order to understand the local governance issue in the context of neoliberalism and in terms of the concepts of accountability and public finance see also; Anwar, Shah (eds.), "Local governance in developing countries" , (Washington D.C: World Bank, 2006).

clearly call for a redefinition of the meaning of citizenship beyond entitlements defined by the coordinates of the country's traditional moral economy. The place of social rights in this process of redefining private benevolence and philanthropic associations and the mutually supporting relations between Islamic and conservative liberal approaches to poverty, as well as Turkey's relations with EU.⁷⁴

According to these arguments, the conceptualizations of charity and social rights in Turkey changed under the rule of the Justice and Development Party in the context of neoliberalism. In order to examine this new formulation of charity and social policy implementation process, the social assistance implementations of JPD's municipalities becomes more elaborative in two ways. Namely, this kind of an interpretation is crucial not only to understand the transformation that JDP leads in Turkish social policy system as a neoliberal actor but also to elaborate the role of traditional and Islamic discourse and strategy in the social assistance system of the municipalities in the neoliberal era.

Institutional Structure

From such theoretical background, the organizational structure of Turkey becomes crucial in terms of referring to the third dimension of elaborating Turkish social policy structure; the institutional scheme. Actually, the organizational structure of this system has been one of the significant indicators for such a research in which the patronage relationships and the discretion tried to be elaborated through the social assistance mechanism of municipalities. In accordance with this aim, there are three actors in the contemporary social assistance mechanism of Turkey: state institutions, municipalities and the non-governmental

⁷⁴ Ayşe Buğra, "Poverty and Citizenship: an overview of the Social-Policy Environment in Republican Turkey", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 39, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.48.

organizations. Their influence in this social policy system has been as follows according to the percentages; %84,1 , %12,2, %3,7.⁷⁵

Although state institutions differ in terms of the categorization of Gough, the details of this differentiation should be elaborated in another research. As this thesis intends to analyze the role of the municipalities in terms of discretion and patronage, the information about these organizations will be limited and descriptive. Actually, in terms of general, tied, and group assistance, there are two main institutions serving in the social policy field in Turkey. The first one is the Social Security Institution (SGK) and the other one is the Directorate General for Social Assistance and Solidarity (SYDGM). “SGK, with the highest share of social assistance expenditures among all other state institutions, is authorized to implement a categorical scheme involving cash transfers to elderly and the disabled without social security coverage. Even though SGK employs a tight means-testing, it provides a non-discretionary and a regular income to those qualified.”⁷⁶ This argument shows the universalistic characteristic of SGK in terms of assisting the elderly and disabled citizens. As the most comprehensive institution in terms of its inclusion capacity after the recent legal arrangements, SGK has an important role in this mechanism. This importance is revealed with the categorizations of Gough which define the group-tested mechanisms of social policy.

In addition, “SDYGM is the state institution that is solely established to coordinate and implement nationwide social assistance schemes.”⁷⁷ Thus, it is the major authority to decide on the criteria for being needy –or depredated- among the social assistance mechanisms of this system. However, its organizational deficiencies in terms of its

⁷⁵ “Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?”, Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

⁷⁶ For detailed information; “Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?”, Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom, p. 7.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 7.

coordination of decision making processes about the citizens in need and its budgetary problems indicate high a level of discretion.⁷⁸

The second category of institutions are the NGOs. As seen from the percentage of their influence on the social assistance mechanism, they play a limited role in terms of their quantitative contributions. However, the discursive and methodological structure should be elaborated in order to understand the ideological basis of the social policy system in Turkey. The most visible examples of these NGO's-Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok mu? Associations-and their interaction with society through the media can give some crucial clues about at least the discursive structure of assistance services. By considering their relations with the Islamist movements in Turkey, one can get significant information about how Islamic discourse can be used through the social assistance processes of Turkey.

The third category of institutions consists of the municipalities. The role of the municipalities can be examined under a question; Why are the municipalities considered as the important agents of social assistance and why GMA? Now, it is time to analyze the contemporary position of Turkey by considering these theoretical, historical and institutional characteristics in the context of two possible trajectories from the Southern European social policy model.

The Second Question on Turkey: How could it be even worse?

Under the umbrella of the institutional and historical characteristics of Turkey, the clues for the answers of the two question appears "What is even worse than the two in Turkey by considering the two possible trajectories from Southern European social policy model in

⁷⁸ "Social Assistance in Turkey: On the margins of redistributive justice?", Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference "Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?", 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

the neoliberal context?” and “what is the position of the social assistance mechanisms of municipalities in this process?”

It is time to turn back to our main question before answering these questions: “Turkey: Does it fit or not?” It becomes clear after these categorizations and schemes that Turkey’s position overlaps with the Southern European social policy structures in some senses. However, through the neoliberal context and the rising role of Islamist municipality administrations in Turkey, even this position of Turkey has been transformed for the last two decades to a more charity-based social policy. According to these arguments, one can argue two things about the compatibility of Turkey with the Southern European social policy model.

First, on the one hand, in these countries, there is not a well-organized, constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy with its institutions.⁷⁹ However, it cannot be said that the social policy implementations are realized solely through charity based organizational structures. One can argue that there is a right-based social policy conceptualization in terms of institutions organized through some sort of income standard and group-tested social security systems.

On the other hand, by considering the absence of full information about “the extent and role of local general assistance”⁸⁰ and the financial and budget problems about the social expenditures of municipalities, one can argue that there is a different organizational structure.⁸¹ This structure should be elaborated in terms of its connotations with the charity-based social assistance mentality by means of discretion, patronage and the social distrust in society.

⁷⁹ In terms of the categorization of Gough and Esping-Andersen, the deficiencies on social policy implementations are common in Turkey and the other Southern European countries.

⁸⁰ Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 137.

⁸¹ This situation also offers the similarity of the social policy systems of Southern European countries. As Gough emphasizes, the organization of the social policy indicates any level of discretion because of the administrative and structural problems of these countries.

Considering the Southern European social policy model and Turkey's position in this category, one should consider the two trajectories from this model in order to answer the question raised above: "What is even worse in Turkey?" However, I should state beforehand that Turkey's position in social policy is more in conformity with the second trajectory than the first one that I mentioned above. The first one was the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy and the second one was based on the new system of welfare regimes. In this context, according to the effects of neoliberalism in terms of policy and law making processes in Turkey, I argue that the social policy regime of Turkey is in conformity with "new system of welfare governance" rather than the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy in the contemporary era. However, the social assistance mechanisms of the municipalities affect even this position of Turkey means of discretion and patronage which creates social distrust in society. Alongside the deficiencies of this new welfare governance regime in terms of referring to some sort of coordination among the family and state and the benevolence of the individuals, the social assistance system of Turkey works even worse in terms of shifting to the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy. Actually, the shift has been realized on the contrary; Turkey goes deeper into charity because this structure of the social assistance mechanisms of the municipalities damages social solidarity and renders social distrust possible by its ongoing processes.

Turning back to the arguments on these trajectories and considering Daly's writings, there is a transformation in the European social policy mechanism in the context of neoliberalism in terms of emphasizing some sort of coordination of family bonds and state duties rather than promoting a social policy based on the constitutional citizenship rights of individuals.⁸² In such a context, which can be classified under the liberal welfare regime

⁸² Mary Daly, "Changing Conceptions of Family and Gender Relations in European Welfare States and the Third Way", *Welfare State Changes: Towards a Third Way?*, eds. by Jane Lewis and Rebecca Surender (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Available [online]: <http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=tmdR00hAXJIC&pg=PA135&lpg=PA135&dq=mary+daly+new+welfare+>

model, not the social one according to Esping-Andersen's categorization, Turkey does not fit even this trajectory and seem to have moved deeper into charity in the context of neoliberalism for the last two decades. According to the information above, this situation can be interpreted through some crucial concepts; the historical and religious references, especially to family, in social assistance mechanisms, the informal and discretionary structure of the municipalities' social assistance, the double citizenship issue and social distrust which is declining the structure of society through the in-kind assistance process of the municipalities.

In the first place, as Buğra-Adar emphasizes;

In the Turkish context, apart from the centrality of the family to welfare provision, clientelistic relations of different society-specific types are quite important. These relations do not really include the kind of welfare clientelism discussed by Ferrera in the South European context, with reference to the generous granting of means-tested old age and disability benefits as part of electoral politics, mainly because in Turkey such benefits have not been historically important.⁸³

Hence, in addition to the rising role of the family in terms of struggling against poverty in the neoliberal era, Turkey's social assistance system has a discretionary structure which includes political clientelism mechanisms. This, by the way, creates the informality of social assistance processes which is politically in conformity with the new system of welfare governance as they refer to the initiatives of the non-state organizations and the municipalities by some legal regulations as follows;

Under these circumstances, the responsibility to deal with poverty and social exclusion, whose significance no one denies, is often left to non-state actors. The ruling party, which draws on Islamic ideas in the formation of its conservative liberal outlook, naturally regards charity as a good way of dealing with indigence, while the Kemalist ideas of social solidarity, to which the main opposition party still adheres,

[government&source=bl&ots=cYsfjBRPP&sig=oOlgWqGd7LPNsk02n6YdLAoGFE&hl=tr&ei=TF2OSr7XH MvD_gaV8_zZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8#v=onepage&q=mary%20daly%20new%20welfare%20government&f=false](http://www.turkishcivildemocracy.org/2009/05/07/government&source=bl&ots=cYsfjBRPP&sig=oOlgWqGd7LPNsk02n6YdLAoGFE&hl=tr&ei=TF2OSr7XH MvD_gaV8_zZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8#v=onepage&q=mary%20daly%20new%20welfare%20government&f=false), Accessed 7 May 2009.

⁸³ Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, "Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey", In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yükseser, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), p. 98.

assigns modern philanthropy an important role in the attempt to maintain social cohesion. Today, these two traditions have come quite close in a social context where non-governmental organizations of different kinds proliferate and attempt to support the government in the social arena. This development is in full conformity with the characteristics of the new system of welfare governance promoted at an international level.....The legislative changes introduced are of a nature that accord greater responsibilities to the local government in social care and assistance, which could be fulfilled in partnership with the voluntary sector, both in service provision and funding. The clauses 75 and 77 of the new law concerning greater municipalities are especially significant, because they closely conform to the traditional tendency to situate social assistance in the realm of private benevolence.⁸⁴

Thus, the answer for the question “What is even worse in Turkey in the context of this transformation process of Southern European social policy model?” can be given through some concepts. First, the history of social policy in Turkey is full of references to the benevolence of the believers, the state organization and the promotion of the role of families in terms of struggling against poverty. Known as the Bismarckian social policy model⁸⁵ in the categorization of the welfare regimes, the corporatist character of the Turkish social policy regime comes on the table. Namely, corporatism is led the “conservative” character of the German social policy structure (according to Esping-Andersen) in terms of paternalist policies and the rejection of class struggles. From such a perspective, Bismarck’s social policy model affected the connotations of charity in the context of the modern nation-state. By neglecting the class struggle and applying mandatory social insurance, Bismarck created a conservative social welfare regime. Hence, with such a historical background, Turkey offers a more charity-based social policy organization rather than constitutional citizenship rights based one.

Second, the discretionary structure of the social assistance mechanism and political clientelism are the other important indicators which show that Turkey goes deeper into charity in the context of neoliberalism as opposed to its counterparts in the Southern European social

⁸⁴ Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), p. 103, 104.

⁸⁵ For further information about the Bismarckian social policy and the conservative welfare regime see also; Gosta Esping-Andersen, “*Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*”, (UK, Polity Press, 1990).

policy model who have become EU members.⁸⁶ In this context, the social assistance mechanisms of the municipalities become crucial in terms of discretion and patronage. These characteristics of the social assistance system of the municipalities damages the contingency of maintaining constitutional citizenship based social policy by referring to political patronage relationships, the benevolence of state administrators and private initiatives. In addition to this, this structure damages the social solidarity among citizens by means of excluding or including the citizens in the system through these mechanisms. The absence of some sort of legal criteria based on constitutional citizenship rights prevents the citizens from trusting this social assistance system on the basis of equality and justice.

Third, this system creates distrust among citizens because it provides assistance on the basis of discretion and patronage. The perception of political patronage in these assistance processes damages the social solidarity among strangers and even creates distrust among strangers and leads to social exclusion by destroying the social solidarity bonds in society.

In conclusion, the answer to the question “What is even worse in Turkey by means of the social assistance in comparison with its counterparts in the Southern European model in the neoliberal context?” can be based on the historical and institutional characteristics of Turkey’s social policy mechanism in terms of the Bismarcian corporatist social policy model, the discretion and political patronage involved in the social assistance processes of the municipalities in Turkey, the informality of these assistance mechanism, and the social distrust resulting from such a mechanism.

