

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL POLICY IN TURKEY: WORKFARE PROGRAMS
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEO-LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL
GOVERNANCE SYSTEM

by

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Submitted to

the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Boğaziçi University

2007

An abstract of the Thesis of Osman Savaşkan for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken September 2007

Title: Contemporary Social Policy in Turkey: Workfare Programs in the Context of the Neo-liberal International Governance System

This thesis focuses on the workfare programs which came onto the agenda of Turkey after 1999 Marmara earthquake and 2001 economic crisis as one of the strategies to struggle against poverty in parallel to the approaches of international organizations such as the World Bank. Workfare programs, by improving the employability of the poor and facilitating their access to the credit mechanisms, make the poor actors in market. In this way, market is presented as if it is an effective mechanism for poverty alleviation programs, and this causes market conditions creating poverty to remain unquestioned. Attempts to integrate the poor into the market also redefines social policy via poverty alleviation programs in a way in which social policy puts market at the center of the lives of the poor in a manner which reinforces the neo-liberal hegemony.

In the thesis, workfare programs in Turkey are discussed over the three interrelated basic points, by taking into consideration the international neo-liberal social policy environment. First while examining workfare programs; the reflection on Turkey of the transition from welfare to workfare state is taken into account. Secondly the nature of the cooperation between social policy actors in conducting workfare programs is examined. Within the context of international neo-liberal governance system, international organizations, state and voluntary organizations come together on the basis of cooperation; but this sort of cooperation, taking the social policy area out of the politics, causes the issue to be dealt with in a technical way like just carrying out the programs. Finally it is examined to what kind of labor markets employability training courses and self-employment programs, among workfare programs, strive to integrate the poor. The basic starting point here is to challenge the ignorance of ‘working poor’ category through which poverty and unemployment are taken as the same. Consequently workfare programs function to reinforce the hegemony of market in social policy area rather than becoming an effective way for poverty alleviation by ignoring the labor market conditions.

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans Derecesi için Osman Savaşkan tarafından Eylül 2007'de teslim edilen tezin kısa özeti

Başlık: Türkiye'de Güncel Sosyal Politika: Uluslar arası Neo-liberal Yönetişim Sistemi Bağlamında "Workfare" Programları

Bu tez 1999 Marmara depremi ve 2001 ekonomik kriz sonrası Dünya bankası gibi uluslar arası örgütlerin yaklaşımına paralel olarak Türkiye'de gündeme gelen yoksullukla mücadele stratejilerinden "workfare" programları üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. "Workfare" programları, yoksulların istihdam edilebilirliklerini artırarak ve kredi mekanizmalarına ulaşmalarını kolaylaştırarak yoksulları piyasada birer aktör haline getirmektedir. Böylelikle piyasa, yoksullukla mücadele programları için etkili bir mekanizma olarak sunulmakta, bu da yoksulluğu bizzat yaratan piyasanın sorgulanmamasına neden olmaktadır. Yoksulları piyasaya bağlamaya çalışmak, aynı zamanda yoksullukla mücadele programları üzerinden sosyal politikayı yeniden tanımlamakta, sosyal politika neo-liberal hegemonyayı pekiştirecek şekilde piyasayı yoksulların hayatında merkezi bir yere taşımaktadır.

Tezde Türkiye'deki "workfare" programları, uluslar arası neo-liberal sosyal politika ortamı göz önünde tutularak birbiriyle ilişkili üç temel nokta üzerinden tartışılmaktadır. İlk olarak, "workfare" programları değerlendirilirken refah devletinden istihdam devletine geçişin Türkiye'deki yansıması göz önünde tutulacaktır. İkinci olarak "workfare" programlarının yürütülmesi sırasında sosyal politika aktörlerinin aralarındaki işbirliğinin niteliği sorgulanacaktır. Uluslar arası neo-liberal yönetim çerçevesinde, uluslar arası örgütler, devlet ve sivil toplum kuruluşları iş birliği temelinde bir araya gelmekte, bu işbirliği sosyal politika alanını politikanın dışına çıkararak konunun sadece programların yürütülmesi gibi teknik bir açıdan ele alınmasına neden olmaktadır. Son olarak da "workfare" programlarındaki istihdam edilebilirlik kursları ve küçük girişimcilik programlarının yoksulları ne tür bir emek piyasasına bağlamak istediği üzerinde durulacaktır. Buradaki temel çıkış noktası, yoksullukla işsizliğin bir tutularak, "çalışan yoksullar" kategorisinin göz ardı edilmesi olacaktır. Dolayısıyla "workfare" programları, emek piyasası koşullarını göz ardı ederek, yoksullukla mücadelede etkin bir yol olmaktan ziyade, piyasanın sosyal politika alanında hegemonyasını pekiştirecek bir işlev görmektedir.

Burcu'ya

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my thanks to my advisor Ayşe Buğra, not only for her courses which provided theoretical framework for the thesis but also for her constant encouragement and guidance. I also would like to thank Prof. Zafer Toprak and Assoc. Prof. Nadir Özbek for taking part in my jury and for their critical contributions to my thesis. My professors at Marmara University Assoc. Prof. Ahmet Demirel, Asst.Prof. Yüksel Taşkın and Asst. Prof. Erhan Doğan are outstanding figures in my academic orientation. They always directed and encouraged me during the thesis process.

I would like to thank to my family my father Yaşar Savaşkan, my mother Fatma Şavaşkan, my brother Özkan Savaşkan and my grandmother Ayşe Savaşkan for their encouragement and belief. Without their love and support, it would have been impossible to write this thesis.

I am also grateful to Tracy Deliismail for her strict comments and critiques on my thesis which enriched the thesis. Kathryn Kranzler edited the thesis. I owed her very much. I am also thankful to Necla Turunç, Kadriye Tamtekin and Leyla Kılıç who make life easier at the Institute.

I would also thank TUBİTAK for its financial support to the thesis.

There were many people who directly and indirectly contributed to my thesis. I would like to thank to my two close friends Kerem Morgül and Kerem Özkurt. They never hesitated to help me when I was badly in need. They were always with me in every moment of the thesis. I am also indebted to my friends at Atatürk Institute Burçak Gürsoy, Mehmet Ertan, Hakkı Başgüney, Alpan Birelma and Yunus Emre for their invaluable friendship and contributions to my thesis. I am also grateful to my home mates in different times Tarık and Ali Özerk for their tolerant of my “laziness” for house works.

Finally, I would like to thank to Burcu, *herşeyim* in my life. She supported me in every possible way. I am grateful to her comments, her encouragement and her editing my English. I would not have been able to write the thesis without her. This thesis can easily be evaluated as our joint work. Thank you very much.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Poverty and poverty alleviation programs have dominated social policy since the 1990s. This rising interest on poverty reflects the recent attempts of international organizations such as the World Bank and the UNDP to mitigate poverty. The policies and projects of international organizations particularly the World Bank and the UNDP aiming to monitor, evaluate and mitigate poverty have determined the scope of the agenda on poverty, which has constituted a hegemonic approach by providing short-term solutions to poverty without taking into consideration the historical and socio-economic dimensions of the issue.

Although the projects of such international organizations have offered short-term solutions to poverty, they have in the long run affected and transformed the understanding of social policy. In this context, the World Bank has become an important actor in the provision of poverty alleviation strategies. The Bank has worked to develop poverty alleviation strategies since the early 1990s. In the *1990 World Development Report*, the Bank adopted a dual approach to poverty on the basis of labor-intensive growth and social service. The *Report of 2000/2001 World Development* introduced a multi-dimensional approach to poverty alleviation programs resting on three action areas, namely opportunity, empowerment and security.¹ With this report, poverty is defined within a more comprehensive framework through the incorporation of social and political dimensions into the definition of poverty by going beyond an economic conception of it. Although in its

¹ For the main poverty strategies of the Bank during 1990s and 2000s, see World Bank, *World Development Report 1990: Poverty* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1990); and World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2001).

claim of developing a broader understanding of poverty through incorporating social and political dimensions, all these dimensions are evaluated as effective mechanisms to provide the integration of the poor into the market to transform them into the “active agents” of their own survival.

Although the conceptualization of poverty has changed from the early 1990s to the 2000s, the emphasis on the centralization of the market in the lives of the poor has remained the focus of the poverty alleviation programs of the Bank. In this sense poverty is represented as a phenomenon that has its roots outside the market and it is argued that being outside the market leads to poverty. Yet the “working poor” resulting from low-wages and absence of a social security system are omitted from the picture completely.

Offering policies to integrate the poor into the market as a way of struggling against poverty leads to a paradigm shift in social policy, from social citizenship rights based on social policies providing protection against market forces to “market citizenship” based on social policies encouraging the poor to participate in the market as self-managerial, entrepreneurial active agents of their own survival.² Reformulating the social policy within the framework of the market echoes very much current trends in the social policy area in the recent context of neo-liberalism. Therefore the poverty alleviation strategies of the Bank should be evaluated by taking account of neo-liberal economic policies and its impacts on social policy.

The 1980s witnessed the rise of neo-liberal economic policies through structural changes involving the privatization, de-regulation, liberalization of the international trade system and capital flows, the reduction of public spending, and lifting control on interest and exchange rates. These universal proposals attempted to

² Kanishka Jayusuria, “Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalism and the New Welfare Governance,” (Working Paper, no.121, Asia Research Centre, 2005).

create a global market economy for the subordination of nation states to the requirements of the pure market by suppressing of any regulation on markets. The policies that aimed to liberate the market from the influence of the public policies have been achieved and have been made possible by international organizations such as the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF through their transformative policies on the labor market, and public and social expenses.

The neo-liberal economic policies provided the liberalization of financial markets which enabled the unprecedented mobility of capital. The neo-liberal economic policies gave capital the chance to maximize their profits in the short-term by opening an area for imposing their rules regarding hiring workers and regulating wages. Workers, contrary to the capital, embodied the losers of this process. The “tyranny of flexibility” was established over employees. The workers began to be hired on a temporary-basis with no insurance rights. Atypical jobs were encouraged instead of full-time, permanent jobs. Moreover, neo-liberal policies destroyed the collective structures of workers such as labor unions and associations established for the defense of the rights of workers, which resulted in the individualization of wage relations.

In this neo-liberal context, Keynesian demand-side policies to maintain full-employment became difficult to sustain. In the face of the unrestricted mobility of capital, taxation and public expenditures were limited and flexible employment practices made it difficult to maintain labor-based social acquisitions. Gradually Keynesian demand-side policies were replaced by supply-side economic policies on the premise that employment would grow if labor were attractive to employers in terms of its costs, skill and flexibility. During the 1990s, this view became the main driving component of the economic programs of many countries.

In convenient with the transformation of the Keynesian demand-side economy to the supply-side economy, a paradigm shift occurred in social policy practices which transformed the both target group of social policy and the contents of social policy. First, the main target group of social policy became the unemployed/poor as a response to wide concern for poverty instead of workers whose labor-based entitlements had been eroded due to the unlimited flow of capital.³ Second, a transition occurred from welfare to workfare. The social policies providing protection against market on the basis of social citizenship rights were replaced by workfare programs in which social policies were framed within the market by attempting to integrate the poor into the market through tightening conditions for getting social benefits, carrying out employability training programs and encouraging self-employment.

Thus workfare programs became an alternative model for social welfare systems. In the social welfare system, social benefits were available with any conditions. However, under workfare, recipients have to meet certain requirements, such as engaging in socially beneficial activities or attending employability training programs for getting unemployed people into the paid work, and for reducing or eliminating the welfare payments provided to them. In this context, reducing the amount of benefits, imposing time-limits and tightening eligibility criteria for social benefits became important for integrating the beneficiaries into the market as far as possible.⁴

³ Metin Özüğurlu, “Sosyal Politikanın Dönüşümü ya da Sıfatın Suretten Kopuşu,” *Mülkiye* XXVII, no.239 (2003).

⁴ For literature which evaluates workfare programs as requirements in exchange for social benefits see, Anne Gray, “New Labour-New Labour Discipline,” *Capital and Class*, no. 65 (1998); Eric Shrage, ed., *Workfare: Ideology for a New Under-Class* (Toronto: Garamond, 1997); Roger Burrows and Brian Loader, eds., *Towards a Post-Fordist Welfare State?* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1994); Irene Dingeldey, “Welfare State Transformation Between “Workfare” and “Enabling” State: A Comparative Analysis” (Transtate Working Papers, no.21, University of

However, workfare programs came onto the agenda through employability training programs and self-employment initiatives in countries where social assistance was not an important part of their welfare regimes. Workfare programs were designed to alleviate poverty especially in “developing countries” by evaluating the main reason for poverty as being unemployed. Therefore workfare programs aimed to integrate the poor into the market by improving their “employability” through training programs and encouraging self-employment to create their own jobs.⁵ Here the concept of “employability” is especially important since it reflects the main transition of the public policies towards employment policies. It refers to the supply-side public employment policy that implies the investment in “employability” of the people in the course that the unemployed is seeking for a new job in the market rather than effective public intervention to provide employment to the unemployed directly.

Besides the employability training programs, self-employment programs were also encouraged for urging the poor to participate in the market in “developing countries” where the economic growth did not provide employment opportunities. Therefore self-employment programs became highly “popular” in the context of the limited opportunities of creating wage employment aimed at integrating the poor into the market as a way of struggling against poverty.

Bremen, 2005); Ivar Lodomel, “Work Integration through Obligations to Work: Current European Workfare Initiatives and Future Directions” (Paper presented at UWWCLUS workshops at Brussels, 2000); Chris Grover and John Stewart, “Market Workfare: Social Security, Social Regulation and Competiveness in the 1990s,” *Journal of Social Policy* 28, no.1 (1999).

⁵ For studies which evaluate workfare programs broadly as a way of struggling against poverty including employability training programs see Nancy E. Rose, *Workfare or Fair Work: Women, Welfare and Government Work Programs in USA* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Joel F. Handler, *Social Citizenship and Workfare in the US and Western Europe: The Paradox of Inclusion* (Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University, 2004); Frances Fox Piven, Joan Acker, Margaret Hallock and Sandra Morgen, eds., *Work, Welfare and Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform* (University Of Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 2002).

It is highly surprising that workfare programs attempted to integrate the poor into the market at a time when scholarly discussions on the “end of work” thesis prevailed. According to the “end of work thesis,” capitalism had reached a new stage thanks to the technological developments which had made “simple labor” unnecessary for the capitalist system. These theories assumed that twentieth century capitalism was based on mainly knowledge rather than “simple labor,” and created decent jobs only in the service sector requiring high-skill knowledge.⁶ Yet the main arguments of the “end of work” thesis should be critically evaluated in relation to a circumstance where poverty alleviation programs aim to integrate the poor into the market.