⁸⁶ Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), pp. 83-106.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE MECHANISM IN ANKARA: EXAMPLES OF PATRONAGE, DISCRETION AND SOCIAL DISTRUST

It is time to turn back to our main question in this chapter: “Turkey: Does it fit or not?” It becomes clear after these categorizations and schemes that Turkey’s position in terms of social policy overlaps with the arguments about Southern European social policy structures in some senses. However, within the neoliberal context and the rising role of Islamist municipality administrations in Turkey, even this position of Turkey has changed in the last fifteen years to a more charity-based social policy conceptualization. In order to demonstrate this transformation by means of discretion, patronage and possible distrust in society, I should state my main assumptions before going in to the research field.

The first assumption has been related with the discretionary structure of this social assistance mechanism. To begin with, what is discretion in that context?⁸⁷ Discretion means the absence of certain legal criteria and a transparent budget in social assistance system in a pure sense. Through this kind of conceptualization, I have tried to obtain the data of this contingent discretionary structure in my field research. By acknowledging that discretion can be found through the criteria and the budget of these assistance services, I have formulated my interviews’ questionnaire. Following Gough’s arguments about the discretionary structure of the Southern European social policy model due to the deficiency of the income safety net and a universal general assistance mechanism, I have chosen to concentrate on these data. This became crucial to interpret the discretionary structure after a while. Not only the criteria that I have obtained through the interviews of the municipality officials but also the current perceptions of the citizens about these social assistance processes provided significant data.

⁸⁷ For detailed information on discretion see also Burcu Yakut-Çakar and Volkan Yılmaz, paper presented at CRSP Annual International Conference “Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?”, 22-23 January 2009, Loughborough, United Kingdom.

To summarize, the contingent discretionary structure of the social assistance mechanism of GMA is crucial to understand the possible transformation of Turkey's political position in terms of the social policy conceptualizations. Actually, as the main provider of in-kind social assistance services, the discourse, methodology and strategy of GMA are crucial alongside its potential to show the discretionary services. In that context, to look at not only the discourses of the administrators or experts of the municipality but also the perceptions of poor citizens about the implementation methods of assistance services are critical.

The second assumption has been about patronage. What is patronage?⁸⁸ In order to answer this question, one should acknowledge the term clientelism. These terms are generally used to express the same meaning, especially in the democracy and social policy literature.⁸⁹

Both terms emphasize the personal initiative of an officer while distributing public goods. Whether it includes political aims or a discretionary allocation of public goods, patronage refers to an unfair distribution of these goods due to some sort of political or kinship mechanism. As it incorporates discretion from this point of view, the patronage issue has been the second indicator that I have tried to collect data about through the social policy implementations of GMA. This intention has been critical in two ways.

⁸⁸ In addition to its academic connotations, the encyclopedic meaning of patronage also gives clues about the elements of patronage; "the power to make appointments to government jobs especially for political advantage", this definition is taken from student Britannica Available [online] <http://student.britannica.com/dictionary?va=patronage&query=patronage>. Accessed 24 April 2009.

⁸⁹ Luis Roniger, "The Comparative study of Clientelism and the Changing nature of Civil Society in the Contemporary World", In *Democracy, Clientelism and Civil Society*, ed. Luis Roniger and Ayşe Güneş Ayata, (USA: Lynne Rinner Publishers Inc., 1994), [Available online] http://www.google.com/books?id=kUNcDo827a8C&printsec=frontcover&hl=tr&source=gbs_v2_summary_r&cad=0. Accessed 8 July 2009.

According to Roniger's arguments, clientelism is related to two things basically; political participation, and civil society. He distinguishes the role of clientelism in preindustrial and modern societies. He argues that although the logic of civil society in modern democracies works against clientelism, it does have a role in terms of participation in modern societies. Through this argumentation he gives the history of patron-client relationships in Turkey by referring to the era of the Democratic Party and Justice Party. He claims that the "patronage was the common instrument of voter mobilization" (Roniger, 1994). In this manner, patronage is totally related with party politics in Turkey. According to Roniger's arguments about these two periods of Turkey's political history, "the party became an important means of access to state resources." (Roniger, 1994) This kind of an analysis is linked with the patronage relationships that I am looking for through the social assistance mechanisms of municipalities. The historical heritage on this patron/party- client/voter relationship constructs the basis of my main assumption on the mechanism of social assistance in the first place.

On the one hand, the data on patronage can indicate Turkey's position among the other Southern European social policy models as in the definition of Ferrera as follows; "The planning and delivery of certain public welfare services is characterized by particularism, clientelism and even corruption."⁹⁰ Clientelism as a social order which depends on relations of patronage has been one of the major characteristics of Southern European social policy models. In that sense, the data about this structure is helpful to interpret not only the existence of patronage but also the level of patronage in this social assistance services.

On the other hand, the data on patronage can be important in order to analyze the transformation of Turkey's position through social policy. As I said above, the level of patronage and the possible social acknowledgements about patronage through this process are crucial. Namely, the perceptions of the citizens as well as the data obtained through the interviews with administrators and social service experts are significant in terms of the effects of patronage. Hence, this situation can indicate the transformation of Turkey's social policy system in addition to the perceptions about discretion in the context of this question: "If there have been social policy implementations, or perception of them, which refer to discretion and patronage intensely, can somebody argue that a constitutional citizenship based social policy has been formed?" I argue that the answer is no, obviously. I have prepared my research questionnaire in order to obtain data related to this patronage issue. To summarize, the data on the patronage and its interrelated character with the discretionary characteristic of the social assistance system of GMA, are critical.

My last assumption is about the social distrust resulting from the discretionary structure of this social assistance mechanism. Actually, the relation between these two concepts constructs one of the bases of the main argument. The ongoing discretionary structure of these processes damages the social solidarity among strangers in society by

⁹⁰ Ian Gough, *Global Capital, Human Needs, and Social Policies : selected essays, 1994-99*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Maurizio Ferrera, *The Bondaries of Welfare : European Integration and the New Spatial Politics of Social Protection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

offering an arbitrary social assistance mechanism including political patronage relationships. The political, and critical, position of the village headman⁹¹ in this process, the lack of a coordination mechanism which damages the transparency of these assistance services and the “complaint mechanism” that gives way to the exclusion of some citizens from this assistance system solely due to the applications of other citizens (such as the neighbors and the family members) are the main components of this social distrust process. In combination with these three, the discretionary structure of this assistance due to the lack of certain legal-based criteria to define the poverty of citizens creates this distrust problem. Hence, the absence of the criteria for poverty, or at least the arbitrariness of this decision process constructs the core point of this social distrust argument in the interviews.

These were my main assumptions in analyzing the structure of the social assistance system of GMA. All the interviews realized with the administrators of the municipalities and the citizens will be elaborated within their context by collecting data step by step through the questions and answers. The synthesis of these chapters will construct the basis a of third question that will be scrutinized at the end;

“Is there any way of transforming this social assistance system in Turkey considering the contemporary conjuncture interpreted through such a theoretical background and the set of data?” I will try to answer this question in terms of the social citizenship, solidarity and new system of social welfare concepts after demonstrating the data of research field.

⁹¹ The term “village headman” will be used for the lowest level of state administration hierarchy in Turkey, which means *muhtar* in Turkish. These administrators are selected for five years in the villages and the neighborhoods of the big cities. They have a lot of duties including; giving certificate of proof to the poor for the applications for Green Card and in-kind social assistances of municipalities, having median role between the citizens of the neighborhood and the mayor of the province, some duties about the arrangement of the election pools, etc. For more information about the duties of village headman see also; [Available online] http://www.ebilge.com/29242/Muhtarin_gorevleri_nelerdir.html. Accessed 23 January 2009.

Interviews

After providing the fundamental basis of the discussion; it is appropriate to engage in the discussion of the points raised above. In this chapter, I intend to come up with answers to the question of “How are these philanthropic acts applied?”. This chapter covers three main axes of the answers; these are discourse, method and strategy. These three components of the social assistance mechanism in Ankara will be elaborated through the interviews realized with the administrators of the Greater Municipality of Ankara and the people that drew benefits from these aids of the municipality through various kinds of processes.

Prior to the assessment of these three components via the interviews; it is worthwhile to restate my assumptions before realizing the interviews in the research field. Firstly, it is possible to say that patronage results from the social assistance implementations of the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA). During the literature review on my thesis subject, I observed that some sorts of patronage relations were going hand in hand with social policy implementations in Turkey. Secondly, the discretionary characteristic of the social assistance mechanism in the municipalities in Turkey can be seen by investigating the process, strategy and the rhetoric of the social policy administrators of GMA.

In addition, in order to interpret both discretion and patronage, there are three important cases to discuss during the interviews. The first one is the coordination mechanism among the municipalities, government and NGOs which is crucial in terms of determining the criteria and the methodology for social assistance processes. In this context, the coordination among these institutions will be examined in order to elaborate the discretion, patronage and the transparency in these social assistance processes. The other one is the role of the village headman in social assistance processes. The political and social position of these village headmen includes their duty of preparing the certificate of poverty for the poor as the first step of the application process for the social assistance of the municipality. Their position

should be examined in terms of the patronage and discretion through the social assistance processes of the municipalities. Third, the “complaint mechanism” that excludes some citizens from this assistance system through the applications of the others will be scrutinized by means of the social solidarity and social distrust concepts.

Lastly, I should also mention one “secondary assumption” related with these two in order to complete the broader picture of these assumptions: it is about the political conjuncture of Turkey in February-March 2009. Within this conjuncture, I have acknowledged that these features of the social assistance mechanism can be “hidden” in some ways. The reason of this assumption is obvious; bearing in mind the relation between voting behavior and the social assistance in Turkey, one can easily deduce that there is a serious potential for these assistance mechanisms to become more “overall”, especially in the context of local elections. Given that, this situation has the potential to prevent the contingency of collecting data on the assumptions that I have put on the table through the two main assumptions in terms of political patronage and discretion. Hence, this kind of analysis gives way to understanding the effects of political patronage through these assistance processes in terms of social distrust, not only distrust among citizens but also the distrust of the citizens for the election processes in Turkey.

In such a setting; I will continue with the interviews that I have made with the administrators of the municipalities in Ankara and their evaluation in terms of discourse, strategy and method in each step of these “data-exploring” processes.

Administrators at the GMA and the Municipality of Altındağ: Arbitrariness of social assistance, ambiguity of discourse and absence of accountability: Are these obscure or clear enough? :

The first interview that I have conducted in my research was with the head of social services in the Greater Municipality of Ankara (GMA), Ömer Öksüz on 20 January 2009. Due to an unlucky situation (the recorder brokedown in the middle of the interview) this part includes the notes that I took during the conversation.

To begin with, I should touch upon the context and the reasons that lie behind this interview. Ironically, I reached Mr.Öksüz via my personal relationships. This is ironic because this situation can be seen as another patronage relationship in itself. Analyzing the effects of the political patronage in social assistance services, even I could only reach my set of data by using some sort of patronage mechanism. Hence, although it is ironic as I have just acknowledged, this situation can be seen as another indication of the level of patronage in the organizational structure of the GMA.

Continuing with the rationale of this interview, I chose him because of his leading position in terms of the social assistance implementations of the GMA. I thought that this interview would be fruitful for me in two different ways. In the first place, it was critical to understand the official criteria of the municipality and their perceptions about the methodology and strategy of social assistance mechanism. Secondly, in line with my aim to join the visits of the social service experts of the municipality to the citizens' houses, I wanted to get an authorization from him, and at the end of the interview I did. Apart from that, as a personal observation, I should note that he was very confident about what he was doing in terms of social assistance under the umbrella of the GMA. This particular interview was very useful for me, especially in interpreting the discourse and method, as I will explain in detail below.

To begin with; he was asked about the method of this social assistance mechanism. Literally, the question was “how do you give social aid?” He stated that the social assistance mechanism is based on two main components: social services and social assistance: these are, generally, in-kind assistance such as food and coal. He added that they organize the social assistance at three different levels; short-term, mid-term, long-term. In what follows, I inquired about the criteria for the distribution of aid. Briefly, I was told that they chose those who lived alone, were old and/or disabled, students, women with a disabled or sick husband. In addition, Mr. Öksüz told me that they payed attention to the household income (max. 700 TL), the number of kids, the type of residence (rental or not) and ownership of any other real estate, car or bank account.

The criteria are significant from different aspects. First of all, during the interview, Mr. Öksüz did not refer to any kind of legal code (such as constitution, labor law) or declaration of THE Ministry of Labor and Social Security. He just mentioned some reports of the Prime Ministry about the poverty threshold in terms of cash. He stated that their criterion on this issue was 700 TL according to these reports and their own interpretation of the poverty situation in Ankara. Through the arbitrariness of the criteria, I tried to elaborate the discretion issue deeply. According to this arbitrariness, the perception on the possible discretion and political patronage becomes crucial to analyze the social distrust issue in relation with these concepts.

Although I will explain elaborately in detail my narration of the visits, at this point I should note that the discretionary structure of assistance services have been recreated through these processes not only during the visits and by the social service experts but also after the investigation process and by the high level bureaucrats of the municipality and government. This kind of discretionary structure is crucial to understand the social distrust issue through these assistance processes in terms of the political patronage. Namely, the possible exclusion

of some citizens from the assistance process of the municipality which is a result of discretion has a potential to create social distrust among citizens. As I have heard from the poor, the ambiguity of the criteria for these assistance mechanisms renders the perception of political patronage possible among the citizens. Hence, this situation creates some sort of social exclusion which leads to distrust among citizens in society.

Continuing with this social exclusion issue, there is another crucial question to analyze: What are the effects of the “complaint mechanism” in these assistance processes in terms of political patronage and social exclusion? This question is related to some sort of social exclusion and patronage relationships in terms of the discretionary structure of having transparent criteria for being eligible for assistance. To begin with, there is an institution named “complaints” in this social assistance mechanism. To put it more clearly, the complaints of others can be the sole reason for erasing the name of one family from the list of the social assistance experts. These complaints are generally based on the ownership of real estate or automobiles and being a part of the informal labor force. I met lots of people complaining about the unfair structure of the social assistance mechanism of the GMA and each of them had not been able to be a part of this mechanism although they had applied for it. At the same time, they were all sure about the reason of this unfairness; patronage relationships of these people with the municipality but mostly with the ruling party of Turkey (Justice and Development Party-JDP) and religious communities -which are seen as being in the same political body with the Justice and Development Party. In addition to this perception, there is another crucial perception of the citizens which affects social solidarity and creates social distrust among citizens. Namely, in addition to the certainty on political patronage mechanisms, the citizens are complaining about the role of their neighbors and even family members in this complaint mechanism. They cannot trust anyone because of this complaint

mechanism and its arbitrariness. Hence, this kind of distrust damages social solidarity while strengthening the perceptions of political patronage.

In addition, this kind of situation even affects the trust of the citizens in the electoral process as in March 2009 in Ankara and the fairness of the assistance system. Due to these perceptions about the political patronage issue, the citizens emphasize the relation between the election process and the rising amount of these assistance services as I have inferred from the interviews with them. Hence, the discretionary structure of the criteria and the amount of this assistance affects the trust in electoral processes alongside its effects on social solidarity.

The second question that I asked Mr. Öksüz was about the necessary documents or other application rules. Before continuing with the answer, it is crucial to explain the rationale behind this question. There are two interrelated reasons: it seemed crucial to talk about the bureaucratic procedures that poor people were obliged to be a part of during this social assistance process and as far as I am concerned the answer leads us to analyze the criteria that previously stated by Öksüz. The requirements are; certificate of proof (*fakirlik ilmuhaberi*) from the village headman, a deed taken from İş-Kur (can be accepted temporarily), direct application to the municipality (not the municipality building, there is another unit called GMA Social Services Coordination Center) and not receiving any other similar type of social aids from other municipalities or the government.

Indeed, the bureaucratic scheme of this process reveals two important issues about our initial assumptions; the possible patronage relationships during the process and the level of discretion that can occur through this identification process that depends on a vague and uncertain definition of poverty. The deficiency of a certain, law-based, universal definition of poverty creates a suitable base not only for discretionary implementations during the process but also makes various kinds of patronage relations possible. At that point, the role of the

village headman, being the initial level of the bureaucratic scheme of this assistance process, becomes crucial to understand and interpret these two phenomena.

There are two main functions of the village headman in this process. First, they are the first step of the state bureaucracy in the social assistance process. In relation to that they are the first office of the state to decide poverty of a citizen or a family as a whole.

These village headmen are elected to become “representatives” of a small villages or neighborhoods in the cities of Turkey. Thus, bearing in mind the traditional bonds constructed in the neighborhoods in terms of family bonds, friendship networks and local politics, the alliances realized through the election processes becomes crucial after the elections.

Reconciling this kind of political situation with the deficiency of a certain, constitution-based poverty definition of the state, it is obvious that there is a serious potential of local patronage during the poverty determination processes of village headmen. In this context, local patronage refers to some kind of patronage which is constructed through neighborhood relations, the local, political and social structure of villages or neighborhoods, and tight family and friendship relations. For these reasons, this contingency referring to the emergence of a local patronage relationship indicates two significant characteristics of Turkish social policy. This contingent situation comes out of the social character of Turkey’s neighborhood structure and the village headmen election process.

One should consider the social structure of the suburbs in Turkey’s metropolitan cities to interpret this situation. As I have experienced as a citizen who has lived his life in Ankara for twenty-two years and as the researcher of this study, the suburban neighborhoods of Ankara indicates a social complexity in terms of different religious sects and ethnicities. In Turkey, within the bondaries of urban culture, people living in the suburbs try to sustain their rural lifestyle; thus, as for me, this point is highly significant when one attempts to understand the social structure of the suburbs.

Ethnic, religious and family bonds are significant in terms of “solidarity informed by group interest or ascriptive identity”⁹², and such solidarity covers solely one of these groups with regards to their religious, ethical and domestic bonds. Thus, this situation creates a patronage relationship mechanism among the members of these communities by excluding the members of other communities. Although it does not mean that there is, or should be, a “tension” among these different religious or ethnic communities in everyday life practices, one can state that this kind of a fragmentation has its potential to create problems in terms of justice and equality.

Especially during discretionary social assistance services, this fragmentation can become the source of discrimination and exclusion. Even the contingency of such a structure becomes crucially dangerous in two ways; the contingency of deprivation from the social assistance of poor people in suburbs, and the possible conflicts among the different religious or ethnic groups in society on the base of this injustice which can be a source of a serious social exclusion by bruising “the solidarity among strangers”.⁹³

Turning back to village headmen, many have lived in such networks for years in the suburbs. Although one cannot definitely argue that the village headmen of suburban neighborhoods are part of such solidarity and exclude the “others” during their public mission, the contingency should be considered in social assistance processes. In accordance with the discretionary character of social assistance in Ankara concerning the lack of a proper, legal definition of poverty; these social, traditional political features of village headmen as state officers give way to initial patronage relationships in terms social assistance. Thus, the first significant characteristic of the social assistance mechanism of the municipalities occurs

⁹² Ayşen Candaş Bilgen, Ayşe Buğra, and Gürol Irzik, “Solidarity Among Strangers: A Problem Of Coexistence In Turkey,” *Constellations* (forthcoming), p.3.

⁹³ Ibid.

at the very beginning of the process by giving way to this kind of relationship in terms of vesting village headmen with authority as the initial link of this chain. As mentioned above, this kind of mechanism damages the social solidarity through the political patronage and discretion which creates a distrust problem in society.

According to these arguments on the position of the village headmen in social assistance processes, the second characteristic is the discretionary structure of defining poverty and the poor. Even though the legal code on the missions of municipalities and the constitution itself charge the central government and municipalities with a mission to struggle against poverty and to assist the citizens in need; the codes are over-generalized and blurred.⁹⁴ This is the first reason of the discretionary structure of the GMA in social assistance services in Ankara.

The second reason is about the supervision mechanism. Through my literature review, and my observations during the visits with the social services expert, I got the impression that there was no supervision mechanism except the “complaints” of other people about those who could reach social assistance. This kind of a structure gives way to the discretionary decisions of village headmen upon the demands of the poor for certificate of poverty.⁹⁵ Being the only officer who can prepare this certificate, and taking into account the possible discretion in the social and political processes mentioned, the village headman should be inspected regularly to maintain the reliability of the social assistance system.

Considering that this certificate is the first level of the social assistance cycle of the municipalities, the features of village headmen should not be ignored. However, in the case of Ankara, a complex system, including the supervision and the recognition of the social characteristics of the suburbs, does not exist. Although I asked about the system of detecting

⁹⁴ This situation is also related with the article of the legal code 3030 in terms of the incomes of the municipalities and their accountability in terms of their budgets.

⁹⁵ As said before, this is because of the situation that indicates this kind of a certificate as the first step of the social assistance mechanism of the municipalities.

these certificates, Mr. Öksüz just said that they-as the municipality administrators- were checking these certificates. He did not mention some sort of commission or any other supervision mechanism. Acknowledging the significance of “untold sentences” in addition to those mentioned, this response gave me a clue about the lack of a well-organized supervision mechanism over the decisions of village headmen and these certificates.

Thus, this situation creates patronage and the discretionary character of social assistance at the very beginning of the process. Considering the connotations of the positioning of village headmen as state officers, this situation may lead to a very significant social problem regarding the social character of the suburbs and the role of the social assistance mechanism in this structure; social exclusion. The social exclusion problem should be elaborated in accordance with the terms solidarity and justice. In terms of patronage, this contingent situation is related with the complexity of the suburbs and the election process of the village headmen in neighborhoods. Most probably, the elected headman is a part of the ethnic and religious group which constitutes the majority of the population in the given region. Apart from that, this kind of a process reinforces the solidarity defined on the bases of group interests which can create various types of discrimination of the minority groups. This discrimination can appear as deprivation from social assistance of any kind of religious or in our case.

In line with the last question stated above, another question that was posed to Öksüz was related to the coordination mechanism between the GMA and other municipalities, governmental organizations or NGO’s such as *Deniz Feneri* and *Kimse Yok Mu?*. Mr. Öksüz told me that they share information about citizens with local municipalities and the GMA occasionally makes use of NGO’s data. Also I was told that GMA works in coordination with the governor and *kaymakams* (sub-governor) if it is necessary for determining those who are in need of social assistance. In order to analyze the organization of coordination more

thoroughly, it is necessary to evaluate them step by step. In this sense, this coordination deficiency is significant for discussing discretion and patronage in this process in terms of the accountability and the transparency of social assistances.⁹⁶

a. the coordination with the other municipalities of Ankara

Despite the insistent questions that I asked; Mr. Öksüz did not mention some sort of coordination mechanism among the Greater Municipality of Ankara and the other local municipalities. He had just mentioned a vague coordination mechanism leaving out its institutional structure or way of organization. Thus, I had the impression that did not exist any kind of legally or autonomously constructed coordination among the other municipalities. This situation is crucially significant in two different ways; the budget of social assistance, and the fairness of this social assistance mechanism in terms of discretion and patronage.

Through a transparent coordination mechanism, we can have much more information about the budget of this social assistance system. As I have mentioned in the theory chapter, it is possible to think that there is some sort of privatization of social assistance services by the given relationships between the municipality administrators and private sector representatives. This argument is based on the problems in reaching the social assistance budgets of municipalities. It is obvious that there is a serious gap between the current social assistance expenditures of municipalities and their legal budget for such an assistance mechanism - especially during the election processes.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ This accountability issue can be elaborated through the terms democracy and institutions. For detailed information see also; Guillermo O'Donnell, "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies", In *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, ed. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, 1993, pp. 29-52; Philippe Schmitter, "The Limits of Horizontal Accountability", In *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, ed. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, 1993, pp. 59-62.

⁹⁷ For more information see also; Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder "The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation", *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), pp. 211-228.

In addition to this information problem in terms of the budget, the mayor of Ankara has made no effort to create a transparent mechanism that can be analyzed by experts.⁹⁸ Although there is serious criticism about this gap and the transparency of social assistance, the central governments' inspection mechanisms and the judicial offices do not seem "interested" in inspecting these expenditures much.⁹⁹ Indeed, such a deficiency should be examined within the political conjuncture- such as the international political and economic conjuncture or the temporary conjunctures of election processes in Turkey-, because of its relation with the central government.

I believe that there is a strong relationship between the transparency of municipality budgets in terms of social assistance expenditures and the strong coordination mechanism of all the municipalities of a metropolitan city. Considering that the municipalities of the metropolitan cities are differentiated according to political party administrations through the elections¹⁰⁰, their coordination in terms of the methods and the implementations of social assistance become significant for the transparency of the budget, because such a mechanism can create some sort of "obligatory self-control" in the administrations of municipalities while proofing their accountability in front of their political rivals.

Indeed, this lack of transparency has its own political impacts in terms of the privatization of public services by means of municipalities' social assistance services. Hence, this social assistance mechanism, especially in Ankara, seems to be the privatization of public

⁹⁸ His declaration during an assistance ceremony can be seen in the following link; [Available online], <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9970088&p=2>. Accessed 5 May 2009.