The transformation from welfare to workfare has motivated not only the transformation in social policy, but also changed the quality of relations among the actors of the social policy programs. During the Keynesian period, the state was the main provider of social services with professionalized and centralized welfare regimes. In the context of neo-liberalism, a new system of welfare governance emerged that modified the diverse partnership between the state, international

⁶ The “End of Work” thesis goes back to the studies of Daniell Bell. Daniell Bell predicted the expansion of service sector based on the importance of the knowledge for capitalist mode of production. See Daniell Bell, *The Coming of Post-industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). The main thesis of Daniell Bell was revived during the 1990s under different names: Jeremy Rifkin, *End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labour Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons 1995); Manuel Castells, *Enformasyon Çağı: Ekonomi, Toplum ve Kültür* vol. 1: *Ağ Toplumunun Yükselişi*, trans. Ebru Kılıç (İstanbul: Bilgi University, 2005). For a general evaluation of these theories, see also Boris Frankel, *Sanayi Sonrası Ütüpyolar*, trans. Kamil Durand (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 1991) and Krishan Kumar, *Sanayi Sonrası Toplumdan Post-Modern Topluma: Çağdaş Dünyanın Yeni Kuramları*, trans. by Mehmet Küçük (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 2004). In Turkey, there also have been attempts to discuss the transformation of capitalism by referencing the “end of work” thesis. See Ahmet Insel, *Neo-liberalizm: Hegemonyanın Yeni Dili* (İstanbul: Birikim, 2004). See also for a critical evaluation of these theories, Fuat Ercan, “Sınıftan Kaçış: Türkiye’de Kapitalizm Analizinde Sınıf Gerçekliğinden Kaçış Üzerine,” in *İktisat Üzerine Yazılar I: Küresel Düzen: Birikim, Devlet ve Sınıflar, Korkut Boratav’a Armağan*, eds. A. H. Köse, F. Şenses and Erinç Yeldan (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003). On the other hand Gösta Esping Andersen offers a different classification for the expansion of service sector. He argues that expansion of service sector does not automatically leads to expansion of service sector based on high-skill labor. See Gösta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

organizations, voluntary organizations⁷ and the private sector.⁸ Especially voluntary organizations attempted to “fill in the blanks” in the neo-liberal period where the state retreated from its main responsibilities in the social policy area. However, this did not mean the withdrawal of the state from social policy practices completely. The 1990s witnessed the “return of the state” in both supporting efficient economic development and providing protection for vulnerable groups in the population.⁹ This impact of the “return of the state” was especially important in developing countries where the role of the state in welfare provision was recently taken seriously. Yet in this neo-liberal international governance system, the state’s role was reduced to the role of facilitator, or coordinator among other actors, rather than being the sole provider of welfare services.

In the context of neo-liberal international governance system, the relations between such different actors mainly rested on cooperation rather than negotiation. In this system, international organizations set broad goals, and enforced, supervised and financed social policy programs. While the states mostly coordinated and controlled the international funds and distributed them to the voluntary organizations, the voluntary organizations implemented the social policy programs. Therefore the cooperation between the state and voluntary organizations rested on

⁷ During thesis, I will not use “Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)” since the boundary between the state and civil society has blurred in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system. Instead I will use “voluntary organizations” as a translation of *sivil toplum kuruluşları* in Turkish.

⁸ Bob Jessop, “The Changing Governance of Welfare: Recent Trends in its Primary Functions, Scale and Mode of Cooperation,” *Social Policy and Administration* 33, no.4 (1999); Ingo Bode, “Disorganized Welfare Mixes: Voluntary Agencies and New Governance Regimes in Western Europe,” *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no.4 (2006); Kanishka Jayasuriya, “Workfare for the Global Poor: Anti-Politics and the New Governance,” (Working paper no.98, Asia Research Centre, 2003); Ayşe Buğra, “AKP Döneminde sosyal Politika ve Vatandaşlık,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.108 (2007); and Yasemin İpek , “Türkiye’de Sivil Toplumunu Yeniden Düşünmek: Neo-Liberal Dönüşümler ve Gönüllülük,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.108 (2007).

⁹ In this context, the World Bank’s Report on the state’s role in both providing an efficient market and protecting vulnerables is especially important. See World Bank, *World Bank Development Report 1997: State In A Changing World* (Washington D. C.: World Bank, 1997).

the coordination of short-term projects. Such quality of the relations among these actors de-politicized the social policy area by resting on cooperation rather than negotiating to provide alternative social policies.

This thesis discusses the transformation of social policy in Turkey through poverty alleviation programs by situating Turkey in the context of the international social policy environment shaped by neo-liberal international governance system discussed above. In the context of Turkey, poverty and poverty alleviation strategies came to the agenda especially after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, although poverty had risen as an important “problem” since the 1980s. After the earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, the neo-liberal social policies related to poverty became important in Turkey with the attempts of international organizations such as the World Bank and the UNDP. Although poverty alleviation programs offer short-term solutions by restricting the issue to a matter of economic crisis without considering the structural reasons of poverty based on the capitalist accumulation process since the 1980s,¹⁰ the poverty alleviation programs have transformed the welfare regime of Turkey by adapting Turkey to the current neo-liberal social policy environment.

Turkey’s welfare regime has mostly depended on informal mechanisms of protection including centrality of family, agricultural supports, and informal settlements (*gecekondu*) that all function to keep poverty under control. Yet the transition to the market economy has made it difficult to sustain these informal mechanisms. Rural immigration has accelerated as a result of the commercialization of agriculture and the state does not provide subsidies for agricultural products due

¹⁰ For an attempt for discussing the poverty issue by focusing on capital-labor relation, see Nadir Özbek, “Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Türkiye’de Sosyal Devlet,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.92 (2002). See also “Yoksulluk ve İktisat,” *İktisat Dergisi*, no 472-476 (2006).

to neo-liberal policies supported by international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank. In urban areas, family relations have also been transformed. While the extended family has been replaced by the nuclear family, the role of kinship ties in providing protection to the new immigrants has weakened. Moreover, the informal settlements are no longer able to provide possible ground for integrating the poor into the urban society due to the commercialization of these informal settings. The recently ongoing urban transformation projects further contribute to the commercialization of the informal settlements by displacing the inhabitants without taking measures to provide their housing needs.¹¹

In spite of these developments that have resulted in the emergence of new forms of poverty since the 1980s, poverty and poverty alleviation strategies were formulated after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis through the work of international organizations in conformity with the international neo-liberal social policy environment, as will be discussed throughout this thesis.

This thesis will discuss the workfare programs carried out by the state, voluntary organizations and local governments in order to demonstrate how social policy recently has been redefined in Turkey around poverty alleviation programs in conformity with such international neo-liberal social environment. For this aim, I will focus on mainly three interconnected subjects related to workfare programs. First, I will point out the reflections of recent international workfare attempts on Turkey through workfare programs carried out by the state, voluntary organizations, and local governments. Second, I will demonstrate the diverse partnership between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector

¹¹ For the transformation of welfare regimes in Turkey, see Ayşe Buğra, "Kriz Karşısında Türkiye'nin Refah Rejimi," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.89 (2001); Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, "Turkish Welfare Regimes in Transformation," *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no.3 (2006); and Ayşe Buğra, "Poverty and Citizenship: An Overview of Social Policy Environment in Republican Turkey," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no.39 (2007).

within the context of the neo-liberal international governance system for the workfare programs carried out in Turkey. Finally, I will evaluate the labor market conditions in relation to under which conditions workfare programs are carried out.

This thesis consists of five chapters. After the introduction chapter, second chapter offers a theoretical framework for the discussion of workfare programs in Turkey, which rests on discussions including the “from welfare to workfare paradigm,” “contents of workfare programs,” the “end of work” thesis, and the “neo-liberal international governance system.” By doing this I will also attempt to demonstrate the transformation of social policy around poverty alleviation programs through workfare programs. Following the “from welfare to workfare” paradigm, I will argue that contrary to the social policy programs that provide protection against the market on the basis of social citizenship rights, workfare programs contribute to the re-definition of social policy framed within the market rather than defining social policy in opposition to the market. In this context, the transformation of “social citizenship” into “market citizenship” will be especially emphasized. I will also discuss the contents of workfare programs whose rise coincides with the rise of the “end of work” thesis. Finally, I will demonstrate the actors of the workfare programs and discuss their relations in the recent context of the neo-liberal international governance system.

Chapter Three deals with the labor market situation under the workfare conditions in Turkey. Workfare programs equate the poor with the unemployed and poverty with unemployment on the assumption that as long as the poor enter into the market, they can stand on their own feet. Yet as I hope to show throughout this thesis, work (employment) is not necessarily a “miracle solution” to poverty since there is a rising category of “working poor,” which implies that these people,

although they maintain regular employment, still remain in poverty due to the low-wages, unpleasant working conditions and the absence of a social security system.¹² Therefore labor market conditions should be considered in evaluating the impacts of workfare programs as poverty alleviation programs. In this chapter, first I will discuss the main features of labor markets in Turkey such as the labor force participation rate, the unemployment rate, the sectoral distribution of employment in comparison with those of OECD countries and members of the EU. My emphasis will be mainly on the transformation of the sectoral distribution of employment from the agricultural sector to the service sector in a context in which the industrial sector does not create enough jobs despite economic growth. This emphasis also will enable us to discuss the employment structure of Turkey in the context of the discussions on the concepts of the “end of work” theory and “post-industrial society.” Second, I will focus on the gender dimension of labor markets in order to assess whether workfare programs provide an alternative to existing labor market conditions for women since workfare programs are carried out for mainly women in poverty to integrate them into the labor markets.

The forth Chapter is the main part of the thesis. I will discuss the workfare programs carried out in Turkey by focusing on how workfare programs are carried out and the contents of the training programs. Rather than confining the discussion to workfare programs of one specific actor, I will examine the workfare programs carried out by such different actors as the state organizations, voluntary organizations and local municipalities in order to show the overall picture of workfare in the context of Turkey. It should be noted that none of the institutions that I will investigate in this thesis were established in the context of workfare.

¹² ILO, *Global Employment Trends 2007*, available (online) at: <<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/download/getb07en.pdf>>.

Workfare programs are among the activities of these institutions. Therefore I will discuss how these organizations have adapted themselves and their activity structures to the workfare system and how they carry out their workfare programs. Here I will first give a brief historical background of the organizations on which I choose to focus within the framework of this thesis, and then discuss their workfare programs. I chose the Turkish Employment Organization (*IŞ-KUR*), General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity (*Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Müdürlüğü*) and the Multi-Purpose Community Centers (*ÇATOMs*) as state organizations which engage in workfare programs, for two reasons. First, they have enlarged their responsibilities and transformed their organizational structures recently in a way compatible with workfare policies, and second, these institutions have cooperated with international organizations in implementing their projects aiming to mitigate poverty. Therefore these three state organizations not only provide workfare programs, but also have become the main actors for workfare programs in Turkey. To integrate the voluntary organizations into the picture I chose the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği-ÇYDD*) and the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (*Kadın Emegini Değerlendirme Vakfı- KEDV*), since they are among the most active voluntary organizations in workfare programs and carry out their programs in cooperation with the state and the private sector, in which respect they are also important for the discussion of neo-liberal governance.¹³ Moreover local governments have also become important actors in the conduct of workfare programs. For this element I will discuss the workfare programs of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Artistic and Vocational Training Courses (*İstanbul*

¹³ Apart from these voluntary organizations, there are many voluntary organizations that are conducting workfare programs. See *Türkiye Sivil Toplum Rehberi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2005).

Büyükşehir Belediyesi Sanat ve Meslek Edindirme Kursları-ISMEK), which are widespread in terms of the number of both the training programs it offers and the participants in its programs. I will discuss these organizations separately, but it can be easily seen how the boundaries between the realm of the state and civil society have blurred in terms of their cooperation in conducting workfare programs.

The workfare programs consist of training programs both for wage labor and for self-employment. Although they are complementary in such workfare programs, I decided to discuss the microcredit programs related to “women’s entrepreneurship” in a separate part in the forth chapter since these programs are offered as a “miracle” solution to poverty, and targeted mainly at women. In this part I will discuss specifically the microcredit programs of KEDV and Turkish Grameen Bank experience carried out by the Turkish Foundation for Waste Reduction (*Türkiye Israfı Önleme Vakfı, TİSVA*).

The “disadvantaged group” is presented as the target group of the workfare programs. They are defined as a group of people who suffer social exclusion due to limited access to economic opportunities such as finding decent jobs and obtaining credit for establishing their own jobs. These groups may range from long-term unemployed people, women in poverty, youth, the disabled, street children, former convicts to other vulnerable groups that can easily fall into poverty.¹⁴ In this thesis, I will mainly focus on workfare programs targeting mainly women in poverty. The worldwide experience of poverty shows that in response to economic crisis women become the main income- generating actors of their households, particularly since

¹⁴ Joel F. Handler, *Social Citizenship and Workfare in the United States and Western Europe* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University, 2004), 112-119.

the men lose their jobs or can not find regular employment.¹⁵ In this sense, workfare programs have had a tendency to arrange employability training programs and income-generating activities for women in order to integrate them into the market.

For analyzing the workfare programs in Turkey, I will use mainly web documents of the organizations on the Internet and the studies made on these organizations.¹⁶ I will also cover the annual activity reports of these organizations (*yıllık faaliyet raporları*) and their publications related to their workfare programs. I will provide other needed information about their programs from newspapers. I will also refer to parliamentary discussions especially related to the law on Turkish Employment Organization and Law on Unemployment Benefits in order to understand the transformation of social policies better. I also will benefit from the reports about the projects of international organizations.¹⁷

In conclusion, I will evaluate the overall thesis and attempt to bring together the consequences derived from the analysis of the workfare programs in Turkey

¹⁵ Katherine Rankin, "Governing Development: Neo-liberalism, Microcredit and Rational Economic Woman," *Economy and Society* 30 (2001).

¹⁶ I benefit especially from Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation as Social Policy: The World Bank's Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey* (MA thesis, METU, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2005); Sinem Özer, *Turkey's Experience with Microcredit: The New Governmental Strategy* (MA thesis, Bogaziçi University, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2004); Nilay Özok, *Social Development As a Governmental Strategy in the Southeastern Anatolia Project* (MA thesis, Bogaziçi University, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2004); and Yasemin İpek, *Volunteers or Governors? Rethinking Civil Society in Turkey, Beyond the Problematic of Democratization: the Case of TEGV* (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2006).

¹⁷ For the Privatization Social Support Project, see World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan in the Amount of US\$ 465.4 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Second Privatization Social Support Project* (Washington D. C.: World Bank, 2005); and World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on a Loan in the Amount of US\$ 250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, Report No:34931-TU (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2006). For the Social Risk Mitigation Project, see World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on a Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no: 22510-TU (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2001).

with special emphasis on the transformation of social policy around poverty alleviation programs.

In all in, this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of an important aspect of the contemporary social policy approach in its relationship to the labor markets in Turkey where poverty is becoming increasingly a concern for the public.

CHAPTER TWO

TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL POLICY AROUND POVERTY

ALLEVIATION PROGRAMS

Poverty and poverty alleviation programs came onto the public agenda during the 1990s. The attempts of international organizations such as the World Bank and the UNDP have played important role in this increasing concern about the poverty issue. Especially the World Bank's approach to poverty has constituted a hegemonic approach to poverty since the poverty alleviation strategies of the Bank have been restricted not only to the discursive level, but also have been carried out through the poverty mitigation projects. Although the projects supported by the Bank aim to find short-term solutions to poverty without taking into consideration the historical and sociological dimensions of the poverty issue, they in the long run affect both the approaches to poverty and the understanding of social policy. While the Bank tries to re-define social policy around poverty alleviation programs, such attempts have resulted in a paradigm shift in the definition of social policy, from the "social citizenship" rights based on social policies providing protection against market forces, to the "market citizenship," based on social policies encouraging the poor to integrate into the market.¹⁸

The World Bank's 1990 "World Development Report on Poverty" is important for shaping social policy through poverty alleviation strategies by adopting a dual approach to poverty on the basis of labor intensive economic growth and the extension of social services.

¹⁸ Kanisha Jayasuria, "Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalism and the New Welfare Governance."

The report suggests that:

Rapid and politically sustainable progress on poverty has been achieved by pursuing a strategy that has two equally important elements. The first element is to *promote the productive use of the Poor's most abundant asset-labor*. It calls for policies that harness market incentives, social and political institutions, infrastructure, and technology to that end. The second is to provide basic social services to the poor. Primary health care, family planning, nutrition and primary education are especially important.¹⁹(emphasis added)

The Bank develops a comprehensive framework in the “2000-1 World Development Report on Attacking Poverty” for both the definition of poverty and poverty alleviation programs through the incorporation of social and political dimensions in the definition of poverty going beyond an economic conception. Within this framework, the Bank recommends actions in three areas: opportunity, empowerment and security. By “promoting opportunity,” the Bank encourages economic growth and the creation of markets working for the poor. The state is supposed to direct its investment towards the formation of the necessary infrastructure and increasing the capacities of the labor power by building up their assets such as education and health.²⁰ In other words, by “promoting opportunity” it is aimed to make the market central to the lives of the poor through market and non-market mechanisms by formulating the poor as a market actor. In this way several mechanisms of “empowerment” are proposed in order to enable the poor to provide necessary capacities for entering the market as a capable market actor. The incorporation of the poor in the political process and the decision-making process are suggested as empowerment strategies. By evaluating empowerment as “removing the barriers-political, legal, and social-that work against particular groups

¹⁹ World Bank, *World Development Report 1990: Poverty* (Washington D. C.: World Bank, 1990), 3.

²⁰ World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attaching Poverty* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2001), 39.

and building assets of poor people to enable them to engage effectively in markets,” the empowerment strategy is linked directly to the logic of participating in the market.²¹ The principle of participation therefore is adopted as legitimizing the discourse for integrating the poor into the market. As the third theme, “security” strategies for decreasing the vulnerabilities of the poor to the risks are developed to help them to manage the risks they face through market mechanisms such as workfare programs and employment opportunities.²²

Therefore the current Bank agenda on poverty supposes that the poor are poor because they can not participate in the market. Although in its claim of developing a broader understanding of poverty through incorporating it into the analysis of non-market factors such as empowerment strategies, all factors are evaluated as effective mechanisms to provide the integration of the poor to transform them into “active agents” in the market. In this sense, poverty is represented as a phenomenon that has roots outside the market, and more importantly it is argued that poverty emerges because of being outside the market. In this context, the “working poor” who are in poverty due to low-wages and unpleasant working conditions although they remain in employment are ignored.

What the Bank offers integrating the poor into the market as a way of struggling against poverty closely echoes the trends in social policy towards a neo-liberal redefinition of it. After the decline of Keynesian-demand policies, a shift occurred in the understanding of social policy. The social policies providing protection against the market on the basis of social citizenship rights were replaced by workfare programs in which social policy was re-defined within the market by engaging “market citizenship” to make individuals active and responsible rather

²¹ Ibid., 39.

²² Ibid., 39-40.

than being the dependent and passive recipients of welfare services and entitlements.²³

This chapter examines the transformation of social policy around poverty alleviation programs by focusing on the transition from welfare to workfare to understand why poverty alleviation strategies that aim to integrate the poor into the market became “popular.” For this purpose, first, the fall of the Keynesian Welfare Regime and its impacts on the understanding of social policy and citizenship will be discussed. Second the discussion on the contents of workfare programs will be expanded in an environment where the “end of work” thesis has become prevalent. Finally, the new actors of the social policy programs and quantity of their relations where the state retreats from its main responsibilities in social policy area will be evaluated. I will attempt to evaluate the issue on the context of neo-liberal international governance system that rests on diverse partnership between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations, and the private sector. All in all, this chapter provides a theoretical background for discussing the workfare programs carried out in Turkey.

From Welfare to Workfare

Karl Polanyi begins his well-known book with the statement that “nineteenth century civilization has collapsed which was mainly based on the innovation of self-regulating market system that commodified the labor.”²⁴ For Polanyi, this collapse was inevitable since the self-regulating market was “annihilating the human and natural substance of the society” upon which it

²³ Kanishka Jayasuria, “Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalism and the New Welfare Governance.”

²⁴ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 3.

depended.²⁵ On the other hand, the twentieth century saw the “great transformation” that was based on the acquisition of social policy rights, which mainly included labor-based entitlements, which provided protection from the pure market forces. In the last quarter of the century, all of these labor-based entitlements began to dissolve all over the world, marking the demise of social citizenship. The dissolution of the acquisitions of the twentieth century has led to the marketization of all aspects of social life.²⁶

As Polanyi elaborates, a market economy can only exist in a market society where society is subordinated to the laws of the market.²⁷ In a market society “instead of economy being ‘embedded’ in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.”²⁸ This market society is a product of centrally organized and controlled interventionism by the state.²⁹ Therefore, there is a relation between the emergence of the modern state and the expansion of the market in which the modern state played an important role in the enlargement of the market society. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, there were attempts at creating a global market society. The main difference between the global market society and the nineteenth century market society is that the global market society includes different actors who provide the marketization of relations, from the international organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF, the neo-liberal state, to voluntary organizations that strive to ‘disembed’ the economy from society. Contrary to the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Guy Standing, “Labour Re-Commodification in the New Transformation” in *Reading Karl Polanyi for the 21st Century: Market Economy as a Political Project*, ed. by Ayşe Buğra and Kaan Ağartan (England: Palgrave, Forthcoming).

²⁷ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 71.

²⁸ Ibid., 57.

²⁹ Ibid., 141.

welfare state, the neo-liberal state turns to its commodification role as in the nineteenth century.³⁰

The erosion of social rights mostly is related to these global attempts at self-regulating the global market economy which has generated a more difficult environment in which to maintain the acquired social rights. Companies involved in globalized production have placed pressure on governments and workers to make labor costs cheaper, to accept less secure jobs and to slow wage growth. International organizations such as the OECD, the IMF, the World Bank all advocate policies of “containment” of labor-based entitlements to maintain competitiveness. The flexibilization of labor markets with short-term contracts and non-standard working conditions has become the policy prescriptions for “participating” in globalization where the states respond by adopting policies in favor of the private sector at the expense of workers.³¹

This scale and unprecedented flow of international capital reduces the effectiveness of traditional Keynesian policy instruments. The internationalization of finance capital undermines the ability of national governments to maintain full employment. In this context, to maintain the Keynesian-demand side policies has become difficult. Especially after the 1990s, states initiated supply-side economic policies by throwing the responsibility of unemployment onto the unemployed themselves. Workfare programs and welfare reductions are used to push the unemployed/poor to accept low-paying jobs. Whereas Keynesian employment

³⁰ Huricihan İslamoğlu, “Yeni Düzenlemeler ve Ekonomi Politik: IMF Kaynaklı Kurumsal Reformlar ve Tütün Yasası,” *Birikim*, no.158 (2002).

³¹ Anne Gray, *Unsocial Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 38.

programs tended to use public funds to create jobs, the focus has shifted to create jobs in the private sector by making the labor cheaper.³²

In this international context, there is a transition from welfare to workfare. Bob Jessop makes an interesting attempt at discussing the globalization pressures on the welfare state. He argues that Western capitalism since the 1940s can be evaluated as the ideal Keynesian Welfare National State (KWNS), which evolves another ideal type, the Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime (SWPR). The KWNS was associated with the Fordist period of capitalist development, in which mass industrial production under stable market conditions facilitated the steady growth of wages. In the KWNS high public spending benefited capital by maintaining high levels of demand for national production. According to him, social protections based on social citizenship rights secured high levels of mass consumption for providing a good market for national markets.³³ In Jessop's view, the KWNS has turned into the SWPR because of the economic crisis of the KWNS. In this ideal type, social policies promote the competitiveness of the national economy through the flexibility of labor through supply-side policies. Workfare programs as part of the supply-side approach re-formulate social policies by emphasizing the obligations of citizens to be self-sufficient rather than passive receivers of welfare benefits.³⁴ Although Jessop defines social policy as a component of capitalist accumulation regimes by ignoring the importance of social policies as social rights based on social citizenship, his analysis gives the main dynamics of the transition from welfare to workfare.

³² Ibid., 36.

³³ Bob Jessop, "Towards a Schumpeterian Workfare State? Preliminary Remarks on Post-Fordist Political Economy," *Studies in Political Economy*, 40 (1993).

³⁴ Ibid.

Although the pressures of globalization impact on heavily labor markets and labor market policies, there is no decline in the share of the total government spending in the realm of social policy. Buğra and Adar discuss the issue for both “mature” and “immature” welfare states. With reference to Paul Pierson, they discuss the social spending in “mature” welfare states with reference to the resistance of interest groups with reason to oppose the withdrawal of social benefits that they considered as rights.³⁵ The increase in the rate of social spending in countries without “mature welfare” states on the other hand is seen as a response to widespread concern for poverty by introducing new mechanisms of social policy that target those under the threat of social exclusion.³⁶ Thus in the context of neo-liberalism the main target of social policies has become the unemployed/poor instead of workers.³⁷

Nevertheless this type of state action targeting the poor/unemployed has come onto the agenda in the workfare period in a way different from that of the standard forms of welfare state intervention. In the workfare period, supply-side policies that invest in the “employability” of the poor/unemployed or provide low-paying jobs rather than effective state intervention to provide employment directly have been carried out to enable the poor to seek for jobs in the market. In this context social policy practices aim to integrate the poor into the market rather than providing protection against the market on the basis of social citizenship. Therefore the focus has shifted from “social citizenship” to “market citizenship.”³⁸

³⁵ Ayşe Buğra and Sinem Adar, “Social Policy Change in Countries Without Mature Welfare States: The Case of Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.38 (Spring 2008, forthcoming).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Metin Özüğurlu, “Sosyal Politikanın Dönüşümü ya da Sıfatın Suretten Kopuşu,” *Mülkiye XXVII*, no.239 (2003).

³⁸ Kanishka Jayasuria, “Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalizm and the New Welfare Governance.”

The formulation of social citizenship is based on social rights that provide the de-commodification of labor against the market. The term “de-commodification” was revived by Polanyi in the 1950s. According to Polanyi, labor is not a commodity that is used for exchange; rather it is a human activity that is produced for different reasons. Therefore the commodity description of labor is entirely fictitious.³⁹ Although the market economy is organized with the help of this fiction, the continuity of this fiction results in the destruction of society.⁴⁰ Therefore some degree of de-commodification of labor is necessary for the survival of the system.

Esping-Andersen uses the concept of de-commodification as fundamental of social rights at the center of his famous analysis on welfare regimes. According to him, de-commodification occurs when “a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market.”⁴¹ Therefore providing social assistance may not bring de-commodification unless it constitutes an alternative for market dependence.

Resting on the criteria of de-commodification, Esping-Andersen classifies welfare regimes in three types.⁴² In liberal welfare regimes dominant in Anglo-Saxon countries, social assistances are attached to work-performance and means tests which decrease the de-commodifying effect and strengthen the market.⁴³ On the other hand, the corporatist welfare regimes provide de-commodification through

³⁹ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 72.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴¹ Gsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990), 22.

⁴² Here my aim is not to construct a hierarchy between welfare regimes according to de-commodification. I am trying to show how de-commodification is used for analyse welfare regimes. Moreover, the classisfication of the Esping-Andersen is criticized for overlooking the South-Europe model based on extended households, high-rates of self-employment and informal economy. See for discussions Maurizio Ferrera, “Sosyal Avrupa’da Gney Avrupa Refah Modeli” and Ian Gough, “Gney Avrupa’da Sosyal Yardım” in *Sosyal Politika Yazıları*, trans. Burcu Yakut aęlar and Utku Barıř Balaban, eds. Ayře Buęra and aęlar Keyder (İstanbul: İletiřim, 2006).

⁴³ Gsta Esping Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, 22.

social benefits which entirely depend on contributions, thus on work and employment.⁴⁴ Therefore the de-commodification is not based on social rights, but is based on contributions made by employer and worker. Finally the social democratic welfare regimes offer the most de-commodification by providing “basic, equal benefit to all irrespective of prior earnings, contributions, or performance”⁴⁵

Esping-Andersen’s analysis is based on Marshall’s conception of citizenship and social rights. Marshall, in his famous essay, *Citizenship and Social Class*, presents the development of citizenship in three stages, namely civil, political and social. While the civil elements are composed of the rights of freedom of speech, thought, faith, property, the political elements consist of rights to participate in the political process as a member of the political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. On the other hand, the social element includes economic welfare and security rights to be a full membership of a society. The institutions related to these elements are courts of justice, parliaments, local governments, and educational system and social services in turn.⁴⁶

According to Marshall, civil rights were developed between the Revolution and the First Reform Act (1832) in parallel to the development of capitalism in England. Therefore he pays attention to the importance of civil rights for a free market economy. For example, the “right to work” is evaluated by Marshall as a main civil right in the economic sphere, which guarantees the “free labor” for the capitalist system.⁴⁷ On the other hand, political rights began to develop in the nineteenth century. The political rights were firstly enjoyed by a limited economic

⁴⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁶ T.H. Marshall, “Citizenship and Social Class” in *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), 78.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 82.

class that was broadened by the Act of 1918 in England when the male suffrage was adapted. Therefore the basis of political rights shifted from an economic basis to personal status.⁴⁸

Although the origins of social rights go back to the regulations about poverty in the nineteenth century, Marshall takes the development of social citizenship as an event of the twentieth century in terms of the rise of educational and health rights.⁴⁹ Marshall regards the attempts at social policy before the twentieth century like 1834 Poor Law and the early Factory Acts as examples of the divergence of social rights from the status of social citizenship since such attempts, for him, provide an alternative to social citizenship rather than providing the rights of citizens by integrating the poor into the market.⁵⁰

Marshall makes a contradiction between social citizenship and social class. According to him, citizenship is a status through which all members of the society have equal rights and duties. On the other hand, social class is a system of inequality which arises with the emergency of capitalism as a system of inequality.⁵¹ Thus, he distinguishes between capitalism and social citizenship by implying that citizenship rights provide at least minimum protection against the inequalities created by capitalism.

Thus, in the Keynesian Welfare period, social policies provided the de-commodification of the labor based on social citizenship. After the last quarter of the twentieth century, the formulation of citizenship changed. Marshall defines social citizenship as a status defined by its legal conditions of the access to various

⁴⁸ Ibid., 86.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 89.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 88.

⁵¹ Ibid., 92.

entitlements in both the political and social domains. In contrast to social citizenship in workfare conditions citizenship is framed within the market as market citizenship as active, self-managerial and entrepreneurial as agents of their own survival rather than passive receivers of social benefits. Therefore social policies move from rights-based social policies to social policies that claim conditional on the performance of obligations to enhance greater participation in the market.⁵²

Contents of Workfare Programs

After discussing the transition from welfare to workfare, the focus moves to the contents of workfare programs, i.e., what kind of training programs should be evaluated as workfare programs? Can the issue be discussed by enlarging the contents of the programs beyond requirements in exchange for social benefit? Here the contents of the workfare programs are examined through requirements in exchange for social benefits such as unemployment benefits, employability training programs that aim to integrate the poor into the low-paying jobs and temporary public works and programs that encourage “self-employment” as a part of the poverty alleviation strategy.