⁹⁹ Actually, this situation is resulting form the legal fact that I have mentioned in the footnote 109. There is a need for the permission of the Minister of Homeland in order to be able to judge the mayors under the roof of the Turkish Court of Accounts.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, in the Local Elections March '09 in Turkey, the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the four metropolitan municipalities of Ankara and also the Greater Municipality of Ankara, while the main opposition Party Republican People's Party (CHP) had two of them and the other opposition party Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) had just one. At that point, some sort of a commission which regulates the coordination among these municipalities in terms social assistance in Ankara would have been crucial for the transparency and the accountability of the municipalities.

duties without any legal inspection structure or process thanks to the “cooperation” among the municipality administrators and the private sector. Keeping the political-economic background of this relationship in terms of accountability in mind, we should ask to whom these municipality officers are responsible for these social policy expenditures; to the people living in towns or the legal supervision mechanism of the rule of law or to the private sector representatives financing the social assistance services of the municipalities?

It is obvious that the answer to this question is significant to understand and interpret the political economy of the social assistance mechanism of the Turkish municipalities in the neo-liberal era. This social assistance system offers a new type of political-economic structure for fighting poverty in accordance with the social policy implementations of the central government and NGOs. Within this broader framework the inefficient coordination among the municipalities could be elaborated on the basis of patronage and discretion issues in addition to the budget and transparency problems.

b. the coordination with the central governmental institutions (*kaymakams*, governors, Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate-SYDGM):

Before analyzing the coordination between the Ankara municipality and SYDGM, we should have a legal definition of the duties of SYDGM: “Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate, as being State's most important social assistance and protection agency; fulfills states social responsibility throughout the country by helping citizens who do not have social security, who is orphaned and needy and supporting employment-oriented training and projects.”¹⁰¹ Apart from “supporting employment-oriented training and projects”, the rhetoric of Mr. Öksüz has been similar to the SYDGM’s aims in terms of the objects of the social assistance mechanism. This indicates that these two institutions share the same vision in

¹⁰¹[Available online], <http://www.sydgm.gov.tr/en/>. Accessed 19 May 2009.

determining poverty and the needy. There is a similarity in the understanding of these institutions in terms of the “poverty and the poor in need of these in-kind assistances”. During the interviews, there has been no mention of any kind of coordination mechanism between the Greater Municipality of Ankara and the central governmental institutions in terms of comparing their data-bases through the number and the needs of the poor people in Ankara.

In addition to the problems concerning the coordination among the municipalities in terms of transparency and social exclusion, there is a third and more significant variable in this case: accountability. Considering that the central government is at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy, the governmental offices can be seen as “mediators” between the government and local municipalities in terms of supervision through the constitutional system. The absence of this kind of a mechanism neither reinforces well-organized and fair social assistance implementations nor facilitates the supervision of the municipality’s social policy expenditures.

Indeed, this coordination deficiency arises from the greater problems of Turkey’s social policy mechanism which is the main argumentation of thesis. The privatization of municipalities’ social policy services by referring the benevolence of the individuals creates serious problems beyond the mainstream philanthropic mentality of current social policy. In addition to the problem arising from this mentality -in terms of the maintenance of justice, solidarity and rule of law-, the absence of a supervision mechanism also blurs the accountability of the social assistance services of municipalities. This makes the understanding of resources and the recipients of social assistance system difficult. Thus, lack of information about these issues creates problems in investigating and interpreting the social policy of the municipalities.

It is significant to know that an official supervision mechanism can be constructed both within the municipality and between the government and the municipality. First, it can

create “horizontal accountability”¹⁰² among the offices of the municipality in terms of preventing contingent discretion or patronage. Although it can increase some bureaucratic paperwork and retard the arrival of assistance to the poor, it allows the supervision of social assistance processes. Considering the contingent political and historical groupings in the municipalities of Turkey as a fact of this political system, there can be a spontaneous “checks and balances” system within the municipalities’ administrative staff.

To sum up, a coordination mechanism among the central governmental offices and municipalities would be very helpful in three different ways; the organization of social policy implementations, the fairness of social policy implementations, the accountability of the municipalities to the rule of law and the central government, and the accessibility of the original data about the resources, expenditures and the methodology of the social policy implementations of municipalities.

Considering the importance of the political-economic background of the municipalities’ social assistance implementations in order to understand and interpret the greater picture of the social policy in Turkey; the data about the expenditures and the financial resources of these implementations become crucially important. Unfortunately, in the case of the Greater Municipality of Ankara, it becomes harder to reach the sources to use them in scientific research on the social assistance mechanism. The coordination and supervision relationship between the central governmental organizations and the municipalities can be helpful for scientific research for the interpretation of Turkey’s social policy mechanism and its position in the current international political-economic conjuncture which is dominated by neo-liberal capitalist economy for at least three decades.

¹⁰² Guillermo O’Donnell, “Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies”, In *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, ed. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, 1993, pp. 29-52.

c. the coordination with NGOs:

Considering their lower participation percentage in the social assistance mechanism in Turkey in comparison with the central government and the municipalities, they realize an important mission in terms of the reproduction of the traditional charity conceptualization in terms of rhetoric and strategy.¹⁰³

Turning back to Mr. Öksüz's approach to the coordination with these organizations, there has been a limited coordination mechanism among these institutions. In addition, although I used the names of *Deniz Feneri* and *Kimse Yok mu?* associations, he did not mention their names or any other specialized coordination mechanism with these specific institutions.

His emphasis was only on the type of assistance realized by these organizations, as follows; "The NGOs do not assist in terms of food. In some situations, we organize according to their data." As for the case of the coordination with the central governmental institutions and other municipalities, he did not mention the levels or the institutions of this coordination mechanism. In that sense, it was not possible to understand either the preconditions of these "situations" or the percentage of this kind of coordination in the social assistance mechanism of the Greater Municipality of Ankara.

Actually, considering that these charity organizations generally work in the suburbs of the metropolitan cities of Turkey, their role becomes very crucial to interpret the social assistance framework of Ankara as a whole in terms of rhetoric and strategy. However, as it has been the theme of another thesis, their coordination with the municipality becomes more significant than their own organizational structure. I can argue about the effects of such

¹⁰³ Indeed, one should state a difference among the various kinds of NGOs in social services in a broader framework. In that sense, I will try to concentrate on the NGO's in in-kind assistance. As mentioned above, Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok mu? Associations can be considered under this kind of social services umbrella.

coordination in terms of the privatization of the social assistance mechanism of the municipality with regards to the limited information that I could get from Mr. Öksüz.

It is possible to predict that charity organizations have a potential to construct one of the main bases of the privatization of the social assistance mechanism of the Greater Municipality of Ankara. Organized around the contributions of their donators, there is a similar structure in terms of funding the social assistance implementations -as the mayor also emphasized about their own organization which was based on providing clothes for children.¹⁰⁴ Actually, being a charity organization by definition, this structure which is based on the support of donators refers to a universal type of organization. Charity organizations such as *Deniz Feneri* rely initially on the private sector donators in order to provide social assistance. However, when these private sector donators become the financial source of the social assistance mechanism of the municipality, this points to the privatization of public duties.

This “similarity” between these two different types of organizations is crucial to interpret the privatization process. Due to the limitations of reaching reliable data about the financial resources of these donations and the structure of these donation processes, any kind of transparent coordination mechanism can be useful for understanding and interpreting the process going on in the municipalities. However, unfortunately, it was not possible to reach any kind of data with regards to such coordination or information-sharing.

The coordination among these institutions can be interpreted theoretically through the general structure of the Turkish social assistance mechanism and the predictions about the contingent coordination mechanism through the media. For instance, as an example outside the borders of Ankara, during the Feast of the sacrifice, *Deniz Feneri* association sacrificed twenty-five cattle in the slaughterhouse of the municipality of Aksaray in Istanbul and they

¹⁰⁴ [Available online], <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=9970088&p=2>. Accessed 20 May 2009.

distributed the meat from this slaughterhouse.¹⁰⁵ I argue that this kind of an organization shows us the implicit coordination among these institutions.

To conclude, the information about the coordination among the municipalities and NGOs is significant for understanding the discursive, methodological and strategic background of the social assistance mechanism of the municipalities. Although we can reach the information about the ideological background of the charity implementations of these organizations through their own data and the research on their structure, we still need data about their coordination with the municipalities in order to analyze the municipalities' implementations in terms of these issues. Apart from that, understanding the structure of this coordination can provide very significant clues about the financial sources of these donations to the municipalities as the administrators of the municipalities-even the mayors- emphasize repeatedly. Thus, this kind of information would facilitate the interpretation process of the privatization of public services through the social assistance implementations of the municipalities.

Another significant issue regarding the social assistance implementations of the GMA is the number of citizens receiving this aid. Öksüz told me that the current application for coal on household basis is one hundred forty thousand this year; but only ten thousand of the applicants benefited from this assistance. Öksüz did not give any information about the data of food assistance for this year. He just mentioned a database for coal assistance that I came across during the interviews with another office of the Greater Municipality of Ankara. However, I could not reach any list except some papers that the social services experts got during their visit to the people's houses which will be the main subject of another interview or experience. Öksüz's explanations about coal show that there is an elimination mechanism of

¹⁰⁵[Available online], <http://www.haberk.com/haber/15933/deniz-feneri-kurban-bagis-burosu-acti-haberi/> 20 May 2009.

the application of the citizens, at least in this case; but I could not get any information about how these thirty thousand families were eliminated.

By neglecting the criteria of these processes, to state the contingent utilities of such elimination system would be wrong, at least deficient. The crucial determinant should be the criteria of this elimination. Otherwise, it becomes impossible to interpret the –so-called– supervision process in terms of patronage, discretion and the fairness of this social assistance mechanism.

In order to reach an overall self-perception of the GMA; I asked Mr. Öksüz whether they thought that they could reach their goal in terms of struggling against poverty and whether there were any categorical similarities among those who could be included in this social assistance system. Directly related with the first part of my question, he told me that they consider the social services through three different levels; preventive measures, protective measures, measures to treat. The preventive measures should be realized on time. He added that they were trying to prevent any kind of social problem before it occurred by regulating these social assistance mechanisms. Öksüz underlined that these problems were security problems; for him one cannot witness any kind of robbery or pick-pocketing in the streets of Ankara because of this well-organized social assistance system of the GMA. In addition, these preventive measures have the lowest rate of economic and social cost of struggling against the problems resulting from the poverty as far as Öksüz is concerned. Protective measures are applied if there is a situation emerged out of the social problems resulting from the deficiency of the regulation of the poverty. Thus, they are referring to security measures and its social and economic cost is higher. The last one is the measures to treat. These are the measures that should be taken after the damage emerged out of the disorganization of preventive measures. Being a “cure” for the harmful effects of the damaged social structure because of the absence of preventive measures, the social and economic cost

of this method is higher than the first one as well. Öksüz emphasized that the GMA prefers to apply the first one of these measures in order to regulate the contingent problems which are the social and economic effects of poverty at the very beginning of this issue.

When answering this question, Öksüz implicitly, or explicitly, mentioned a crucial point. On the one hand, social policy implementation helps the poor citizens to “tolerate” their unequal relationship with the wealthier ones concerning social and economic conditions; but on the other hand, this social policy mechanism avoids the contingent opposition of poor people with regards to their unequal position resulting from today’s social and economic structure due to the global, neo-liberal capitalist economy. This significant point shows us the social and political projections of the philanthropic social assistance mechanism of the municipalities in the context of neoliberalism. This process aims to avoid the contingent polarization of poverty by any kind of social or political movement which can create a reason for transforming the economic and political structure settled by neoliberal capitalist economy. In addition, by referring to the traditional and religious background of the society in terms of the references to the role of donators, this kind of organization reproduces the ideological bases of charity organizations at the same time. This situation is important not only for understanding the characteristics of the current social policy structure of Turkey and the role of the municipalities in this system but also for understanding the place of this policy in the conjuncture created by the neoliberal capitalist era.

As an answer to the second part of my question, Öksüz told me that there is no discrimination at any levels of this social assistance process. “Principally, these implementations are realized without paying attention to whether our citizens are Alevi or Sunni, Kurdish or Turkish; we are organizing this system solely according to the needs of our citizens, there are no other criteria in terms of religion, race, gender or ethnicity” he added. This statement is important when it comes to solidarity among strangers and its

conceptualization by the municipal officers, at least on the discursive level. This statement creates an ideological basis for social policy implementations by referring to the citizenship rights of the citizens. Although it refers to constitutional rights, the discourse, strategy and methodology of social assistance processes refers to the charity-based, traditional way of struggling against poverty.

The second interview that I conducted was with Mehmet Kargıtay, Director of Social Services of the Municipality of Altındağ on 21 January 2009. He did not allow me to record our conversation; thus this interview is also based on my notes that I took during the interview. In addition to that, due to the upcoming election process; I had to rely on my personal connections to arrange an interview. Also, I preferred Altındağ rather than Çankaya or Keçiören which have many problems with GMA politically.¹⁰⁶ However, being a resident in Ankara, I observe that there has been more implicit political rivalry between the GMA and the municipality of Altındağ regarding the candidates for the mayor of the GMA.¹⁰⁷ With such an implicit political agenda, I thought about finding critical data about the absence or presence of a coordination mechanism between the GMA and the local municipalities. The cases of Çankaya and Keçiören would not be comprehensive due to their explicit political opposition to the GMA administration. Before continuing with the findings, it is important to state my intention in choosing the Municipality of Altındağ. There are two main reasons; the first one is to have an opportunity to compare the criteria, discourse, strategy and methodology of these

¹⁰⁶ There is an on going political tension between the current administration of GMA and the other two metropolitan municipalities of Ankara.

¹⁰⁷ Most probably, this tension was due to the political rivalry between the two mayors in the Justice and Development Party. Actually, during the determination process for JDP's candidate for the Greater Municipality of Ankara, both of the mayors (current mayors of Altındağ and GMA) were negotiated for this candidacy. Through this rivalry, there could be a tension among these two municipality administrations which became visible in terms of the social assistance implementations processes. This determination process could be followed through the media. For further information, see also; [Available online], <http://www.cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/2008/12/26/akpnin.ankara.adayi.veysel.tiryaki.mi/10973/index.html>, Accessed 17 February 2009.

two municipalities in terms of the inclusion thresholds of their social assistance systems. Second, I thought about collecting data on the issue of cooperation among the municipalities and its possible projections on the social assistance mechanism of Ankara. Indeed, by following that path, I tried to emphasize the significance of a coordination mechanism not only among the different municipalities in Ankara but also among the municipalities, state organizations as well as the NGOs. This issue seems to be critical considering the scheme of the the social policy structure of Turkey. The triangular structure composed of the municipalities, state institutions and NGOs should be elaborated under the concept of coordination in order to interpret the discretion and patronage mechanism in another manner.

Before the questions-answers part, I should mention a couple of situations that I witnessed either before the interview or during the first few minutes of the interview. First, while I was waiting for the interview in the room of the secretariat, a man came to the room and said that he wanted to talk with Mr. Kargıtay on a “special” issue that he could not mention to the clerk. After a while, he entered Mr. Kargıtay’s room and he asked the asked the municipality for some sort of rental assistance. However, Mr. Kargıtay emphasized that there was nothing like rental assistance in the social policy mechanism of the municipality of Altındağ in the first place. Then, the man mentioned some sort of promise that had been made to himn by the mayor of the municipality on this issue a few months ago. Mr. Kargıtay hesitated for a while and he said; “Then, I do not know if you have such a deal with the distinguished mayor.” And then the door closed. I recorded this information immediately. Now, looking back, I associate this situation with my assumption about the discretionary structure of the municipalities’ social policy implementations. It is possible to predict that there can be an “exceptional situation” for this citizen. Without neglecting the absence of full information, I decided to include this experience in terms of the contingency of discretion in the social assistance mechanism. Seeing this example, it is obvious that the patronage in this

process comes out with the discretionary structure. Even the contingency of this great exception, such as “rental assistance” which is totally out of the social assistance duties of municipalities, was crucial for elaborating my assumptions in this research.

Second, before starting the interview, Mr. Kargıtay was interested in the theoretical framework of my study. He insisted that I should define “social policy” before starting to the interview. Although I tried to explain the necessity for limiting the framework of my study due to the characteristics of a M.A thesis, he could not accept an investigation that did not collect all the data about the social assistance process in Turkey. After a while, I understood that his criticism of my framework was just about the term in-kind assistance. He repeatedly emphasized that in-kind assistance could not explain anything about the social service conceptualization of the Municipality of Altındağ. He stated that social assistance should be defined as some sort of social service mechanism in terms of taking care of the disabled and old people in their houses while criticizing the coal assistance of the GMA without mentioning the name explicitly. At that point, I realized that there had been a serious political struggle between the GMA and the Municipality of Altındağ about social assistance. In every sense, Mr. Kargıtay emphasized the deficiencies of coal assistance by the municipalities and he stated as such; “One who wants to do this job (coal assistance) can do it anyway, however it is not our way of regulating our social policy strategy.” Although the political background of this tension among these two municipalities could be elaborated through various kinds of political variables, it is obvious that this tension influenced their social policy strategies. This situation is closely related with the coordination. In addition to the information gained through the interview, this first emphasis of Mr. Kargıtay gives clues about the absence of any kind of coordination mechanism among these municipalities. This absence is crucial while thinking about the coordination mechanism among metropolitan municipalities and local municipalities as a case study. This shows the adversity of maintaining such a system within

the political structure of Turkey. Considering that these two municipalities are members of the same political party, the ruling Justice and Development Party, even their coordination seems to be impossible considering the political tension among the administrators of the municipalities. Although it can be seen as normal in the context of party politics, the absence of coordination within a social assistance system is significant for the difficulty of realizing social justice and equality in society. A coordination mechanism mentioned in the interview with Öksüz does not seem to be possible in a political structure determined by political polarization even within the social policy implementation process of the members of the same political party.

The first question that was posed to Kargıtay was about the application procedure. I was told that online application, phone calls, personal application to the municipality's "Altın Masa"¹⁰⁸, the application of other people and the application of headmasters of schools were accepted. In addition, Kargıtay said that their flyers were very important tools to reach the citizens who were not aware of the social services of the municipality. I asked whether there was any supervision of the applications of the citizens in order to prevent the misuse of the social assistance. As an answer, he mentioned an interesting concept which can be translated into English as; "greedies of social assistance"¹⁰⁹. He emphasized their determination as municipality officers to struggle with citizens who tried to exploit the social assistance mechanism. Kargıtay also touched upon the importance of supervising the applications under

¹⁰⁸ This term "Altın Masa" can be translated into English as "Golden Table". This institution refers to an organization which coordinates all social assistance procedures of the municipality of Altındağ. The applications of the citizens are received through this organization and the strategy and the amount of the assistances is decided in this organization in the first place. Then, according to the reports of "Altın Masa" and the reports of the social services experts, the municipality administration decides who is in need of the assistance of the municipality of Altındağ. (All of this information was collected from the declarations of Mr. Kargıtay during the interview.)

¹⁰⁹ Mr. Kargıtay used the Turkish translation of this term, *yardım arsızları*, repeatedly in order to express his anger about those who abuse the assistances of the municipality. He pointed that their main aim was avoid these kinds of citizens and he claimed that they organized properly in order to reach this goal.

the umbrella of a commission constituted by the administrators of the municipality and the mayor.

It is obvious that the supervision mechanism in the municipality of Altındağ is more organized than in the GMA. He emphasized the preparation process of the expert reports on the applications. He mentioned experts of their municipality who are deployed only this to investigate applications. After the preparation of these reports; the commission, which gathers periodically, has the power to make the final decision about the applications. After this approval process, the social assistance mechanism starts to be applied by other social service experts of the municipality. Thus, Kargıtay draws the institutional framework of their social assistance mechanism in terms of preventing the applications of “greedies of social assistance” and reaching the reliable data about the social structure of their region.

In addition, Mr. Kargıtay repeatedly emphasized the reason for such an organization. First, he underlined that such a procedure prevented any kind of patronage or discrimination in their social assistance processes. Although he did not mention any legal or institutional bases except the decisions of social services experts about the poor, he was certain that their system prevented misuse. In this context, he continuously emphasized the only criterion for assistance; being citizen and being in need of the assistance of the municipality. Those, whose conditions were appropriate for assistance, would obtain this right.

The last question that I asked Kargıtay was about the existence of any coordination mechanism between the municipality of Altındağ and other municipalities, *kaymakam* or NGOs. He said that they were totally working in coordination with their “distinguished” *kaymakam*; he (*kaymakam*) had always been helpful to their administration by finding the poor people in their region. Kargıtay put special importance on their strong relationship with the *kaymakam* of Altındağ; but he did not mention any coordination mechanism with the GMA or any NGOs. As I stated above, the problems or an implicit political rivalry with GMA

was obvious and there is nothing to consult with the GMA even in terms of social assistance policy. However, what seems more interesting, and tough to analyze at the same time, is the absence of the coordination with NGOs. This kind of a coordination mechanism which is based solely on the coordination with governmental bodies could be seen as deficient and political. I argue that the close coordination with the governmental institutions can be the result of the close political relationships of the administrators- and of course the mayor, of the municipality of Altındağ with the members of the ruling government. Considering the wide scope of this reasoning; it is enough to point out the contingent effects of political alliances in terms of changing, transforming and affecting municipalities' social policy implementations.

Last but not least, I should mention two problematic points. Mr. Kargıtay did not mention any criteria except the expert reports for determining poverty such as household income or unemployment as Mr.Öksüz did. It is possible to explain this situation by his social policy mentality; to put it differently he does not see in-kind assistances as their responsibility. This absence of criteria can cause problems of discretion. In line with this point; he did not define any poverty conceptualization based on these criteria except helping the disabled and old citizens in their houses. These two cooperative variables put the contingency of discretion and organizational problems of the social assistance processes of the municipality of Altındağ on the table. This interview with the Director of Social Services of the Municipality of Altındağ, Mehmet Kargıtay, has been helpful for learning about an alternative social assistance mechanism in comparison with the GMA, which is my case study. This interview is significant for showing the absence of a universal social policy conceptualization based on ideology, mentality, strategy and rule of law even in the different municipalities of the capital city of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, it is important to analyze the lack of coordination mechanism among the administrative staff of these two

different municipalities that are cooperating for a better social assistance mechanism within the borders of Ankara.

Reaching the Poor: A Story of Distrust and Discretion

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, I have also made field trips to shed light on the assumptions that I have in mind. I arranged these visits during our interview with Mr. Öksüz and I realized them with the Social Services Coordination Directorate of the GMA. I was also lucky enough to interview the director of this body, İbrahim Meydan. In this subsection, I will first touch upon the visits and then I will continue with the interview. This interview was conducted on 28 January 2009.

The place that I visited is situated in Keçiören which is far away from the centre. My aim was joining the visits of the social service experts rather than talking with Mr. Meydan. However, from the beginning of this process I have always been in contact with Mr. Meydan directly or indirectly. In this situation, I had a conversation with him and eventually had a chance to join the visits of the social service experts in Sincan, Akşemsettin.

Before I went to his room, I waited for Meydan for half an hour. While I was waiting for him, there was another man who was also waiting for Mr. Meydan to voice his problems of being excluded from the social assistance system of the municipality. He also waited for more than half an hour and then he quit waiting and left. He was upset because of two things. First, he mentioned the cost of his transportation to this building and he complained about another transportation cost if he could not speak to Mr. Meydan. Second, he was complained about being excluded from the coal assistance of the municipality and wanted to know the reasons for this exclusion. With these complaints, he left the room after a while. Ten or fifteen minutes later, the clerk invited me to Mr. Meydan's room and I realized that he had been in

his room since for the forty-five minutes that I had been waiting. That man could not talk with Mr. Meydan about his problems with the social assistance mechanism of the municipality.

Before continuing with the conversation in the room, I should mention another case which is also important concerning the “complaint mechanism” of this social assistance system mentioned above in the first interview. While I was waiting for the arrival of Mr. Meydan, a woman came to the office and expressed her wish to write a petition complaining about a person exploiting the social assistance mechanism of the municipality. The clerk gave her a paper for petition and she wrote. Then the clerk said that her petition would be analyzed by the administrators of the social assistance process.

At that point, the other clerk came and invited me to the office of Mr. Meydan. There, I stated the reasons for visiting their institution. He said that he got the information from the clerk and tried to reach Mr. Öksüz to learn whether he had sent me to participate in the home visits or not. However, he said that he could not reach Mr. Öksüz and hesitated about sending me with his personnel. After some conversation about citizenry, he said that he could not allow me to participate in these visits without the written permission of Mr. Öksüz and he started to explain the inappropriate characteristic of this kind of a situation. Although I insisted a few times, saying Mr. Öksüz promised, he did not change his attitude. I immediately called Mr. Öksüz’s office but I could not reach him. The clerk told me that he would call me back when he was available.

I waited for a day for the call from Mr. Öksüz and then I called the office again and talked to the clerk. When she repeated that Mr. Öksüz was unavailable, I explained the problem that I had encountered in the office of Mr. Meydan. Consequently, she said that Mr. Meydan was in the building of the GMA for a visit and she could transfer my call to Mr. Meydan. I accepted this offer immediately and talked to Mr. Meydan. He insisted on not letting me join the home visits of his staff. He accused me by saying that he could not know

whether I was an agent of the mainstream media who wanted to manipulate the social assistance mechanism of the GMA. At that point, I responded by insisting on the scientific character of my study and I said that my duty was to investigate not only the efficiency but also the inefficiency of this process. So, I finished my speech by saying that there would not be any problems for him if we were confident about the implementations of his study. After that he hesitated a few minutes and he told me to come the other day and he might give permission for these visits.