In a narrower sense, workfare programs are restricted to the requirements in exchange for social benefits such as participating in socially beneficial activities or attending employability training programs.⁵³ Therefore workfare programs are

⁵² Kanishka Jayasuria, “Economic Constitutionalism, Liberalism and the New Welfare Governance.”

⁵³ Ivar Lodemel, “Work Integration Through Obligations to Work” (Paper presented at UWWCLUS workshop at Brussels, 2000), 3. Eric Shrage, “Workfare: An Overview” in *Workfare: Ideology for A New Under-Class*, ed. Eric Shrage (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1997), 13-29. See also articles in Frances Fox Piven, Joan Acker, Margeret Hallock and Sandra Morgen, eds. *Work, Welfare and*

defined as compulsory programs, i.e., if the participants do not attend these programs, there is a risk of losing benefit. Thus, “requirement” becomes an important concept for discussions about workfare. However, some scholars distinguish the workfare programs from other compulsory schemes by its emphasis on work rather than other activities such as training programs.⁵⁴ Workfare programs are described as that “it forces people to take jobs or forms of training on the job which pay less than the current market rate for the same kind work.”⁵⁵ In other words, workfare programs exert pressure on wages by increasing the number of employees in conformity with the post-Fordist capital accumulation. In these approaches, therefore, workfare programs are seen as market policies aimed at providing a competitive, efficient and flexible labor market by increasing the “supply of the worker” and proposing a wage less than the market wage.⁵⁶

The approaches that evaluate the contents of workfare programs on the quality of the work in exchange for social benefit mostly rest their analysis on Marx’s terms of reserve army. Marx in *Capital* identifies three forms of relative surplus population: *floating*, people who are members of the proletariat who move in and out of work in accordance with the fluctuations of the market; *latent* who are “freed” from work, like peasants or children but are drawn to the market when demand for labor rises; and *stagnant* inexhaustible reserve labor for capitalist whose conditions are below average normal level of the working class.⁵⁷ There are two

Politics: Confronting Poverty in the Wake of Welfare Reform (University of Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 2002).

⁵⁴ Ivar Lodemel, “Work Integration Through Obligations to Work,” and Chris Grover and John Stewart, “ ‘Market Workfare’: Social Security, Social Regulation and Competiveness in the 1990s,” *Journal of Social Policy* 28, no.1 (1999), 77.

⁵⁵ Chris Grover and John Stewart, “Market Workfare: Social Security, Social Regulation and Competiveness in the 1990s,” 76.

⁵⁶ Anne Gray, “New Labour- New Labour Discipline,” *Capital and Class*, no.65 (1998).

⁵⁷ Karl Marx, *Kapital*, vol.1, trans. Alaattin Bilgi (Ankara: Sol Publications, 2004), 599-610

conditions for the formation of the reserve army of labor. The first is its greater size to maintain downward pressure on wages. Yet its size is not sufficient. This reserve army should be “employable”, that is, accessible to the market.⁵⁸ Thus workfare programs provide a “reserve army” by creating pressures on wages by making people accessible to the market.

Some scholars, on the other hand, prefer to discuss workfare programs with their relation to social benefits in a broader sense in addition to requirements in exchange for social benefits. Elements such as cutting benefits, imposing time-limits and tightening eligibility criteria for social benefits also are evaluated as workfare that aims to integrate the poor into the market as far as possible.⁵⁹ From this perspective, for instance, unemployment benefits become important. Dingeldey, in his article on workfare states and the “enabling state” in the UK, Germany and Denmark, evaluates the practices as reducing the duration of unemployment benefits, tightening criteria for taking benefits as the regulation of unemployment benefits as workfare since these practices aim to integrate the unemployed into the market as far as possible.⁶⁰ Although he discusses workfare in relation to social benefit, he enlarges the contents of workfare programs by focusing on how the social benefits are re-formulated to aim at the integration the beneficiaries of unemployment benefits into the market as soon as possible.

Dingeldey, on the other hand, discusses the “enabling state” as if it is different from the workfare state, although he accepts that they are complementary rather than alternative to one another. He evaluates the “enabling state,” which

⁵⁸ Chris Grover, “New Labour and Welfare Regime,” *Capital and Class*, no.79 (2003).

⁵⁹ Irene Dingeldey, “Welfare State Transformation: Between “Workfare” and An “Enabling” State,” (Transtate Working Papers, no.21, University of Bremen).

⁶⁰ Ibid., For an important discussion on unemployment benefits see also Anne Gray, *Unsocial Europe*, 81-111.

provides employability training programs for improving the “employability” of particularly disadvantaged groups with special emphasis on women and the disabled.⁶¹ Although both the “workfare state” and the “enabling state” aim to integrate the poor into the market, Dingeldey distinguishes them on the basis of their relations with social benefit. While he evaluates requirements in exchange for social benefit as workfare attempts, he discusses the policies that aim to improve the employability of the disadvantaged groups as “enabling” attempts of the state.

The practices involving social benefit in workfare conditions can be easily compared with the Speenhamland Law of 1795 that is discussed by Polanyi.⁶² Although the Law prevents the emergence of a competitive labor market, it provides a wage for rural laborers based on the cost of bread irrespective of their earnings. Yet the assistance is restricted to make sure that workers should not be “discouraged” to integrate into the market.⁶³ The Speenhamland Law is an important historical experience to help us understand the current execution of social benefit programs.

Despite the definition of the contents of workfare programs in relation to social benefit is being important for understanding workfare programs, the restriction of the discussion to only social benefit has some weaknesses. First, by emphasizing the requirements in exchange for social benefit as workfare, the debate is confined to a practice of state. Although the state plays an important role in workfare programs there are other many actors such as voluntary organizations, local governments, and the private sector that carry out workfare programs to integrate the poor into the market. Therefore in taking into consideration of the role

⁶¹ Irene Dingeldey, “Welfare State Transformation: Between “Workfare” and An “Enabling” State.”

⁶² Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 77-86.

⁶³ Ibid.

of other actors and their relations with the state, the issue should be extended beyond the social benefit. Second, evaluating workfare programs in terms of social benefits, the debate is restricted to the countries where the social benefit is an important part of their welfare regimes, while making it difficult to discuss the issue in terms of the countries where social benefit is not important for their welfare regimes. However, workfare programs are also designed to alleviate poverty, especially in “developing countries” where the main reason for poverty is evaluated as being unemployed. Therefore poverty alleviation programs aim to integrate the poor into the market by improving their “employability” through employability training programs and self-employment programs. Thus employability training programs and self-employment programs should be evaluated as part of workfare programs beside the requirements in exchange for social benefits.

The contents of the employability training programs are important for discussing the employability training programs since it can not be evaluated all employability training programs as workfare attempts. Here the courses that provide training programs in low-paying jobs will be evaluated as workfare. Therefore the labor market conditions for workfare programs for content of the employability training programs become significant. Nancy E. Rose, in her studies on government work programs for women in the USA, offers an important contribution to the market conditions for workfare programs. She distinguishes between “fair work” and “workfare” to critically evaluate workfare programs. She defines “fair work programs” as programs which are based on voluntary participation and provide skillful jobs for the poor contrary to workfare programs that are mandatory, punitive programs which provide jobs in the low-wage labor market.⁶⁴ Although she defines

⁶⁴ Nancy E. Rose, *Workfare or Fair Work: Women, Welfare and Government Work Programs* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 4-5.

the contents of workfare programs in a narrow sense by restricting the workfare programs to mandatory training programs, her emphasis on the quality of work may be useful to evaluate the market conditions for workfare programs. She evaluates the work that is created by the government for an alternative existing low-paying work in the public and private sector as fair works; on the other hand, work that integrates the poor into the low-paying jobs are defined as workfare.⁶⁵ Therefore employability training programs that offer work in the low-wage labor market will be evaluated as workfare programs.

Besides the employability training programs that aim to integrate the poor into the wage-labor market, self-employment programs are also encouraged for urging the poor to participate in the market. This is especially an important component of workfare programs in “developing” countries where the economic growth has not created employment opportunities. As “Global Employment Trends Brief” of the ILO shows, throughout the world, even the strong economic growth of the last decade has not created employment opportunities. In most regions, the decrease of employment in agriculture has not been met by industrial employment.⁶⁶ Therefore self-employment programs are highly “popular” workfare programs in the context of the limited opportunities of creating wage employment for all in a world economy where the relationship between economic growth and employment creation weakens.

Thus, I prefer to define the contents of workfare programs as being based on requirements in exchange for social benefits and employability training programs that aim to improve the employability of the poor to encourage them to participate in

⁶⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁶⁶ ILO, *Global Employment Trends 2007*, available (online) at: <<http://www.ilo.org/public/English/employment/strat/download/getb07en.pdf>>.

low-paying jobs and to encourage self-employment as a way of struggling against poverty.

Workfare Programs at the “End of Work”

In this part, some basic assumptions of the “end of work” thesis will be examined. The rise of both workfare programs and arguments that capitalism does not need “simple labor” to maintain its sustainability at the same time is highly contradictory. Although the question of whether capitalism needs “simple labor” or not goes beyond the limits of this thesis, I will discuss how “workfare” and the “end of work” are juxtaposed at the same time. This part will also give background for the discussion on the relationship between the workfare programs and labor market conditions in Turkey in Chapter Four.

The discussions on whether capitalism creates job or not have prevailed in the academic world under different theories such as “post-industrial society,” the “end of work,” and “network society.” Although there are differences between these theories, all of them emphasize the importance of technology in the capitalist mode of production, and the expansion of high-skill labor in the service sector.

The origin of the “end of work” thesis goes back to the 1970s, to a study by Daniel Bell.⁶⁷ Bell discusses the transformation of capitalism by dividing it into different stages according to the changes in productive forces. These stages are

⁶⁷ In this part, I use the terms of “network society,” “information society,” and the “end of work” interchangeably.

namely pre-industrial, industrial, and post-industrial.⁶⁸ Bell argues that while the main productive force of industrial society is energy, post-industrial society rests on knowledge as a main factor of production. Although he accepts that knowledge has always been important for capitalist production, he argues that knowledge has become the main factor of capitalist production and that labor-value theory should be replaced with knowledge-labor theory.⁶⁹

According to Bell, technological developments have transformed the composition of the working class as well. He claims that while the main component of the working class in industrial society is composed of semi-skilled workers employed in the manufacturing sector, in post-industrial society employment would intensify in the service sector especially including professional administrators, middle class engineers and proletariat of technicians, and that would lead to the expansion of the service sector, particularly in the knowledge sector which requires education and high-skill labor.⁷⁰ He states that capitalism needs high-skill labor in both production and the administration system.

Bell's thesis on post-industrial society was revived by Jeremy Rifkin in the 1990s. Rifkin declares the "end of work." Like Bell, he discusses the issue by dividing the history of capitalism into stages. He argues that capitalism is witnessing the "third industrial revolution" resulting from the shifts in the force of production from steam to oil, from oil to information.⁷¹ He claims that while it is based on information technology, "knowledge sector" is rising as a new sector without creating new demands for jobs. Only a small part of the population can find job

⁶⁸ Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 127.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 260-262.

⁷¹ Jeremy Rifkin, *The End of Work: The Decline of the Global Labor Force and the Dawn of the Post-Market Era* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1995), 59.

opportunities in the knowledge sector, which requires high-skill labor.⁷² The technological developments also affect employment opportunities in manufacturing, service and agricultural sectors. He claims that machines are replacing labor force in these sectors thanks to technological developments. The automation reflects its results especially in the agriculture sector through bio-technology which replaces land cultivation. In addition, he states that the service sector, which absorbs jobs losers in the manufacturing sector, is even shrinking. Offices are being transformed into electronic work places where receptionists and clerks are no longer needed. He adds that many sectors related to the manufacturing industry such as the wholesale and retail sectors fail to create new job opportunities.⁷³

Following Bell's arguments, Rifkin argues that capitalism creates only high-skill labor in the age of the "end of work." In this context, he discusses the situation of African-Americans in the USA, where they constitute the under-class since they are permanently unemployed due to the fact that their unskilled labor is no longer demanded. For him, this is the first time in American industry that the labor of the African-Americans is no longer needed as a reserve army of labor since capitalism, he argues, no longer rests on a simple labor force "thanks to" technological developments.⁷⁴

The relation between the technological developments and employment opportunities is at the heart of the discussions on theories such as the "end of work,"

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 109-161.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 77-79. Rifkin in post-market areas offers solution for creating jobs. The first one is shortening the work week. Hence he implies that one of the main reasons for unemployment is long working hours rather than technological developments. Secondly he offers to create job opportunities in the third sector which is composed of mainly social works behind the private and public sector. He also gives attention the roles of the state in empowering the third sector through tax-deduction. His suggestion therefore can not be evaluated as workfare since he offers alternative job opportunities for existing jobs that are being created by the public and private sectors. For a detailed analysis of his proposals, see 237-271.

and the “information society.” According to Rifkin, technology is re-engineering the production system to provide efficiency, and this comes to mean the maximum production in the shortest time with the least amount of energy, capital and labor in this process.⁷⁵ Therefore machines automatically replace human labor. Manuel Castells does not agree with this argument. He uses the term “network society” for understanding the transformation of contemporary capitalism. According to him, the growth of the new economy rests on the production of knowledge. Such a knowledge-based economy leads to a decline in the employment opportunities in agricultural and manufacturing sectors while resulting in the expansion of the service sector, in which the jobs related to knowledge sector are increasing rapidly.⁷⁶ Yet, he does not believe that these developments will create a jobless society. Contrary to Rifkin, he argues that technology does not automatically lead to a sharp increase in the unemployment rate. Although technological developments create unemployment in the short run, they also offer new jobs opportunities in the long run by depending on the state’s policies or socio-political context of the countries.⁷⁷ Thus according to Castells there is no direct correlation between technological developments and employment opportunities.

Although there are some differences between such theories, they generally support similar arguments about the importance of technology in the production system of capitalism and the expansion of the service sector, requiring high skill labor. I think these theories, which mostly base their claims on a correlation between technological developments and the expansion of high-skill service sector, should be critically re-evaluated.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 49.

⁷⁶ Manuel Castells, *Enformasyon Çağı: Ekonomi, Toplum ve Kültür*, vol.1: *Ağ Toplumunun Yükselişi*, trans. Ebru Kılıç (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2005), 278.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 354.

Their understanding of social change is based on an evolutionary modernization theory, for which history goes through different stages from agricultural to industrial, from industrial to post-industrial society in a linear way. The main impetus for social change is seen as technological developments. Technological change is seen not only as the main impulse for the transformation of capitalism, but also as the main force behind the transformation of social life. From this view, technology is treated as an autonomous factor that influences many aspects of social life, and such view constitutes a kind of technological determinism in which almost all changes in modern society are explained as the direct results of technological developments. Such technological determinism fails to explain the nature of the capitalist mode of production resting on the social relation between labor and capital. Following Marx's theory, Braverman discusses the relation between capital as a social relation and the capitalist mode of production as a technical organization. According to him, "technology instead of producing social relations is produced by social relations represented by capital."⁷⁸ In other words, he reminds us that it is not the availability of technology which determines the organization of the production of the capitalist economic system, but the social relations which ensure the control of capital over labor.