The day after that, I went to Keçiören on 30 January 2009, the region of Ankara where this directorate was placed, at 8 am. First, Mr. Meydan frisked my clothes and the backpack to see whether I was carrying a recorder or something like that. He wanted me not to carry my backpack during the visits and to leave it in the car. Then he called for a social service expert to take me to the car. She introduced me to another man, who was also a social service expert, and I got in the car with this man, Ali¹¹⁰. There were two women and Ali as social service experts, one driver and me in the car. We started on our “journey” to Sincan, Akşemsettin, one of the biggest suburbs of Ankara.

Before describing the second part of this story, I should talk about a significant event that I witnessed during my first visit to Mr. Meydan’s office. While I was sitting in front of his table, he called one of his clerks and said: “We distributed apples and oranges to some houses the other day but we do not have any documents about it right now. That can create a problem in the future. Please bring me the list of these houses.” A few minutes after this conversation, the clerk came to the room and said “Sir, we do not have any records about this distribution. However you can take this list indicating the addresses of the coal assistance program to use it as a list for the distribution of apples and oranges.” For sure, this incident made a shocking effect in the first place about the organizational structure of assistance. As

¹¹⁰ I am going to use fake names during these home visits.

for me this experience supports my first assumption about the discretionary structure of these social assistance services of the GMA. In addition, this experience gives some crucial clues about the privatization of social policy implementations through the social assistance structure of the GMA.¹¹¹

This absence of a list of the people in need of assistance does not encourage one to believe the claims of Mr. Öksüz about their criteria for the needs of poor people. One could argue that there is no poverty defining mechanism or criteria about assistance. However, this indicates a strong political mentality considering the local elections of Ankara in March, 2009, and the competition between three powerful candidates for the office of mayor. The discretionary structure of these assistance services has a great potential to be transformed into some sort of policy instrument funding by the “unknown or unregistered donors” of the municipalities during the election processes in Turkey. In addition to its important role of proving the assumptions based on discretion; this experience is helpful to assess my assumption about the distrust of the citizens in the electoral process. In line with the serious criticism about the usage of this social assistance as an instrument of political propaganda during elections, this situation damages the trust of the citizens in the legal election processes in Turkey which become the scene of the political patronage and discretionary social assistance.

Turning back to our “journey” after this analysis, we visited ten houses with Ali, the social service expert. He had graduated from the Social Services Department of Hacettepe University, and complained about being one of the two licensed social service experts within this supervision mechanism of the municipality specializing in the applications of citizens.

¹¹¹ Actually, the reason for this claim is obvious. This kind of a discretionary in-kind assistance could not offer a proper financial analysis certainly. The fund of this apple-orange assistance is not clear. Considering the political conjuncture of the local elections, it is not difficult to infer the clues of a relationship among private sector donors and the municipality officers. This relation could be settled to fund the in-kind social assistance of the municipality and to satisfy the moral needs of the private entrepreneurs through these philanthropic acts.

Although he complained about this situation, he admitted that their job did not require any sort of academic specialty. I obtained some significant information during our visits and during the conversations I had with him in between visits about the discourse, methodology and strategy of the social assistance system of the GMA.

First, discursively he was using Islamic terminology over and over differentiating from the casual Islamic allegations settled on Turkish language for centuries. Even during the process of saying farewell to each other, he referred to the greatness of Allah and Allah's virtue as helping faithful people. Although this rhetoric does not refer to the essence of social assistance, it indicates the eclectic structure of the philanthropic aid of the municipality within the traditional-religious conceptualization of charity. Either consciously or unconsciously, Ali, as an agent of this social assistance system, was recreating the connection between traditional charity concepts and today's municipal social policy implementations.

Second, considering that these visits were made to supervise the coal assistance application forms, the most significant criteria for being poor was possessing a natural gas meter or not, in addition to the detection of the rightness of the information given by the applicant in the first place. First, Ali asked about the rental cost of the houses, the number of children, and monetary income per month. After affirming this information in comparison with the documents that he was carrying for each of these houses, he looked for the natural gas meter. According to his explanations, this criterion was inevitable after some broadcasting of the media that criticized the coal assistance of the GMA to houses using natural gas. Although that criterion had become almost the only criterion for obtaining coal assistance, he complained about not being able to provide coal to those who had natural gas meters but not enough money to afford the natural gas bills or credit cards. After these visits, he signed the top of these documents either as "positive" or as "negative". This decision of him was the last step of the supervision process. Those who had been approved by him would have their tons

of coal in a month. I gained very crucial information about this process on the way back to the car. The driver of the car was always hinting at the un-organized, discretionary structure of social assistance and corruption; Ali was silent all day. However, on the way back, while he was showing me the documents again, he confessed that these decisions were not the final decision. He mentioned that “some possible phone calls coming from the higher bureaucratic offices” could change his decision in a positive or negative way. So, the final decision of a social service expert was not sufficient for the realization of this assistance and vice versa.

This situation can be seen as proof for the dominating patronage relationships in the social assistance mechanism of the GMA. Bearing in mind that the documents that I saw were the last step of this process; there is no other significant criteria in this process, the only, otr the dominating, criterion is patronage. In addition, I questioned the structure of this social assistance system during our talks in between two visits. Ali sincerely emphasized the political character of social assistance mechanism of GMA. He claimed that “all unorganized social aid could have been done by any other municipality before. However, they did not prefer to use such a system which has serious problems in terms of funding and organization. It is obvious that the established structure of these social aids serves for a political agenda especially in the context of the local elections.”¹¹² Although he did not want to oppose all the social policy implementations of the GMA, like the driver, it was clear that he was very uncomfortable about the organization structure of this process and the discretion and patronage involved.

I did not collect the data of people that I met during these visits. However, it makes sense considering the time and the method of these visits. I did not have the chance to talk with these people one by one and the time that we spent with them was very limited, approximately five-ten minutes. Despite these limitations, I realized that there were lots of

¹¹² This is a summary of what Ali said during our conversations with him in the car and in the street.

complaints about being excluded from social assistance system. This attitude was widespread; people were accusing others that were provided this assistance due to the patronage. Almost everyone mentioned their grievances and the unfair acquisitions of others. As I mentioned above, this situation is crucial for the justice and solidarity conceptualization of social aid within society regarding social exclusion and distrust problems. Indeed, these problems and issues should be elaborated by acknowledging the role of patronage and the discretionary structure of these social policy processes. I assume that these are the main variables that should be investigated in order to discuss the justice and solidarity issues. As this discretionary structure of the social assistance system creates a perception of social exclusion in society at each level of this organization.

Talking to the Poor: Does the social assistance system work?

I found a way to reach this neighborhood, that I realized interviews in, thanks to an acquaintance of mine. These interviews were conducted on 4 February 2009. The first house that I visited was his family's house. This neighborhood was filled with slums. The infrastructure of the houses was very inadequate compared to the conditions of metropolitan cities. In addition, there were two other crucial situations in this area. According to what my acquaintance told me, this neighborhood was a place where Alevi and Sunni citizens lived together. Although the socio-economic conditions were relatively similar, there were lots of people who could not reach the social assistance of the GMA as well as lucky ones who could. This situation may indicate the economic distinctions within the neighborhood.

In this environment, I started talking with the locals. The first person that I talked to was Ahmet¹¹³ and he has been a helping hand for arranging other interviews. It is worth noting that Ahmet was an Alevi. When Ahmet was asked whether he was included in the

¹¹³ Another fake name.

social assistance system of the GMA, he told me that he was retired but still suffering because of economic problems and also he was not the owner of the house that he was living in. In such circumstances, I learned that he had applied for coal but he could not obtain assistance. I also wondered about the documents needed for application and Ahmet stated that he got a proof of poverty which was enough to apply to the municipality. When I inquired about the reasons why he was still waiting for assistance, he told me that the village headman and the municipality officers were assuring him that he would get it and the delay was due to his late application. Ahmet complained that there were people getting this assistance regularly even though they owned a taxi or bus. Related with that, I wondered why he did not give a petition of complaint about these people to the municipality if this was the case but he was so sure that they would continue to get this assistance because they had friends in the municipality. Ahmet had been waiting for two months but I learned that there were lots of people waiting longer than him. Apart from that, I also questioned him about the “origin” of the assistance; to put it differently, I asked whether all of the assistance was provided by the GMA or any other institution. Ahmet told me that it was the GMA only and in a criticizing manner he said that Melih Gökçek¹¹⁴ was distributing the money of the citizens not his own money. Turning back to the “friends in the municipality” issue, I asked Ahmet if he thought it was important to know ‘someone’ from the municipality to get assistance as soon as possible; Ahmet was certain of that and he told me that there was a man who had applied for assistance around the same dates with him and thanks to his acquaintance, he got the aid. Lastly, I wondered whether anyone visited their house during the application process and I was told that experts visited them but there were no results. This certain perception of Ahmet about political patronage can be seen as the basis of the social distrust that I mention repeatedly.

¹¹⁴ The mayor of Ankara.

Continuing the interview with Ahmet, the owner of the house (the house of my acquaintance that I met Ahmet in it) interrupted the conversation and we started to talk with him. He said that he had applied for coal last two years and got the aid with the initiative of the village headman. He emphasized the role of the village headman in this process. Before continuing with our interview, I should mention that he talked about their application process for the last four years. He believed that the reason he received aid for the last two years was closely related with the election process. During our conversation, he mentioned the driver of the mayor that he met while he was working in the construction of the house of the mayor. He said that even the driver was in a key position to help people get aid. He said that anyone could get aid if he/she had good relationships with the driver with no need to fulfill other criteria. These are the indicators of the role of patronage in the social assistance processes of the GMA which renders social distrust possible among the citizens.

Turning back to our conversation with Ahmet, before we began talking to Ahmet, his wife mentioned that there was no discrimination based on the Alevi-Sunni differentiation in their neighborhood, especially this year. However, he did not agree with his wife on this issue. After a while, returning from the visits, I asked him a question as follows; "You disagreed with your wife when she said something about the Alevi-Sunni issue and you argued that there has been discrimination. But we talked to an Alevi woman who was being provided with assistance properly. What do you think about that?" He responded as such; "You should have seen the way she veiled while going to apply for these aids. It was not her regular outfit." This was a surprising answer for me; and I admit that this was the perception of this man while mentioning the patronage. In addition, he was pointing at the influence of an Islamic agenda in terms on the allocation of public goods by the municipalities.

In a nutshell, this interview can be elaborated in three different sub-titles. Firstly we can discuss this via discretion through the village headman. As the owner of the house

emphasized, the initiative of the village headman was crucial in this process. His personal relationship with a family and neighborhood has the potential to become a criterion for the giving of a certificate of proof. This role of the village headman and the perception of the citizens about the relation between knowing the village headman well and getting assistance are significant. In this way, the village headman becomes the most important link of the social assistance chain of the municipality without any legal responsibility. Considering this fact, patronage and the discretionary structure of this system are revealed in a clear manner. Thus, this social assistance system reproduces the perceptions of the citizens in terms of the discretionary and exclusive structure of social policy implementations rather than reproducing expected outcomes such as maintaining justice and solidarity within society.

Secondly, we can approach this issue from the aspect of patronage. Within the interview, patronage appears in the statement about the driver, and the statements on the outfit of the women while applying to the aid of the municipality. It is obvious that this patronage relationship appears at each level of this social assistance system. As far as I observed, patronage has been one of the major characteristics of the social assistance mechanism of the GMA. This cycle was constructed on a broader scale to include bureaucrats, village headmen, administrators and even drivers. The philanthropic social assistance of GMA was therefore realized through a patronage system.

Lastly, we should touch upon the discrimination issue from the point of view of religious sects and its appearance in the outfit of a woman during the application for aid in terms of the social distrust issue. Although very few people mentioned discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or religious sects, it is possible to argue that in a structure which gives so much authority to the village headmen, there could be some problems of discrimination coming out of discretion. This argument does not refer to any kind of religious or ethnic group specifically; I claim that it can be related to the compositions of the suburban neighborhoods

in each different case. In addition, considering the speech of Ahmet, there can even be a way for “hiding” religious background to reach social assistance. The perceptions of Ahmet even show that the discretionary structure of assistance and political patronage refer to the problems in terms of social solidarity and a constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy.

Even though one can consider that it is an “extraordinary” example in a sense, ignoring the contingent effects of the election process becomes impossible at that point in order to analyze this process. According to my secondary assumption mentioned below, the election process could cause the disappearance of patronage and discrimination based on ethnicity, religion and political views. There can be a wide scale of assistance just before the elections to show the powerful assistance mechanism of the municipality. This situation can also be observed in coal assistance by looking not only at the statements of the owner of the house but also Ali’s statements about the rising coal assistance in 2009. While concealing patronage relationships in some cases, the election process is a serious indicator of the discretionary structure of this system.

Continuing with our visits, after talking to Ahmet, we went to talk with a bedridden woman and her 11 year old grandson who said that she could not come to the door. He also said that they had not received assistance for eight months and he had two uncles both of whom were in their twenties. Luckily, we had the chance to talk to the daughter of the bedridden woman, Ayşe¹¹⁵. She was living with her daughter and her husband in another scatter house next to her mother’s house. First, she corrected the information that her nephew had given about the family. When I asked why her parents were not getting any assistance, Ayşe told me that they (meaning municipality officers) were continuously emphasizing her two brothers who were capable of working but they did not work or did not want to. Although

¹¹⁵ Another fake name.

they were in need of aid, they could not obtain it on a regular basis: only this year, they had had food assistance for the first time she added. I asked whether she could receive aid from the GMA and she told me that since her husband was working for minimum wage, they did not own the house they lived in and she was not working; they could get food and coal regularly without a problem. But I needed more clarification, thus I inquired about the reason for the difference with her parents; however Ayşe repeated her answer and told me the responses of the social assistance experts who emphasized her brothers as a possible labor force during their visits.

This interview was significant in two ways. First, considering that these families come from the same religious sect and ethnic background, there should be no differentiation out of these reasons. The assistance of the GMA is not based on such sociological facts, at least during the election process. I acknowledge that this creates a contradictory situation with Ahmet's speeches about this kind of differentiation. Second, the position of two unemployed brothers is significant from the gender aspect. This mentality about unemployed young men refers to the expected powerfulness of man in terms of providing the economic needs of his family through any kind of job if he is not disabled physically without considering even the tough economic conditions of the global capitalist system.

The fourth person that I talked to was a woman called Emine¹¹⁶ married with two sons and living with her mother-in-law in a scatter house. Emine had been receiving this aid for seven years. When I asked how she applied for the assistance, she said that her family got the certificate of poverty from the village headman and then she took this document to Osmanlı İş Merkezi¹¹⁷. Continuing with her explanations, she stated that the clerk of the municipality came, approved their application and asked some questions such as: "How could you afford

¹¹⁶ Another fake name.

¹¹⁷ This is the building where the Social Services Coordination Directorate of the Greater Municipality of Ankara is located in Keçiören.

the bread? How do you sustain yourself?” Emine told him that her father-in-law left some bread at their door every morning; at that point he reportedly said he would write a “bread-card” for her and her family. During our conversation, I wondered if there was any supervision mechanism concerning this assistance. She replied to this question by pointing out that there was supervision every year. Emine added that there were neighbors who made a false complaint about them by saying that she and her family owned houses and cars. Due to this complaint, they stopped receiving assistance and Emine inquired for the reasons behind this and the clerk of the municipality mentioned this complaint. She immediately rejected the claims and right there the clerk looked inside the house and asked how they could afford the washing machine. Emine told me that “I responded as ‘I do not want any assistance if you are interrogating that much’”. And the clerk reportedly said that Emine was right but she still needed documents from the land register and tax administrations offices. After her husband collected these documents; they continued to receive aid, including bread. The complaint prevented them from receiving aid for a year. Emine gave an example related with this issue. “I had a neighbor in another street. She was divorced and living alone. One day the social assistance clerks did not give her coal and they said that ‘There is a complaint that you are seeing your husband although you are divorced. So you can not get this assistance.’ However, I interrupted and explained the real situation and said; ‘This is about your own conscious, brother.’ After a while he decided to give her coal.” In this example, the discretionary structure which leads to social distrust in society is obvious in terms of the methodology of defining the needs of poor people during the social assistance distribution processes of the GMA.

I also asked Emine about women changing the way they veiled while they were going through the application process; but apparently she had not witnessed any such incident. Another question I posed to Emine was about the “greedies of this social assistance” system. I

wondered whether there was any one around them that she could define as such. She told me that there were many. “Their men are always in cafes, and they are sure that they will get assistance from the GMA; but we are not just relying on the municipality’s assistance, we are trying to work and earn our own money” she said. As far as I understand she believes that these people harm the system. She continued as follows;

Instead of assistance, they should raise our wages or they can provide business opportunities. I am capable of stitching for instance; the municipality can show me a place to sell my work, as stitching in bazaars” she said. She underlined that she would accept this kind of offer rather than receiving aid because all she dreamt of was affording her own life. Why? Because I cannot trust Melih Gökçek, he is a politician, he may be elected for this time again or not, I cannot know that.

Apart from that, the quality of the aid that she had been receiving for seven years was my other question. I was told that olive is not good, cheese is much better. (Right here, her mother-in-law intervened and she used one of my favorite Turkish idioms at the end of Emine’s speech: “*Elden gelen öğün olmaz, o da vaktinde bulunmaz.*”¹¹⁸)

This interview can be analyzed from three different perspectives. First, this interview shows the connection between the complaints and the social inclusion and social solidarity issues in terms of the strategy and the methodology of these assistance services. As mentioned during the interview, the complaint of any citizen could result in the deprivation of another citizen from the social assistance services of the municipality. Then, people should prove that they are in need of assistance again and again. These proving processes can harm the honor of citizens and their trust in the state and its constitutional order. Thus, they damage the social solidarity in society by decreasing the sense of justice and equality (and increasing social distrust) in terms of the bases of the constitutional system. Additionally, this process damages the sense of solidarity: by constructing a system that ends the assistance of poor people on the

¹¹⁸ Which means that; “You cannot wait for the assistance of others to prepare your meal because it will neither be proper, sufficient, nor be on time.” This shows the psychology of the citizens who get in-kind assistances in terms of honor and social status. The discretionary structure of in-kind assistance leads to the humiliation of the citizens which has a potential to damage the justice and equality conceptualizations in society.

basis of the complaints of others, the system “encourages” the demolition of social solidarity, especially in the suburban neighborhoods. As I witnessed during the interviews, lots of people have started to look at their neighbors and even relatives as potential threats to their monthly or annual incomes. Talking about the exclusion issue, I should put special emphasis on a last comment. In spite of the serious arguments of Ahmet, I did not see any indication of discrimination on an ethnic or religious basis.

The second issue is about the quality of the food assistance. This reveals the discretion and deficiency of social assistance regarding the needs of poor people by means of scientific consultancy about the quality of food assistance at least. Third, the awareness of the last woman about alternative assistance system seemed crucial. The political role of the poor can be significant for transforming this system into a different organizational structure. Although the charity and the citizenship-based social policy approaches are positioning the poor as the subject of this issue; the contingent role of the poor can be changed and become useful in the transformation of the current system.

To sum up after all this information about the interviews and the comments; I am going to discuss my assumptions by means of several concepts such as; patronage, discretion, complaints, social distrust, the relation between the electoral processes and the social assistance mechanism, and the coordination among institutions.

As I mentioned above, my two main assumptions in this field research were about patronage and the discretionary structure of the social assistance system of the GMA. These assumptions have been approved in this process. Concerning discretion, first we should elaborate the election process. Referring to the issue about the apple-orange distribution, one can easily realize that there has been a discretionary decision mechanism in the realization of social assistance. The reason for such an “off-the-record” assistance can be understood through two main components, the general discretionary character of this system and the

political targets of the election processes. It is obvious that there is a strong relationship between political (elective) processes and the discretionary structure of the social assistance implementations of municipalities. In that context, one should acknowledge this contingency while elaborating the discretionary character of these social assistance systems of the municipalities.

Second, the issue of “complaints” should be assessed under the assumption on discretion or in accordance with social solidarity. Taking the complaints of others as the only criterion for ending the social assistance given to any citizen, shows us the discretionary and problematic structure of these social assistance processes. This situation damages not only the solidarity among strangers but also the solidarity among the members of the same social groups.¹¹⁹

Third, the deficiency of coordination in the social assistance processes is one of the most important reasons for the discretionary structure of this system. Although there are some mechanisms in terms of coordination, they have been changing according to the agents, so they are discretionary. At least on the scale of the metropolitan cities, there should be a legal coordination mechanism including the municipalities, central governmental institutions and NGOs in order to fight against this discretionary structure.

Related with “patronage”, the information that I got from the social assistance expert of the GMA (Ali), the owner of the house in Keçiören (Metin¹²⁰) and my “helping hand” during the interviews (Ahmet) has been determinant to analyze my primary assumptions. Actually, they clearly emphasized patronage by referring to some institutional personalities, such as the bureaucrats of the municipality, village headmen, the driver of the mayor or the social assistance experts of the municipality.

¹¹⁹ For further information about the relation between solidarity in suburban neighborhoods and the identity of the residents in these neighborhoods see also; Ayşe Güneş Ayata, “Gecekondularda Kimlik Sorunu , Dayanışma Örüntüleri ve Hemşehrilik”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, (51/52, 1990-1991), pp. 89-102.

¹²⁰ Another fake name.

As a secondary assumption, I mentioned the contingency of “concealment” of the patronage and the discretionary structure of this social assistance mechanism during the election process. My secondary assumption was also approved. Regarding the increase in coal assistance as Ali mentioned and the speech of Metin getting assistance for two years solely, there have been serious signs of a wider social assistance process than the other years in the election process. Thus, it becomes harder to analyze and interpret patronage while the analysis of discretion becomes easier. At that point, I should say that my secondary assumption was approved in terms of patronage and not discretion, because the discretionary nature of this mechanism continues to increase during the election process. In relation to the wider character of these services, it becomes harder to analyze patronage relationships.

As a conclusion, the data out of these interviews is crucial to interpret the structure of the social assistance system of the GMA. There are responses in these interviews to all the assumptions that I made in the first place. According to this data, and combining it with the whole theoretical debate above, in the conclusion part, the discussion will be held about the contingency of transforming this system and the shifting position of Turkey in terms of social policy.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSION AS AN ANSWER OF A CRUCIAL QUESTION:

ANYWAY OF TRANSFORMING THIS SYSTEM?

The central question of this final chapter will be as such: “Is there any way of transforming this system¹²¹?” This question will be discussed via the concepts of social citizenship and solidarity in the context of the neoliberal era as a brief summary of the whole research. In addition, combining this theoretical background with the data which came out of the field will be the second part of this conclusion in terms of questioning the reasons of this system and the ways to get out of it.

First, it is obvious that the initial, broader question of this thesis was about the relations between poverty and capitalism. Considering this relation as the basis of contemporary social policy debates, the historical background of this relationship became crucial. Being the last part of such history, the bipolar character of contemporary social policy comes to the stage in terms of interpreting the theoretical background of these social policy debates. This bipolarization emerged as such; charity versus constitutional citizenship rights-based social policy. Through this conceptualization, some concepts were revealed in order to interpret this dichotomy and its projections in Turkey such as; neoliberalism, social citizenship rights and solidarity.

Within the boundaries of the international context, what is the relevance of the structure of neoliberalism in terms of reinforcing the contemporary social policy arena? This has been the critical question. The economic, social and political structures dominated by the neoliberal agenda do not render the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy possible in its essence. Arguing about the weakening of state institutions in terms of regulating the socio-economic structure, the neoliberal agenda refers to the traditional charity bonds of societies

¹²¹ This system is what I have formulated at the very beginning of this thesis in terms of the discourse, methodology and strategy of the charity-based social assistance system in Turkey.

while providing social assistance. That position renders the religious and traditional bonds of societies as a crucially significant variable in terms of regulating poverty. By doing this, the neoliberal agenda creates problematic situations in terms of the concepts of citizenship and solidarity.

Where do citizenship and solidarity stand in this picture? It is important to answer this question to discuss the main question at the very beginning of this thesis. According to T. H. Marshall, the interrelations among social, political and civil rights constitute the citizenship concept, as mentioned in the theory chapter. Briefly, he emphasizes social citizenship rights in order to prevent the transcendence of the economic inequalities to the social and political spheres. Thus, it is obvious that he offers a constitutional social citizenship rights in the context of this triangular structure. As I mentioned above related with the theoretical debate, this conceptualization is crucial in terms of analyzing the problems of Turkey's social policy structure. However, one should add another concept to elaborate this issue in the context of equality and solidarity. This concept is double citizenship. As a structural characteristic of Turkey's constitutional system, there is a double citizenship issue in terms of the informal economy, similar with other Southern European models. Very briefly, this double citizenship issue is about the difference between the negotiation capacity of the formal and informal labor forces in Turkey. This double citizenship issue damages the equality conceptualization of the social system and has two main effects. First, it prevents the implementation of constitutional social citizenship rights. In relation, it damages the solidarity in society by means of the solidarity among strangers.