The expansion of the service sector is one of the main arguments for the "end of work" theories. Although the service sector is composed of many different employment opportunities ranging from business services such as accounting and marketing to personal services, the "end of work" theories confine the service sector to only the knowledge-based service sector requiring high-skill labor. Yet Esping-Andersen claims that no country comes even close to achieving such a high-skill

⁷⁸ Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), 20.

labor-dominated service sector.⁷⁹ She classifies the service sector into four categories in order to elaborate the main dynamics of this sector. The first category is the service sector related to the business sector including accounting, consulting and marketing, most of which employ high-skill labor. The second one is distributive services, including wholesale, retail and transportation. The third one is personal services consisting of cleaning, serving food and drinks and cutting hair. The last category is social services involving health, education and care-giving services.⁸⁰ Therefore for an analysis of the service sector, it is necessary to give more attention to the different occupations in this sector. Since “post-industrial society” theories mostly focus on the new knowledge class, the lower service sectors have been ignored in the analyses of such theories. As Esping-Andersen clarifies, the occupations in the service sector range from professionals, semi-professionals, to skill and unskilled service.⁸¹ I think that this classification offers us a more complicated picture of the labor market conditions in the service sector rather than “end of work” thesis.

Contrary to “post-industrial society” theories dominated by the analyses of en-skilling labor, Braverman applies Marx’s proletariat thesis to the analysis of the service sector. According to him, the theories of scientific management and Taylorism have been developed to control labor by capital. Braverman identifies three principles of scientific management. The first principle is the “dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the worker,” where the management gathers all the knowledge about the labor process from the skill of the workers. The second principle is the “separation of conception from execution,” where the decision-

⁷⁹ Gösta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 109-110.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

making process is derived by capital. Finally, capital uses “this monopoly of knowledge to control each step of the labor process.”⁸² For Braverman, the trends towards the de-skilling of labor can be applied not only to manual work, but also to non-manual work in the manufacturing sector and service works like clerical work.

Braverman argues that capitalism has trivialized human labor even in the service sector when the discussions over high skill labor have become so widespread. However, I think that the mode of capitalist production can not be analyzed by only focusing on “de-skilling labor.” What I attempt to show is that capitalism needs not only high-skill labor instead of low-skill labor due to technological developments. The contemporary capitalism both creates high-skill and low-skill work. Roger Penn, a British sociologist, has studied on the question of skill labor in Britain and the USA in different sectors. He intervenes into the debate over skilled labor by taking issue with both approaches that emphasize either en-skilling or de-skilling thesis since their theoretical propositions are not matched with serious empirical research.⁸³ Penn is an advocate of the “compensatory theory of skill” developed during the Skilled Workers Project at Lancaster University during the 1990s when he examined the relation between technological change and skilled labor. His claim on that technological change both create skilling and de-skilling work blurs the distinction between skilling and de-skilling.⁸⁴ He offers to examine each sector separately rather than making generalizations about the quality of the labor power in contemporary capitalism.

⁸² Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, 113-119.

⁸³ Roger Penn, *Class, Power and Technology: Skilled Workers in Britain and America* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

To sum up, the discussions over “work” have become widespread. On the one hand, there are workfare programs that aim to integrate the poor into the low-wage labor markets; on the other hand, there are many theories declaring that contemporary capitalism no longer needs de-skill labor “thanks to” the technological developments. Here I have tried to reflect the main points of such theories in order to be able to demonstrate the atmosphere in which workfare programs have arisen. Although there has been a rise in high-skill service occupations, it should be attended the different occupations in the service sector. It is especially important in a circumstance where workfare programs attempt to provide work in the low-wage service sector, which will be discussed in the forth chapter.

Neo-Liberal International Governance System: Actors of Workfare Programs

After having evaluated the contents of workfare programs at the “end of work” I will in this part focus on how workfare programs are carried out. Workfare programs are organized on the basis of a neo-liberal international governance system that rests on the diverse cooperation between different actors such as international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector. Here first I will discuss how the governance model came onto the agenda during the 1990s. I will attempt to historicize this model within the context of recent developments in the capitalist system in order to denote how the cooperation of state and civil society has begun to be emphasized. The rise of such kind of cooperation also opens a place for discussions on the position of the state against the market. These discussions have intensified on the issue of whether a transition from “minimum state” to “market-friendly one” has occurred since the 1990s, in which the

emphasis on the state's role in both the maintenance of an efficient market system and providing protection for vulnerable groups.⁸⁵ Second I will focus on the place of the neo-liberal international governance system within the conduct of social policy mechanisms while discussing how international organizations, the state and civil society come into cooperation to carry out welfare programs. My main emphasis will be on the responsibilities of each actor in carrying out these programs in order to show how the social policy arena is being de-politicized through the reduction of the poverty issue to program management rather than the development of alternative policies such as income distribution and/or social benefit instead of welfare programs.

The Rise of the New International Governance System

The use of the concept of governance arose during the 1990s. The role of international organizations such as the World Bank, the OECD and the UNDP in this rise has been great. Especially the changes in the policies of the World Bank during the 1990s played a considerable role in this context.⁸⁶

Up to the 1990s developmental strategy of the Bank offered to “developing countries” rested on economic growth to be achieved by tool of development was related to economic growth for the Bank; the per capita GDP was regarded as the main indicator of development. Thus while the priority was given to economic

⁸⁵ Here I evaluate the transition from “minimal state” to the “market-friendly state” to emphasize an overall institutional change laying down the foundations of a market economy. I do not use “minimal state” as a retreat of the state from the expansion and institutionalization of market.

⁸⁶ Although other international actors such as the OECD and the UNDP are important actors in the governance model, we should restrict our analysis to the Bank since the Bank offers the governance model for poverty alleviation programs, which is our concern for this thesis. For an analysis of the governance model of different international actors, see Sonay Bayramođlu, *Yönetişim Zihniyeti: Türkiye’de Üst Kurullar ve Siyasal İktidarın Dönüşümü* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), 36-76.

growth it was claimed that other achievements such as educational achievement and life expectancy could be achieved only through economic growth.⁸⁷

While for development the main objective was to achieve economic growth, the policies of the Bank were closely associated with the neo-liberal policies of Thatcher and Reagan. For the “developing world,” the Bank offered pro-market and anti-state policies the main components of which were fiscal discipline, giving priority to reduce inflation, and restricting state spending. There was strong encouragement for exchange rate and trade policies to provide international competition.⁸⁸ These policies were implemented on the condition that the financial assistances required the adoption of policies recommended by the Bank.⁸⁹ However, these policies resulted in “unexpected” consequences that have been criticized since the early 1990s. Contrary to the neo-liberal arguments, “minimal state” did not provide more efficient resource utilization or increase economic growth. Moreover, although the policies were implemented to reduce inflation, inflation did not decline. More importantly, the neo-liberal policies led to an increase in the unemployment rate and poverty, but a reduction in welfare spending due to policies on fiscal discipline.⁹⁰ Thus the priority of economic growth was replaced with a multi-dimensional conception including macro-economic politics, development of the private sector and human capital investment as well as cooperation between the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector. As a result, in the 1990s a

⁸⁷ John Pender, “From ‘Structural Adjustment’ to ‘Comprehensive Development’ FrameWork: Conditionality Transformed?” *Third World Quarterly* 22, no.3 (2001), 398.

⁸⁸ Ayşe Tatar Peker, “Dünya Bankası: ‘Büyüme Söyleminden’ ‘İyi Yönetme’ Söylemine,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.69 (1996), 36-38.

⁸⁹ John Pender, “From ‘Structural Adjustment’ to ‘Comprehensive Development’ FrameWork: Conditionality Transformed?” 399.

⁹⁰ Cenk Aygül, “Neo-Liberalizmin ‘Başarısızlığı’ ve Yönetişim,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.76 (1998), 241.

“market-friendly state” took over with its regulative function of proper economic, social and political environment for efficiently working markets.

With the failure of neo-liberal economic policies, some historical experiences of capitalist development also affected the transformation of neo-liberal orthodox economic policies, namely the “East Asian Miracle,” the 1994 Mexico Crisis, and the 2000 East Asian Crisis. After the rapid economic development of the East Asian countries without following the policy prescription of the Bank, the Bank altered its policies about the state’s role in the development process. The state’s role re-defined by focusing on its importance in providing investments for people, a competitive climate for enterprise, and keeping the economy open to international trade and a stable macro economy.⁹¹ Moreover, the 1994 Mexico and the 2000 East Asia Crises did not only increase the number of people falling into poverty, but also declared the failure of the neo-liberal policies. These all forced the Bank to revise its policy prescriptions.⁹²

In such historical context, governance has come onto the agenda of the Bank. Yet the governance comprises many parts ranging from policies such as decentralization, accountability, providing a competitive environment for the private sector, to cooperation with voluntary organizations and the private sector. The policies related to the governance model can be classified into three groups: policies for public services, policies for an effective competitive market and policies that emphasize the importance of voluntary organizations.⁹³ The main policies associated with the public sector mostly include accountability, transparency, and informing for

⁹¹ John Pender, “From ‘Structural Adjustment’ to ‘Comprehensive Development’ Framework: Conditionality Transformed?” 400-401.

⁹² Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses, “Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus,” *Development and Change* 36, no.2 (2005), 268.

⁹³ Ayşe Tatar-Peker, “Dünya Bankası: ‘Büyüme Söyleminden’ ‘İyi Yönetme’ Söylemine,” 45.

a more effective state that provides an apparent, predictable and transparent decision-making process, professional bureaucracy and the participation of voluntary organizations in public institutions. The de-centralization of the public administration and sharing of the state's responsibilities with the private sector and voluntary organization are seen as the two main instruments of reaching these objectives.⁹⁴ These policies were the main carriers of the governance model in the initial period of the 1990s when the governance system emerged by making a sharp distinction between politics and policy; thus the decision-making process was reduced to only an economic and technical issue where the neo-liberal orthodoxy was prevalent.⁹⁵

The development of a “market-friendly” approach that mainly aims to provide a competitive market for enterprises coincided with the attempts of the former communist countries in their transition to a free market economy. In the first phase of the “market friendly” policies, the components of the governance model that are defined within the public sector reform were re-defined to strengthen the private sector. For example, principles of transparency and accountability were used to provide a more competitive market by annulling the barriers for accessing the information. Therefore governance was re-defined for strengthening the private sector.⁹⁶ Yet, with the World Bank Development Report in 1997, the focus on the governance model has shifted to the “effective state” from strengthening the private sector. According to the report, “Economic, social and sustainable development without an effective state is impossible. It is increasingly recognized that an effective state-not a minimal one-is central to economic and social development, but

⁹⁴ Sonay Bayramođlu, *Yönetişim Zihniyeti: Türkiye’de Üst Kurullar ve Siyasal İktidarın Dönüşümü*, 42.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 45.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 46.

more as partner and facilitator than as director. States should work to complement markets, not replace them.”⁹⁷

For an effective state, a two-part strategy was offered by the Bank. The first one matched the state’s role to its capability. Here the focus was to restrict the state’s responsibilities to specific areas to improve the effectiveness of the state such as “establishing a foundation of law, investing in basic social services and infrastructure, *protecting the vulnerable*, including macroeconomic stability.”⁹⁸ The second strategy, on the other hand, was developing strategies to “improve the state’s capability by reinvigorating state institutions” through mechanisms for enforcing the rule of law, competitive pressures for public administration and especially giving more voice to citizens and making cooperation with civil societies.⁹⁹

As stated above, the state’s responsibilities for efficiently working markets were re-defined in terms of functioning complementary to the market rather than put in oppositional terms with it as a result of the social and political consequences of global orthodox neo-liberal economic policies and social inequalities and poverty deepened by these politics. The focus on “the return of the state” for an efficiently working market echoed in social policy for poverty alleviation programs. The state took responsibility for especially vulnerable groups under the threat of social exclusion. Yet, the new responsibilities of the state were very different from the standards of welfare state interventionism. The state played a facilitator and coordinator role among other actors rather than providing direct support, as will be discussed broadly below.

⁹⁷ World Bank, *World Bank Development Report 1997: State in a Changing World* (Washington D. C.: World Bank, 1997), 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

Social Policy and the Neo-Liberal International Governance System

The neo-liberal international governance system emphasized the importance of a diverse partnership between the international actors, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector in carrying out social policy programs. After the state retreated from its main responsibilities in providing social services such as education, health in the neo-liberal period, the other actors stated above attempted to “fill in the blanks” in providing social services. Especially voluntary organizations became the main providers of social services. Bob Jessop discusses the significance of the new governance system in the social policy issue by highlighting the transformation of the Keynesian Welfare Regime. He pays attention to the state’s role in Keynesian economy in terms of securing the conditions of profitable business and reproducing labor power through social policy. With the transformation of the Keynesian regime, the state loses its role in regulating both economic and social policies.¹⁰⁰ Hence it is argued that the state devolves its roles in social policy practices to other actors.

However, this does not mean the withdrawal of the state from the social policy area. Especially in the “developing state,” the state accepted its responsibilities toward people in need of social protection. State accepted responsibility for supporting vulnerable for children and the elderly. Vulnerable groups under the threat of poverty and social exclusion seem to be more of a concern for the state.¹⁰¹ The World Bank also emphasized the state’s role in protecting vulnerable groups. According to the “1997 World Bank Development

¹⁰⁰ Bob Jessop, “The Changing Governance of Welfare: Recent Trends in its Primary Functions, Scale, and Modes of Coordination,” *Social Policy and Administration* 33, no.4 (1999).

¹⁰¹ Ayşe Buğra, “AKP Döneminde Sosyal Politika ve Vatandaşlık,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.108 (2007).

Report,” the state should take responsibility for protecting vulnerable people through pensions, unemployment payments, or other social insurances programs in order to support these people who are outside the wage economy for different reasons through social assistance programs.¹⁰²

Moreover, the state played a coordinator, facilitator role in carrying out social policy programs. In this context, its relation with the voluntary organizations is particularly significant. However, there is a tendency to discuss the importance of voluntary organizations in poverty alleviation programs by accentuating an evolutionary history from a mere bureaucratic state based to a more pluralistic system of welfare system, which seems to be simplistic. These approaches perceive voluntary organizations as if they are new actors of social policy. Yet the crucial point is not the participation of the voluntary organization in social policy or organizing partnership with state, but the transformation of this partnership in the neo-liberal governance context.¹⁰³ Bode’s discussion on new welfare governance system in Britain, Germany and France gives a hint at the quality of the transformation of the partnership between the state and voluntary organizations. Bode illustrates how established patterns of a system-wide coordination via a negotiated public-private partnership turn into a temporary relation through reducing the participation to a “division of labor” between social actors for a more efficient enforcement of the programs rather than providing alternative programs such as income distribution. Thus, voluntary organizations provided social services in

¹⁰² World Bank, *World Bank Development Report 1997: State in a Changing World*, 15.

¹⁰³ Ingo Bode, “Disorganized Welfare Mixes: Voluntary Agencies and New Governance Regimes in Western Europe,” *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no.4 (2006), 348.

cooperation with the state rather than exerting pressure on the state to demand for fulfilling the state's responsibilities in social policy.¹⁰⁴

In the context of the neo-liberal international governance system, international organizations became the main actors of the poverty alleviation programs in which they set broad goals, and enforced and supervised the poverty alleviation programs. In this context, most poverty alleviation strategies were defined and set out at the level of global institutions.¹⁰⁵ For example, the World Bank defines its role in poverty alleviation strategies as “Knowledge Bank” by defining and supervising a model of poverty alleviation strategies.¹⁰⁶ Although the components of the programs are defined by international organizations, “ownership” of the programs and participation requirements for the programs is determined at local level (state). As Cammack notes with reference to the World Bank's Comprehensive Development Framework, the Bank emphasizes the importance of “ownership” of the program since it lacks the means to enforce the programs itself and the legitimacy of the projects depend on their adoption by national governments.¹⁰⁷ The Bank therefore chooses state institutions to implement its policies by strengthening the capacities of the institutions of the state for carrying out poverty alleviation programs.

The emphasis on “ownership” of programs has some political implications. The “ownership of programs” has contributed to *internationalizing the state*.¹⁰⁸ Within this neo-liberal international governance system, the responsibility of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 355.

¹⁰⁵ Kanishka Jayasuriya, “Workfare for the Global Poor: Anti-Politics and the New Governance,” (Working Paper, no.98, Asia Research Centre, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Paul Cammack, “What the World Bank Means by Poverty Reduction, and Why it Matters,” *New Political Economy* 9, no.2 (2004), 196.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 2003.

¹⁰⁸ Kanishka Jayasuriya, “Workfare for the Global Poor: Anti-Politics and the New Governance.”

determining international standards for poverty alleviation programs is transmitted to local agencies. While the state is being internationalized, there is also a tendency for governments to be de-centralized for poverty alleviation programs. According to the World Bank: “Decentralization can bring services agencies closer to poor communities and poor people, potentially enhancing people’s control of services to which they are entitled. Decentralization needs to be combined with effective mechanisms for popular participation and citizens monitoring of government agencies.”¹⁰⁹ Therefore the Bank offers policies of de-centralization and participation to deliver poverty alleviation programs more efficiently.

In the neo-liberal international governance system, the vision of the state is anticipated as a partner, catalyst, and facilitator rather than direct provider of the poverty programs. Voluntary organizations mostly execute the social policy programs in cooperation to the state. When the quality of their relations is examined, their relations are based on projects for a limited period of time. In other words, the cooperation is restricted to the duration of the project. The state controls the resources allocated to the poverty alleviation programs. It distributes public funds to the voluntary organizations based on their projects rather than providing the social services directly. Yet there is considerable discontinuity in the flow of funds to voluntary organizations which causes short-term funding based on mostly one year contracts. In order to obtain funds, the voluntary organizations are required to poverty alleviation programs. Although some voluntary organizations do not focus on poverty alleviation programs, they participate in the programs by re-defining their responsibilities and cooperating with other organizations.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ World Bank, *World Bank Development Report 1997: State in a Changing World*.

¹¹⁰ Ingo Bode, “Disorganized Welfare Mixes: Voluntary Agencies and New Governance Regimes in Western Europe,” 352.

As for the private sector, they become involved in social policy programs to fulfill their “social responsibility” which is encouraged by tax reductions. By being involved in social policy, they present themselves as responsible actors to legitimate their high profits by breaking off their connections with “brutal capitalism.”¹¹¹ Mostly they cooperate with voluntary organizations to involve in social policy programs. They attempt to provide jobs for the workfare programs of civil society.

Here the actors of the social policy and their relations in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system were designated. Their relations mostly rest on the “division of labor” among the different actors rather than providing alternative policies for poverty alleviation programs such as income distribution which results in de-politicization of the social policy. The neo-liberal international governance system de-politicizes the social policy area by reducing their relations to the “division of labor” within different actors rather than providing alternative strategies for poverty alleviation programs.

* * *

In this chapter, the shift in social policy around poverty alleviation programs was discussed. The “from welfare to workfare” paradigm served to analyze the workfare programs as programs that aim to integrate the poor into the market in an environment where the “end of work” thesis has become prevalent. The actors of the workfare programs and their relations in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system were also evaluated. In the following chapter, the labor market conditions in relation to which the conditions of the workfare programs are carried out will be discussed.

¹¹¹ Yasemin İpek, “Türkiye’de Sivil Toplumunu Yeniden Düşünmek: Neo-liberal Dönüşümler ve Gönüllülük,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.108 (2007), 104.

CHAPTER THREE

LABOR MARKET CONDITIONS IN TURKEY UNDER WORKFARE

Workfare programs are offered as a way of fighting poverty by equating the poor with the unemployed and poverty with unemployment on the assumption that as long as the poor enter into the market, they can stand on their own feet. However, workfare programs ignore the labor market conditions for the work into which workfare programs hope to integrate the poor and the “working poor,” who maintain regular employment but remain in poverty due to low wages and the absence of a social security system. Therefore the labor market situation in relation to under which conditions workfare programs are carried out in Turkey should be also taken consideration while evaluating the impacts of workfare programs for poverty alleviation. Therefore this chapter focuses on labor market conditions in Turkey. The main features of the labor markets in Turkey will be deliberated by focusing on the statistics on the labor force participation rate, the unemployment rate and the sectoral distribution of employment. The changes in employment rates according to the branch of economic activities will also be discussed. This analysis will enable the discussion of the employment structure of Turkey in the light of discussions on the “end of work,” “post-industrial society.” The situation of female labor force in the labor market will also be examined to assess whether workfare programs provide alternatives for the existing labor market conditions for women or not since workfare programs are carried out for mainly women in poverty to integrate them into the labor market.

* * *

In comparison to the members of the EU, the labor participation rate is low in Turkey. In 2001, only 49.8 percent of persons of working age (*çalışma çağındaki nüfus*) constituted the labor force where the rate was 69.2 percent for EU-15 countries (the fifteen EU countries excluding the new ten members) and 68.7 percent for EU-25 countries (including the new ten members) in 2001 (see Table 1). When considered the gender composition of the labor force, there is a big difference between the participation rate of women and of men in the labor market. In 2001 values, the labor force participation rate for women was 27.1 percent whereas it was 70.4 percent for men in Turkey. According to the 15 EU countries, for the same year, the average rate for female employment was 60.2 percent and the corresponding rate for EU-25 countries was 60.2 percent (see Table 1). Therefore according to the 2001 values, Turkey has the lowest female participation rate compared to that of the members of the EU.

Table 1. Comparative Rates of the Labor Force Participation %, 2001

	Turkey	EU 15	EU 25
Total	49.8	69.2	68.7
Men	72.9	78.3	77.3
Women	27.1	60.2	60.2

Source: Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *Social Assistance in Turkey: For A Policy of Minimum Income Support Conditional on Socially Beneficial Activity* (Ankara: UNDP, 2007).

In Turkey, the labor force participation rate also has been continuously declining (see Table 2). The labor force participation rate decreased from 56.6 percent in 1990 to 49.9 percent in 2000, and 48.7 in 2004. Since the 1990s, the

women's labor participation rate has been decreasing continuously especially as a result of the decrease in agricultural employment with the migration from rural to urban areas. The rate of female participation rate declined from 34.2 percent in 1990 to 26.6 percent in 2000 and 25.4 percent in 2004. During the same period, male participation rates also decreased from 79.7 percent in 1990 to 73.7 percent in 2000 and 72.3 percent in 2004 (see Table 2).

Table 2. Rates of the Labor Force Participation in Turkey %, 1990-2004

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	56.6	57	56	52.7	54.6	54.1	53.7	52.6	52.8	52.7	49.9	49.8	49.6	48.3	48.7
Men	79.7	80.3	79.7	78.1	78.5	77.8	77.3	76.8	76.7	75.8	73.7	72.9	71.6	70.4	72.3
Women	34.2	34.1	32.7	26.8	31.3	30.9	30.6	28.8	29.3	30	26.6	27.1	27.9	26.6	25.4

Source: Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *Social Assistance in Turkey: For A Policy of Minimum Income Support Conditional on Socially Beneficial Activity* (Ankara: UNDP, 2007).

As for employment status, in 2004 values, 55.0 percent of the total employed male population consisted of regular and casual employees while the rate of female regular and casual employees corresponded to 39.2 percent. 49.8 percent of the total employed female population was employed as unpaid labor compared to a rate of 9.0 percent of unpaid family workers, demonstrating that unpaid family labor is a female phenomenon in Turkey. Regarding self-employment and employer, 11.0 percent of female employment was covered by this category whereas the same proportion for men was 26.4 percent (see Table 3). The ratios on employment status for women change significantly when it is concentrated on the difference between urban and rural concerning the employment status of women since unpaid family employment consisted of 75.3 percent in rural areas and 79.2 percent comprising regular and casual employment in urban areas in 2004 (see Table 3). Therefore in Turkey, paid female employment is primarily urban phenomenon.

Table 3. Employment Status in Turkey, 2004

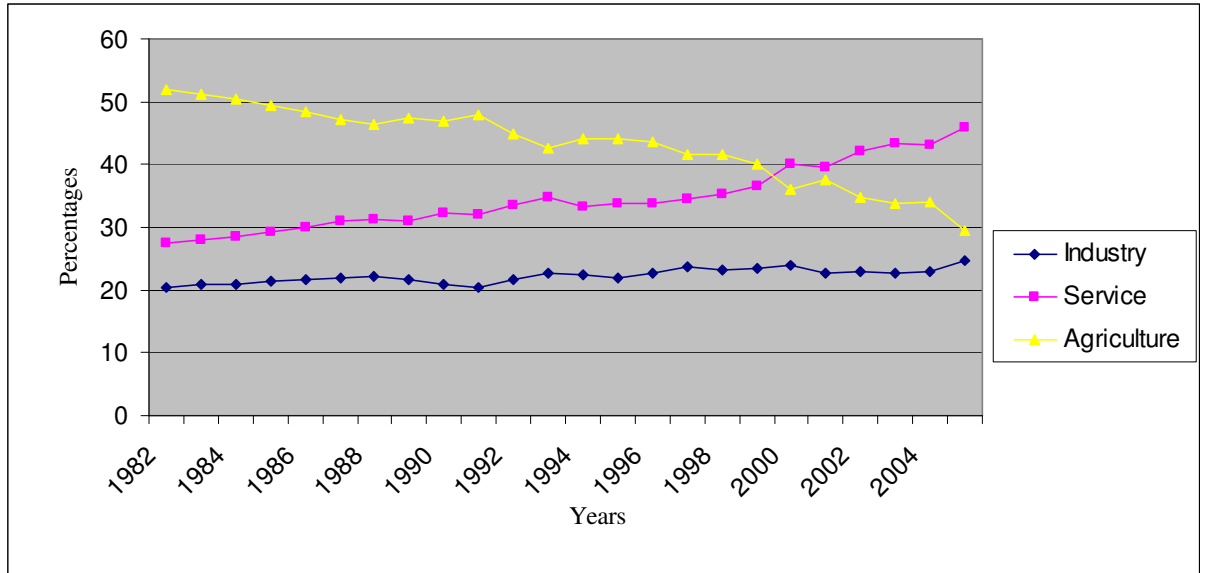
2004	Female			Male		
	Turkey	Urban	Rural	Turkey	Urban	Rural
Population 15 years of age and over ('000)	25,150	15,450	9,700	24,755	15,363	9,393
Employed ('000)	5,768	2,325	3,443	16,023	9,519	6,505
Unemployed ('000)	620	507	113	1,878	1,363	515
Labor Force Participation Rate (%)	25.4	18.3	36.7	72.3	70.8	74.7
Unemployment Rate (%)	9.7	17.9	3.2	10.5	12.5	7.3
Unemployment Rate for the Young (%)	18.8	29.0	7.9	20.1	23.0	15.5
Employment Status (%)						
TOTAL						
Regular and Casual Employee	39.2	79.2	12.0	55.0	70.4	32.3
Self-Employed and Employer	11.0	8.9	12.7	36.0	26.4	50.2
Unpaid Family Worker	49.8	11.9	75.3	9.0	3.2	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGRICULTURE						
Regular and Casual Employee	4.8	19.6	3.5	8.1	21.6	6.8
Self-Employed and Employer	13.2	19.9	12.5	66.0	64.5	66.1
Unpaid Family Worker	82.0	60.5	84.0	25.9	13.9	27.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NON-AGRICULTURE						
Regular and Casual Employee	85.2	87.3	75.2	71.2	72.6	66.2
Self-Employed and Employer	8.0	7.4	10.5	25.7	24.6	29.4
Unpaid Family Worker	6.8	5.3	14.3	3.1	2.8	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2004 Hanehalkı İşgücü Sonuçları (Ankara: TÜİK, 2006).

When the distribution of employment among the agricultural, industrial and service sectors in Turkey is examined, in 2005 values, 45.8 percent of the total employment population is employed in the service sector while the agricultural sector covers 29.5 percent and the industrial sector comprises 24.7 percent of total employment population (see Figure 1). The employment rate in the agricultural sector has been dramatically and continuously declining. The labor force in the agricultural sector decreased from 52.0 percent in 1982, to 46.9 percent in 1990, to 36.0 percent in 2000 and 29.5 in 2005 (see Figure 1). The decline in the agricultural

employment rate has been more noticeable after 2000 when the decrease in the employment rate reached to nearly five percent in five years.

Figure 1. The Sectoral Distribution of Employment in Turkey %, 1982-2005.



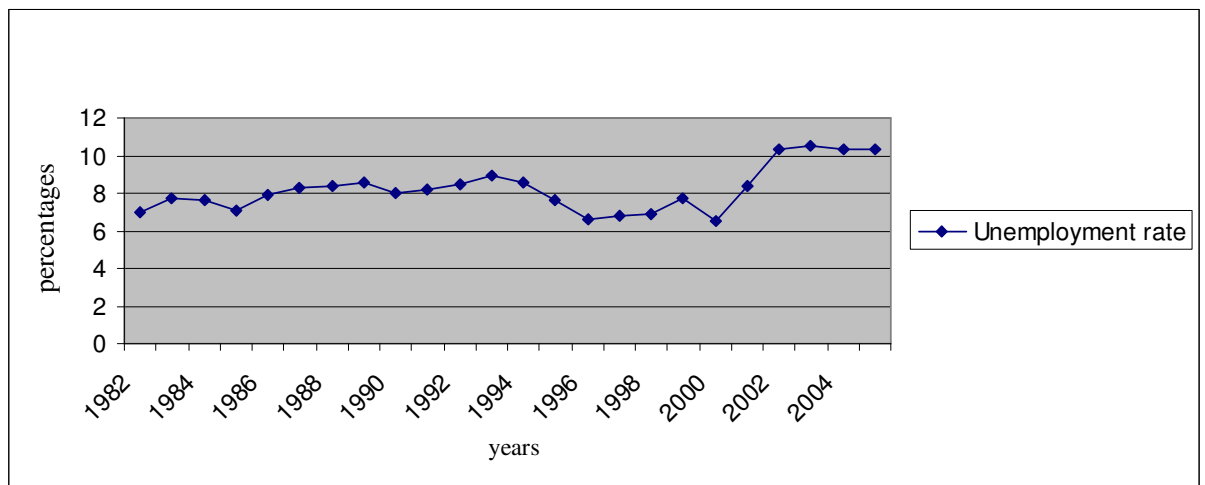
Source: OECD, *Labor Force Statistics 1985-2005* (Washington D. C.: OECD Publications and Information Center, 2006).