To conclude these theoretical debates, it is possible to purport that Turkey used to offer such a position in terms of the social policy implementations in such a bipolar context having common structural characteristics with the Southern European social policy model. However, in the last two decades, some sort of paradigmatic shift is seen towards one of

these, to charity, in the context of the neoliberal era, for last two decades. Actually, this shift renders the permeation of the system of social assistance possible in this kind of a political and economic conjuncture. Following this theoretical argumentation, I chose to interpret the role of the municipalities as an empiric case to elaborate this shift by acknowledging their rising role in terms of providing the in-kind social assistance for the last fifteen years. The combination of two crucial questions comes on the stage at this point; “How did this paradigmatic shift take place towards charity in the context of the Turkish social policy arena? And “Why is the social assistance mechanism of the GMA so important to explore this shift?” I think that the answers of the second question construct the basis of the answers for the first and broad one, at least at the first level of interpretation.

Being one of the most important institutions of social assistance mechanism, the social assistance policies of the municipalities become crucial for understanding Turkey’s social policy in the neoliberal era. Therefore, the main strategy of this thesis is; analyzing the discourse, methodology and strategy of the social assistance mechanism of the GMA in order to interpret the dimensions of this ongoing social assistance mechanism in Turkey’s social policy system. With its political and contextual connotations, it creates the permeation of poverty in society by using the traditional and religious based perceptions of. On the other hand, by blurring the bondaries between the private and public sectors in terms of social policy implementations, this situation overlaps with the neoliberal context. I claim that the scheme of this mechanism appears as follows; in the discourse dominated by an Islamic traditional background, the methodology includes discretion and patronage in itself, and the strategy has been based on the privatization of social assistance systems by referring to the benevolence of the private sector donators to the municipality budgets. Hence, discretion, patronage, and social distrust in relation to these two, create the permeation of poverty through the context of neoliberalism in terms of double citizenship and the deficiency of

social citizenship rights and solidarity as ‘S’, which means solidarity among strangers. Turning back to the first question, Turkey’s social assistance system is shifting to the second trajectory that I mentioned under the new system of welfare governance, or the new welfare governance¹²², in today’s international context. In addition to this conjuncture, the high level of discretion and patronage in these social assistance processes creates a situation even worse than the characteristics of this trajectory mentioned in terms of social distrust. Namely, as I emphasize continuously, this character of the social assistance mechanism damages the social solidarity and creates social distrust among citizens while defining the poverty of the citizens and distributing assistance.

The way of transforming this system may begin from this structure of the municipalities. Although it is a political agenda which has a capacity to position the poor as the “object” of this story¹²³, this way can be examined in order to transform this system. Acknowledging the adversity of this situation in a contemporary neoliberal context and its overlapping structure with philanthropic acts, social citizenship rights can offer a proper way. This would be important to realize two concepts in relation to Turkish society in relation;

¹²² For more information see also; Mary Daly, “Changing Conceptions of Family and Gender Relations in European Welfare States and the Third Way”, *Welfare State Changes: Towards a Third Way?*, eds. by Jane Lewis and Rebecca Surender (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Available [online]: http://books.google.com.tr/books?id=tmdR00hAXJIC&pg=PA135&lpg=PA135&dq=mary+daly+new+welfare+government&source=bl&ots=cYsfjBRPP&sig=oOlGwQd7LPNsk02n6YdLAoGFE&hl=tr&ei=TF2OSr7XH MvD_gaV8_zZDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8#v=onepage&q=mary%20daly%20new%20welfare%20government&f=false, Accessed 7 May 2009; Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), pp. 83-106.

¹²³ One can claim that the objective position of the poor continues through such a political agenda which refers the super structural changes in terms of social citizenship rights. However, at that point one should acknowledge Bourdieu’s statements about the deprivation of the poor not only out of the economic inequalities but also out of being deprived from social and political processes in society. In this context, although it reserves its potential to sustain the object position of the poor through social policy processes in a sense, I argue that after the social citizenship based social policy implementations start, this position of the poor will change just like the structure of this social policy regime. Because, by diminishing the effects of discretionary social assistance, it has a potential to transform the attitude of poor people in terms of defending their rights on the bases of constitutional rights. Hence, the evolution of Turkish social policy can realize the transformation of this object position of poor people in social assistance processes. For more information see also; Necmi Erdoğan (eds.), *Yoksulluk Halleri: Türkiye’de Kent Yoksulluğunun Toplumsal Görünümleri*, (İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitaplığı Yayınevi, 2002); Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Accardo, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*, (California: Stanford University Press, 1999).

equality and solidarity, because if this assistance was based on constitutional citizenship rights, the maintenance of solidarity as “S” and equality could be realized gradually according to the relation of the social citizenship rights concept of Marshall with this kind of a solidarity. In other words: “T. H. Marshall’s classic (1950) work, which theorizes citizenship in terms of a historically expansive set of rights that create an equality of status, can be seen as laying the foundation of an inclusive solidarity in a complex society even though Marshall does not talk about the relationship between citizenship and solidarity explicitly.”¹²⁴

But “What would be the policy prescription of such a theoretical argumentation?” Although the answer of this question will include the prescription inside, which is limited to the municipalities as a political agenda, it clearly will refer to the theoretical backdrop of this agenda as it is set above. Through this argumentation, there are three basic issues which should be acknowledged to follow a political agenda in terms of transforming this social assistance system.

The first issue is related with the transparency problem which is related with the social assistance processes of the municipalities in three ways; the coordination issue, discretion and patronage. In that sense, the coordination issue should be examined correlatively by referring to its close relations with the emergence of discretion and patronage.

This coordination deficiency creates a social and political basis for discretionary social assistance implementations. If we are to draw an ideal picture, there should be a database regarding the social and economic conditions of poor people at least in the greater metropolitan municipalities. This method can be taken as the first step of struggling against “new poverty”¹²⁵ that we have faced in the suburbs for the last three decades. In accordance

¹²⁴ Ayşen Candaş Bilgen, Ayşe Buğra, and Gürol Irzik, “Solidarity Among Strangers: A Problem Of Coexistence In Turkey,” *Constellations* (forthcoming).

¹²⁵ Ayşe Buğra, Çağlar Keyder , “New poverty and the changing welfare regime of Turkey”, (Ankara: UNDP, 2003).

with this kind of a database and coordination among municipalities, there can be two positive changes in social assistance processes.

The first one is about the transparency of the social assistance expenditures as mentioned above. The information-sharing processes among different municipalities of the metropolitan cities can create a “checks and balances” system in the political structure of Turkey. This kind of a system reinforces not only the justice conceptualization of the social assistance system in terms of fairness but also the accountability mechanism in the social assistance implementations of metropolitan municipalities.

Second, this mechanism and a database are significant for preventing the exploitation of the sources assigned for the usage of the social assistance mechanism. There exist serious doubts about the exploitation of social assistance sources by some groups of citizens. This perception reveals either at the office of a municipality social service director or in the house of a citizen who applied for assistance and could not reach any results.

Third, the transparency of these resources and of the criteria of being poor in that way also reinforces the confidence of the citizens not only in the social assistance system and the electoral processes but also in their relations with other citizens of the state. This situation may help to avoid the rising of this social distrust problem resulting from the social assistance of the GMA as it was clear during the interviews.

Therefore, with the help of well-organized coordination system and a common database, at least, among the municipalities, the government has the potential to prevent misuse of social assistance and the resulting doubts. Although it seems to require a difficult bureaucratic procedure in terms of the coordination of the applications and certificates of poverty, it can be handled through the current archives of the municipalities as far as I understood from various interviews, or at least it would be a first start for such a coordination system in the social

assistance mechanism. Hence, this kind of an agenda will be crucial for preventing patronage relationships in the social assistances processes. This agenda should be followed by realizing a supervision mechanism based on the legal constitutional system which guarantees the social citizenship rights of its citizens in terms of the social solidarity and equality concepts.

The second issue which should be acknowledged through this political prescription is related with secularism. Secularism as a concept which transformed the charity conceptualization through history, and it continues to be crucial in terms of the contemporary social policy regarding solidarity and the constitutional social citizenship concept in two ways. First, the references to Islam¹²⁶ in terms of charity as the duty of a believer, while realizing the governments' and municipalities' social assistances can create problems in terms of a citizenship based social policy. This reference to Islam can damage the constitutional duty of the secular state authority in terms of struggling with poverty and realizing equality and solidarity within society. In addition, this situation renders the philanthropic method of social policy applicable on behalf of the constitutional social citizenship based social policy in secular state institutions.

Second, secularism is a crucial concept concerning the contingent discrimination based on the religious beliefs of the citizens in these social assistance processes. One can say that there are problems in this manner already. Even the perceptions about discrimination can truly damage the solidarity among citizens and the legitimate basis of the constitutional system in terms of equality and justice. Secularism should be acknowledged through the social assistance processes of the municipalities in accordance with the other issues in the political agenda based on transforming the social policy system. At that point, the historical heritage of the Ottoman Empire is crucial to interpret the effects of religious and traditional rituals in

¹²⁶ The reference to Islam is obvious in a legal code which is cited in Ayşe Buğra's article; Ayşe Buğra, "Sosyal Haklar ve eşit Vatandaşlık Kavramı", paper presented in the conference: *Aydınlanma Sempozyumu*, (İstanbul, 2009), p.163. In addition, the discursive references to Islam in the social policy processes of the GMA were also obvious in the discourse that Ali used during our visits in Sincan, Akşemsettin.

terms of the *waqfs* and their role in the social assistance services.¹²⁷ As a result, considering these effects and acknowledging the data obtained through the interviews, secularism is a crucially significant concept to render social solidarity possible alongside preventing the social distrust resulting from the social assistance processes of the municipalities.

Last, but not least, I should mention the “charity brokerage”¹²⁸ issue in order to express the relations among the municipality administrators and private sector representatives by means of the privatization of public service. Although I have not obtained any data on this issue through my field research, I should state this point very briefly in order to complete the framework of this theoretical and political prescription through my literature reviews. In this context, this kind of a relationship between the municipality and the private sector affects the social policy in Turkey in two ways. First, it strengthens the charity conceptualization in terms of regulating poverty by emphasizing the virtue of wealthy people. This situation damages the social policy conceptualization which is based on the constitutional citizenship rights because it does not refer to the solidarity bonds constructed by the citizenship rights based rule of law system. From this perspective, it does not render the solidarity among strangers possible and it damages the equality conceptualization of the social system in terms of constitutional citizenship rights. Second, it has a potential to create an accountability problem related with the social assistance budget of the municipalities coming due to the close relationship between private sector representatives and the municipality administrators. This problem constitutes one of the bases of the second issue which should be added to the prescription for the municipalities in terms of the social policy agenda.

¹²⁷ As mentioned above, Amy Singer’s arguments in her book (Amy Singer, “*Osmanlı’da Hayırseverlik: Kudüs’te bir haseki sultan imareti*”, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 2002) is crucial in this sense. She explains the traditional, religious and ideological bases of this charity heritage of the Ottoman Empire alongside its organizational structure by analyzing the *waqfs*.

¹²⁸ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, “New poverty and the changing welfare regime of Turkey”, (Ankara: UNDP, 2003).

To conclude, first I should state that the preliminary questions¹²⁹ of this thesis became crucially significant during the field research. Although I have acknowledged that this M.A. thesis does not have capacity to give full answers to these three questions in the introduction part, I have reached some clues in order to analyze the dimensions and the transformation of Turkey's social policy regime and to think about the contingency of transforming this system in a different sense as I mentioned in the policy prescription.

Second, through this research, I have inferred that the structure of the social assistance mechanism of the GMA is one of the main components of the social policy mechanism of Turkey which is based on charity. Thus, in order to transform the structure of social policy in Turkey, the social assistance mechanism of municipalities of Turkey can be reorganized according the solidarity among strangers and the constitutional, social citizenship rights concepts. In other words, the data shows that if there is a way for transforming this system to a constitutional citizenship rights based social policy, this way can be constructed by regulating the social assistance mechanisms of the municipalities in terms of the solidarity and the constitutional citizenship rights based social policy concepts. This transformation process has the potential to create an evolution from "chronic poverty" (in terms of discretionary and patronage-based assistance) to "sustainable solidarity among the citizens of the constitutional system." However, one should acknowledge the difficulty of applying such a social policy transformation agenda in today's political and economic *neoliberal* conjuncture in terms of the capabilities of the political actors summarized briefly in the following sentences;

¹²⁹ These were the three questions mentioned in the introduction part; "What is the criterion of social assistance that is getting distributed through the municipalities?", "In what way is the social assistance scheme related with the questions of social inclusion and exclusion in terms of its discretionary structure?", "What is the relationship of social assistance with political clientelism (patronage) and electoral politics?".

Under these circumstances, social policy change remains limited in what is achieved by way of social inclusion through the consolidation of citizenship rights because there is not enough pressure on the state to act in that direction.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Sinem Adar and Ayşe Buğra, “Social policy change in countries without mature welfare states: The case of Turkey”, In *New Perspectives on Turkey*, ed. Ayfer Bartu Candan and Deniz Yüksek, no. 38, (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi), p. 105.

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