The decline of agricultural employment is mainly the result of the neo-liberal policies of the IMF’s structural adjustment programs and the World Bank implementation in “developing countries” which enforce the policies of agricultural deregulation and “de-peasantization.”¹¹² In Turkey as well, the commercialization of agriculture “accelerated” after the 2001 economic crisis. The IMF’s pressure on fiscal policies made it impossible to sustain agricultural production through subsidies, which resulted in migration from rural areas to urban areas and a decline in the share of agricultural employment in total employment.

¹¹² Mike Davis, “Planet of Slums: Urban Involvement and the Informal Proletariat,” *New Left Review* 26 (2004).

The decline of agricultural employment has occurred in a historical context in which agricultural employment is not accompanied by a considerable increase in the share of industrial employment. As the ILO's recent report demonstrates, even the countries which have experienced considerable economic growth have not created employment opportunities.¹¹³ Therefore the relation between economic growth and employment creation has ceased to exist.

Figure 2. Unemployment Rates in Turkey %, 1982-2005



Source: OECD, *Labor Force Statistics 1985-2005* (Washington D. C.: OECD Publications and Information Center, 2006).

In Turkey, the unemployment has raised as an important problem despite strong economic growth. Although there have been declines in the unemployment rate for some years, the unemployment rate increased from 7.0 percent in 1982, to 8.0 percent in 1990, 8.4 percent in 2001 and 10.3 in 2005 (see Figure 2). However, these ratios indicate the unemployment rate at a lower than “real unemployment” rate due to the method that is used for calculating the unemployment rate by the

¹¹³ ILO, *Global Employment Trends 2007*. Available (online) at: <<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/download/getb07en.pdf>>.

Turkish Statistical Institute (*Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu-TURKSTAT*). TURKSTAT defines unemployment as a person of working age who is both unemployed and who has been looking for a job actively in the last six months.¹¹⁴ Therefore such definition of unemployment does not number seasonal or casual workers, and “discouraged workers” (*iş aramayıp çalışmaya hazır olanlar*) as unemployed who are unemployed but are not looking for jobs due to loss of their expectations to find employment. However, as Hakan Koçak demonstrates, the rate of casual and seasonal workers and “discouraged workers” has increased significantly. While the rate of “discouraged workers” as a reason for not participating in the labor force increased from 4.3 percent in 1988 to 6.8 percent in 2005, the rate of casual and seasonal workers increased from 0.2 percent in 1988 to 1.3 percent in 2005.¹¹⁵

In addition to the definition of unemployed, adding the unemployment rate in the agricultural sector to the total unemployment rate also serves to camouflage the increase in the unemployment rate. In Turkey, 97 percent of the unemployed live in urban areas, demonstrating that unemployment is an urban phenomenon where the unemployment rate in the agriculture sector holds inconsiderable place in the ratio of unemployment.¹¹⁶ Therefore calculating the unemployment rate without adding the unemployment in agriculture will give a more exact and coherent rate of unemployment. When focused on the non-agricultural unemployment rate (*tarım dışı işsizlik oranı*), the unemployment rate increased to 13.8 percent in 2003, 14.3 percent in 2004 and 13.6 percent in 2005 (see Table 4).

¹¹⁴ “İşsiz, çalışma çağında olup, çalışmayan fakat son altı ay içinde aktif olarak iş arayan olarak tanımlanmaktadır.” For detail analysis on the definition of the unemployed see TÜSİAD, *Türkiye’de İşgücü Piyasası ve İşsizlik* (İstanbul: TÜSİAD, 2002), 15-22.

¹¹⁵ Hakan Koçak, “Türkiye’de 1988-2003 İstihdam Eğilimlerine Genel Bakış,” *Praksis*, no.16 (2006), 178.

¹¹⁶ Mustafa Sönmez, “İşsizliğin Coğrafyası: 2005,” 07 December 2006. Available (online) at: <www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=2179>.

Table 4. Rates of Economic Growth and Unemployment in Turkey %, 2001-2005

Years	Economic Growth (%)	Unemployment (%)	Non-agricultural Unemployment Rate (%)
2001	-9.5	8.4	12.4
2002	9.4	10.3	14.5
2003	7.8	10.5	13.8
2004	9.5	10.3	14.3
2005	6.8	10.3	13.6

Source: Mustafa Sönmez, “İşsizliğin Coğrafyası: 2005,” Available (online) at: <www.sendika.org/yazi.php?yazi_no=2179>.

As stated above, the unemployment rate in Turkey has increased despite considerable economic growth. Although the rate of economic growth reached 9.4 percent in 2002, 7.8 percent in 2003, 9.5 percent in 2004, and 6.8 percent in 2005, the unemployment rate stood at around 10 percent (see Table 4). As these figures clearly demonstrate, the Turkish economy fails to create economic opportunities that absorb persons of working age. This situation should be discussed by focusing on the main lines of the Turkish economy after the 1980s.

After the crisis of Import Substitute Industrialization (ISI) in the late 1970s, the ISI model was replaced with an export-oriented industrialization with the efforts of international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank in a “secure environment” provided by the military regime. Within this “secure environment” where the labor and social opposition were repressed by the military regime, the prescriptions of the IMF and the World Bank proposed the establishment of new economic regimes were implemented easily.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Fuat Ercan, “Sermaye Birikiminin Çelişkili Sürekliliği: Türkiye’nin Küresel Kapitalizmle Bütünleşme Sürecine Eleştirel Bir Bakış,” in *Neo-Liberalizmin Tahribatı*, eds. Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran (İstanbul: Metis, 2004), 20.

According to Pamuk, the aims of the new economic policies were threefold: to improve the balance of payments, to reduce the rate of inflation in the short term and to create a market-based, export-oriented economy in the long term.¹¹⁸ To implement these policies, several attempts were made such as devaluating the currency in the line with the rate of inflation, liberalizing trade and payments, eliminating price controls, eliminating many government subsidies, freeing interest rates, and supporting measures for export-oriented capital.¹¹⁹

Reductions in the real wages and the support for export-oriented capital enabled the implementation of new economic policies. In an environment in which the labor organizations were repressed, the labor wages were reduced to contract domestic demand and create surplus for export. While reducing wages, the state supported export-oriented capital through tax exemptions, export incentives, and exchange rate depreciations which all led to an increase in the export rate.¹²⁰ Although there was an increase in the export rate, it did not bring industrialization depending on export-oriented policies.¹²¹

During the late 1980s, the liberalization of the economy took a further step through the liberalization of capital movement. In 1989, measures were taken for the liberalization of capital movement based on the claim that the financial liberalization would accelerate investments, which may have provided employment opportunities in return. However, financial liberalization did not result in an increase

¹¹⁸ Şevket Pamuk, "Turkey: 1946-1990," in *A Short History of Middle-East Economies in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk (London: Tauris, 1998), 118.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 121.

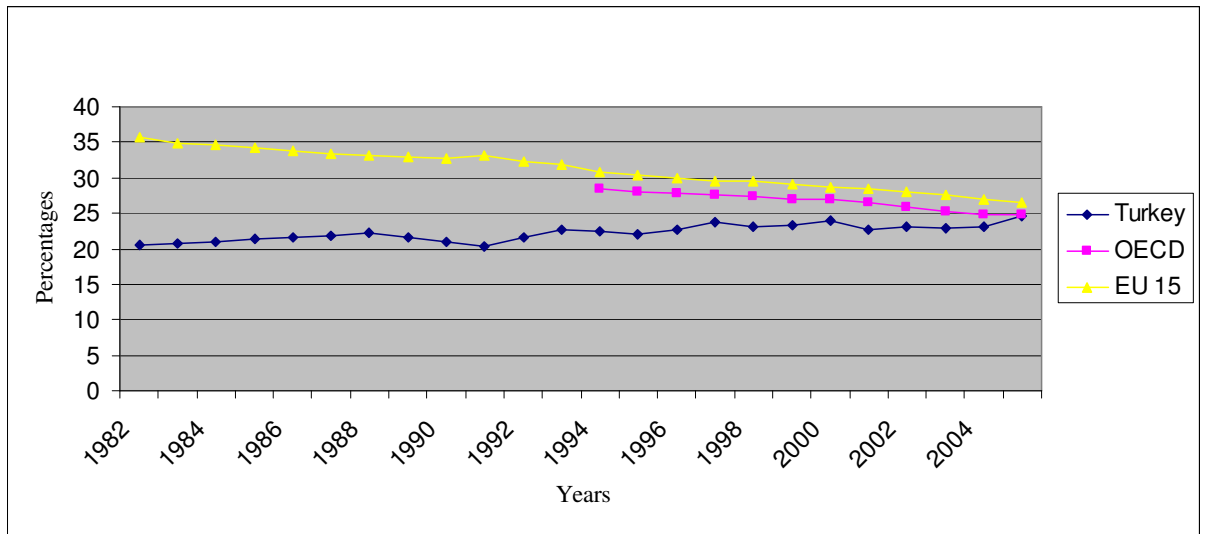
¹²¹ Eriş Yeldan, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Türkiye Ekonomisi: Bölüşüm, Birikim ve Büyüme* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 48.

in investment. On the contrary, it gave rise to fluctuations and crisis in the economy due to the short-term speculative financial movement.¹²²

Therefore the Turkish economy did not provide employment opportunities to accompany the agricultural employment through industrialization. However, Turkey has not undergone a de-industrialization process like European countries. Although the industrial sector did not create enough jobs in the period of discussion, there was no decline in the rate of the total labor force in the industrial sector (see Figure 3). The rate of employment in the industrial sector increased from 20.5 percent in 1982 to 21.0 percent in 1990, and 24.0 percent in 2000. After the 2001 economic crisis, this rate decreased to 22.7 percent. Yet in 2005, it is clear that the employment rate returned to its previous level. (24.7 percent). Contrary to Turkey, it can be talked about de-industrialization process for the EU-15 countries. The ratio of employment in the industrial sector decreased from 38.8 percent in 1982, to 32.7 percent in 1990, 28.7 percent in 2000 and 24.8 percent in 2005. Thus while a “de-industrialization process” seems valid for EU countries, the industrial sector still absorbs the main part of the total employment population in Turkey.

¹²² Ibid., 130.

Figure 3. Comparative Rates of Employment in the Industrial Sector %, 1982-2005.*

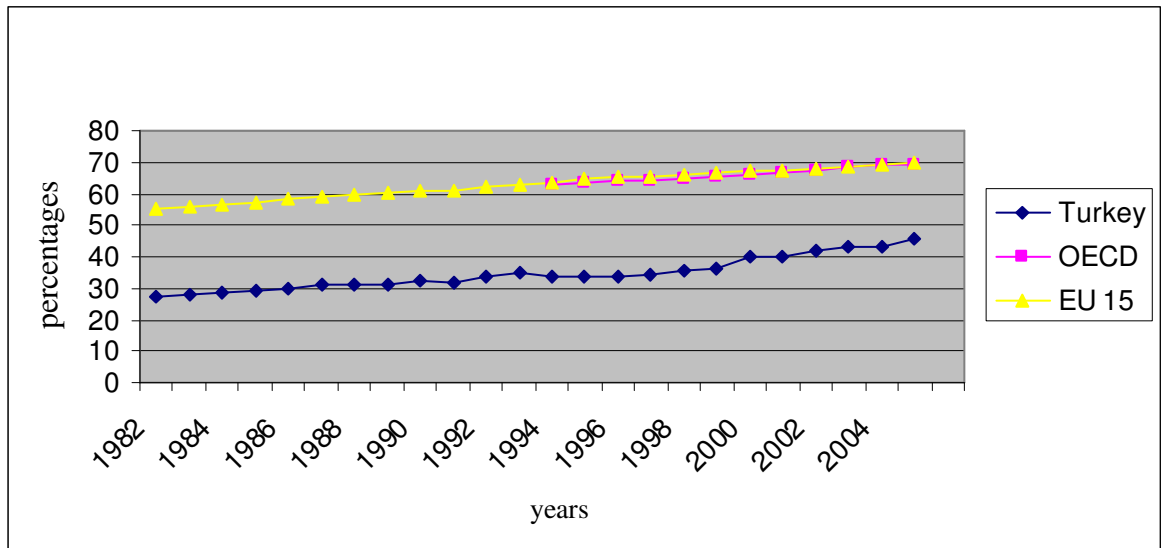


Source: OECD, *Labor Force Statistics 1985-2005* (Washington D. C.: OECD Publications and Information Center, 2006).

In a context in which the industrial sector does not provide job opportunities, the main part of the total employment population is absorbed by the service sector in Turkey. Like many countries around the world, Turkey also faces the expansion of the service sector. The rate of employment in the service sector increased from 27.5 percent in 1982, to 32.2 percent in 1990, 40 percent in 2000, and 45.8 percent in 2005 (see Figure 4). When Turkey is compared to the EU 15 countries, the employment rate in the service sector in Turkey was far behind these 15 countries, where the ratio of employment in the service sector was 52.9 percent in 1982 in European Countries. In 2005 values, 69.8 percent of the total employment force was involved in the service sector in EU 15, compared with the rate of 45.8 percent in Turkey (see Figure 4).

* The rate of employment in industrial sector for the OECD total before 1994 is not available.

Figure 4. Comparative Rates of Employment in the Service Sector %, 1982-2005.*



Source: OECD, *Labor Force Statistics 1985-2005* (Washington D. C.: OECD Publications and Information Center, 2006).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the expansion of the service sector is debated by theories such as the “end of work thesis” and “post-industrial society theories.” These theories mainly assume that capitalism creates high-skill jobs in the service sector based on knowledge as a main factor of production rather than “simple labor.” However Esping-Andersen argues that no country comes even close to achieving such a high-skilled labor-dominated service sector. He classifies service sector in four categories in order to elaborate the main dynamics of its expansion. These categories are the business service sector, including accounting, consulting, and marketing; distributive services, including wholesale, retail and transportation; personal services such as cleaning, food and drink serves, and cutting hair; and

* The rate of the employment in the service sector for the OECD total before 1994 is not available.

social services including health, education, and care-giving services.¹²³ Therefore he classifies the service sector into different occupations to offer a more detailed picture of expanding service sector.

Castells, in his studies on the employment structure of “developed countries,” also observes the expansion of different components of the service sector. He argues that both the business service sector that needs high-skill labor in finance, insurance and real estate sector, and personal services based on low-skill especially in the food and entertainment sector, have provided job opportunities for people.¹²⁴ Therefore contrary to the “end of work” thesis, the expansion of the service sector does not mainly depend on high-skill service sector jobs.

As for Turkey, in conformity with other countries around the world, the service sector has provided job opportunities for persons of working ages. For evaluating the components of the service sector, TURKSTAT classifies the service sector in a different way from that of Esping-Andersen’s classification. TURKSTAT divides the service sector into four groups: wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels (*toptan ve parakende ticaret, lokanta ve oteller*); transport, storage and communication (*ulaştırma, haberleşme ve depolama*); finance, insurance, real estate and business service (*mali kurumlar, sigorta, taşınmaz mallara ait işler ve kurumları, yardımcı iş hizmetleri*); and community, social and personal services (*toplum hizmetleri, sosyal ve kişisel hizmetler*). The main difference of the categorization of the TURKSTAT involves the category of community, social and personal services. TURKSTAT lists under the same category social services which

¹²³ Gósta Esping Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economics*, 109-110.

¹²⁴ Manuel Castells, *Enformasyon Çağı: Ekonomi, Toplum ve Kültür, vol.1: Ağ Toplumunun Yükselişi*, 292.

embrace health, education and care-giving services and personal services such as cleaning, laundering, food service, and child and elder care.

When examining the components of the service sector in Turkey, the greatest increase in the rate of employment occurred in the category of wholesale and retail trade, restaurants, hotels, and community, social and personal services. While the employment rate in the wholesale and retail trade, restaurants, hotels increased from 11.42 percent in 1988 to 21.85 in 2006, the rate of employment in community, social and personal services has also increased from 13.8 percent in 1988 to 17.68 percent in 2006 (see Table 5). In “developed countries,” the social service sector holds an important place due to the development of welfare states in the the post-war period.¹²⁵ In Turkey, the reason behind the increase in this category is not related to the expenditure of the state on social services but to the expansion of personal services. Therefore the service sector in Turkey mainly is based on low-wage and low-skill personal services. However, personal service is not only sector that creates job opportunities. Due to the financial liberalization since the late 1980s, the rate of employment in finance, insurance, real estate and business services increased from 2.41 percent in 1988 to 4.55 percent in 2006 (see Table 5).

¹²⁵ Ibid., 290-292.

Table 5. Percentage of Employed Population by Economic Activity %, 1988-2006.

	Total	Agriculture	Industry			Construction	Services			
		Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	Mining and Quarrying	manufacturing Industry	Electricity, gas and water	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade restaurants, hotels	Transport, storage and communication	Finance, insurance, real estate and business service	Community, social and personal services
1988 October	100	46,46	1,28	14,36	0,15	5,6	11,42	4,3	2,41	13,8
1989 October	100	47,17	0,86	15,1	0,17	5,4	11,28	4,54	2,46	13,06
1990 October	100	45,9	1,12	14,73	0,06	4,86	11,71	4,45	2,27	14,85
1991 October	100	47,25	1,15	13,67	0,16	5,32	11,62	4,26	2,26	14,26
1992 October	100	44,42	0,98	16,06	0,37	5,09	12,53	4,36	2,39	13,1
1993 October	100	40,71	0,82	15,1	0,57	6,48	13,52	5,18	2,53	14,96
1994 October	100	42,02	0,81	15,08	0,49	6,36	13,52	4,73	2,46	14,5
1995 October	100	44,01	0,65	14,58	0,57	6,17	13,15	4,29	2,46	14,05
1996 October	100	44,2	0,68	15,07	0,37	6,43	12,84	4,36	2,19	13,83
1997 October	100	39,46	0,87	17,46	0,53	6,5	13,85	4,47	2,27	14,32
1998 October	100	42,03	0,7	15,36	0,48	6,22	13,56	4,39	2,5	14,7
1999 October	100	36,7	0,62	17,43	0,52	6,75	15,2	4,63	2,77	15,34
2000	100	36	0,37	16,85	0,42	6,32	17,68	4,94	3,28	14,1
2001	100	37,58	0,45	16,63	0,44	5,15	17,36	4,8	3,23	14,32
2002	100	34,92	0,56	17,5	0,48	4,48	18,68	4,7	3,26	15,46
2003	100	33,88	0,39	17,32	0,47	4,56	19,16	4,83	3,48	15,88
2004	100	33,95	0,47	17,44	0,37	4,72	19,17	5,04	3,6	15,18
2005	100	29,45	0,53	18,5	0,35	5,31	20,62	5,13	3,95	16,11
2006 January	100	24,97	0,58	19,78	0,3	4,67	21,85	5,53	4,55	17,68

Source: Calculated by me from Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, "İstihdam Edilenlerin Yıllar ve Cinsiyete Göre İktisadi Faaliyet Kolları." Available (online) at: <www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=283&tb_id=6>.

Note: Total numbers may not be equal the sum of the components due to rounding of numbers.

Thus, in Turkey, the rate of the total employment population in agricultural sector has been decreasing. In a context in which the industrial sector does not provide enough jobs to accompany agricultural employment, the rate of the service sector in the total employment population has been increasing (see Figure 1). Nevertheless contrary to the “end of work thesis,” personal services based on low-skill are the main component of the service sector. When the gender dimension of the employment structure in these different sectors is evaluated, women’s employment mostly intensifies in low-wage and non-skilled labor-intensive occupations in the industrial sector and low-paying and low-skill jobs in the personal service sector. Although the share in the total female labor force is low, there is also a higher level of female labor force participation in some professional jobs such as law, architecture and academia.¹²⁶

Women in the industrial sector are frequently employed in the textile and apparel industry, which compromise low-wages, low-skilled, labor-sensitive industry. In these sectors, women mostly are engaged in home-based work based on hand-use such as sewing, embroidery, making yarn.¹²⁷ On the other hand, male labor is mainly employed in the same sector in its machine-use branches such as being production machine or sewing machine operators.¹²⁸ Therefore there is not only gendered segregation in different sectors, but also gender segregation within the same sector, such as textile and apparel industry.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ İpek İlkaracan, “Kentli Kadınlar ve Çalışma Yaşamı,” in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Bertay Hacımırzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 21.

¹²⁷ Saniye Dedeoğlu, “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerini Açısından Türkiye’de Kadın ve Aile Emegi,” *Toplum ve Bilim* 86 (2000).

¹²⁸ Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, *Kadın İstihdamı İçin Yeni Perspektifler ve Kadın İş Gücüne Muhtemel Talep* (Ankara: KSSGM, 2000)

¹²⁹ Yıldız Ecevit, “Türkiye’de Ücretli Kadın Emeginin Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelinde Analizi,” in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, ed. Ayşe Bertay Hacımırzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998), 272.

The other sector in which women are mainly employed is the personal service sector, doing work such as child and the elder care, and food services, cleaning, and hair cutting, which are commonly perceived as “traditional female jobs.” The increase in employment opportunities in the personal service sector mainly results from increase employment in the tourism sector as well as in work such as such as child and elder care, and making house work. In tourism sector, female labor is used for works including cleaning, food services, which are based on low-wage and unskilled labor.¹³⁰ On the other hand the growth of middle class in urban areas has raised the demand for female labor for child care and house work. In these cases, working middle class women need the labor of lower class women and employ them to care children and the elderly, and to do housework.¹³¹

In such labor market conditions, the workfare programs have come onto the agenda as a way of struggling against poverty by equating the poor with unemployed and poverty with unemployment on the assumption that as long as the poor enter into the market, they can stand on their own feet. Yet such arguments ignore the category of “working poor” which implies that these people although they maintain regular employment, they still remain in poverty due to low wages, unpleasant working conditions and the absence of a social security system.

As discussed above, workfare programs mainly target women in poverty, aiming to integrate them into the labor market. However, when the labor market conditions for women are considered, it is difficult to escape from poverty by participating in the labor market. The poverty rates also confirm this situation. In 2002 values, the poverty rate in the case of the unemployed was 32.41 percent,

¹³⁰ Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, *Kadın İstihdamı İçin Yeni Perspektifler ve Kadın İş Gücüne Muhtemel Talep*.

¹³¹ Aksu Bora, *Kadınların Sınıfı: Ücretli Ev Emeği ve Kadın Öznelliğinin İnşası* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

while 37.86 percent of poor men and 23.04 percent of poor women were unemployed. However, by resting on these rates it is not possible to arrive at a conclusion that poverty equals unemployment. Poverty also threatens wage laborers and the self-employed. The poverty rate for the employed was 23 percent in 2003. While 19 percent of wage laborers were in the ranks of the working poor in 2003 values, the corresponding proportion rate of poverty for the self-employed was 27 percent for the same year. It is also important to mention that the poverty rate for self-employed women was 32 percent for the same year. This figure is especially important when the contents of workfare programs are taken into account, which mainly aim to integrate the poor into the market by encouraging them to create their own jobs (see Table 6).

Table 6. Gendered Poverty Rates According to Status in Employment in Turkey %, 2002-2003.

	2002	2003		2002	2003
Total	25.14	22	Men	24.94	21
			Women	25.34	22
Employed	22.73	23	Men	21.49	21
			Women	25.26	26
Employed excluding self-employed	20.87	19	Men	21.44	19
			Women	18.76	15
Self Employed	24.38	27	Men	21.55	24
			Women	28.08	32
Economically Inactive	21.35	21	Men	20.9	21
			Women	21.05	22
Unemployed	32.41	31	Men	37.86	36
			Women	23.04	23
Other (housewife, disabled, etc.)	22.56	22	Men	24.48	27
			Women	22.21	22

Source: Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *Social Assistance in Turkey: For A Policy of Minimum Income Support Conditional on Socially Beneficial Activity* (Ankara: UNDP, 2007).

All in all, in this chapter the main features of labor market conditions in Turkey were examined in order to evaluate the contents of workfare programs by considering the labor market conditions into which workfare programs aim to integrate. The contents of workfare programs in Turkey will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

WORKFARE PROGRAMS IN TURKEY

This chapter discusses workfare programs carried out as a way of struggling against poverty by situating the case of Turkey in the context of the contemporary international social policy environment shaped by the neo-liberal international governance system.

Poverty and poverty alleviation strategies have dominated social policy programs since the 1990s. The attempts of international organizations such as the World Bank and the UNDP have played important roles in this increasingly concern about the poverty issue. As discussed in Chapter Two, such attempts of international organizations resulted in a paradigm shift in the definition of social policy, from social policies providing protection against market forces, to social policies encouraging the poor themselves to integrate into the market.

In this context, workfare programs that aim to integrate the poor into the market through tightening conditions for social benefits, carrying out “employability” training programs and encouraging self-employment have come onto the agenda due to the efforts of international organizations such as the World Bank and the UNDP. Here how these developments “echo” in Turkey after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis will be examined in a context where the poverty and poverty alleviation programs have become an increasingly concern. For this reason, workfare programs will be discussed as an important part of the poverty alleviation strategies carried out by state organizations such as the Turkish Employment Organization (*İŞ-KUR*), the General Directorate of Social

Assistance and Solidarity (*Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü*), Multi-Purpose Community Centers (*Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezleri*), voluntary organizations such as the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği*) and the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (*Kadın Emegini Değerlendirme Vakfı*), and local government efforts such as the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Artistic and Vocational Training Courses (*İstanbul Belediyesi Sanat ve Meslek Edindirme Kursları*). Microcredit programs which encourage “women entrepreneurship” as a way of struggling against poverty are also discussed.

Workfare programs will be evaluated in two respects. First focus will be given to on how these programs are carried out; i.e., the actors of the programs. The actors of workfare programs range from international organizations to the state, to voluntary organizations and local governments which reflect the neo-liberal international governance system that modifies the diverse partnership between international organizations, state, voluntary organizations, and the private sector for social policy programs. This diverse partnership between these actors can be followed through workfare programs since all of these actors of the neo-liberal international governance system engage in workfare programs by making cooperating with each other.

Second, the contents of workfare programs in Turkey will be examined. In Chapter Two, the contents of workfare programs through conditions for getting social benefits, “employability” training programs for low-paying jobs, and self-employment programs were discussed. However, in countries where social assistance is not the main part of the welfare regimes, employability training programs and self-employment programs have become the main components of

workfare programs to enable the poor to participate in the market. In Turkey, unemployment benefits executed by İŞ-KUR can be evaluated as only a “workfarist benefit”. Thus the main emphasis will be on employability training and self-employment programs.

In Turkey, employability training programs mainly offer jobs in the textile service sectors. However, all employability training programs should not be evaluated as workfare since there are also employability training programs that go beyond the scope of workfare programs. For example, the contents of the İŞ-KUR’s employability training programs provide more “high-skill” than other employability training programs, especially in service and textile sectors. In this context, Esping-Andersen’s classification of the service sector, discussed in Chapter Two will be useful for evaluating the contents of workfare programs in the service sector. However, while evaluating the contents of these training programs, the gender dimension should be emphasized since while women are encouraged to participate in the low-paying textile jobs based on hand-work and in the personal service sector, men are encouraged to take on the skilled jobs in textile and business service sectors which will be discussed while evaluating workfare programs in Turkey.

In the context of Turkey, where the economic growth does not create enough employment opportunities, self-employment programs are seen as an alternative to wage labor. Hence self-employment programs, including microcredit programs, have become highly “popular” for integrating the poor into the market although they do not provide an effective solution for poverty and they place the poor under the additional burden of debts with high interest.

The target group of workfare programs is defined as a “disadvantaged group” who suffers social exclusion and has limited access to economic opportunities

such as finding decent work and obtaining credit.¹³² These groups may range from long-term unemployed people, youth, the disabled, and women in poverty. Although workfare programs for other “disadvantaged group” are given attention here, I will especially concentrate on workfare programs carried out for women in poverty. The worldwide experience of poverty shows that in response to the economic crisis women become the main income-generating actors of their households, particularly since the men lose their jobs or can not find regular employment.¹³³ In this sense, workfare programs have the tendency to arrange employability training programs and self-employment programs for women to integrate them into the market as a way fighting poverty.

All in all, in this chapter I will demonstrate the reflections of the neo-liberal social policy environment in Turkey through workfare programs as a main part of the poverty alleviation programs carried out in conformity with the neo-liberal international governance system.

From Employment to Employability: Workfare Programs of the Turkish Employment

Organization (*Türkiye İş Kurumu İŞ-KUR*)

The Turkish Employment Organization replaced the Labor and Employment Organization (*İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu*) in 2003 with Law no. 4904. The Labor and Employment Organization was established in 1946 to protect, develop and expand employment and to help activities for preventing unemployment. However, it remained inert until the 1960s. From the 1960s onwards, the organization became an

¹³² Joel F. Handler, *Social Citizenship and Workfare in the United States and Western Europe*, 112-119.

¹³³ Katherine Rankin, “Governing Development: Neo-liberalism, Microcredit and Rational Economic Woman,” *Economy and Society* 30 (2001).

important actor in sending Turkish workers to foreign countries. Yet, this basic function of the organization regressed due to the decline in the foreign demand for Turkish workers with the economic crisis in the mid-70s. After the 1970s, the organization was unable to meet the demands of the unemployed for decent work. In following years the attempts to revise the organization began. These attempts reflected the new trends of the neo-liberal social policy environment. Initial attempts to revise the organization were made in the 1990s with the support of the German Employment Agency and the World Bank during the 1990s.¹³⁴ The main transformation in this area took place in 2003 with legal changes. With the regulations in terms of responsibilities and the organizational structure, the Labor and Employment Organization was replaced by the Turkish Employment Organization with Law no. 4904.

However this situation should not be evaluated as a simple change of name. İŞ-KUR adapted to the new neo-liberal social policy environment by re-structuring its organizational structure and re-formulating its main responsibilities. These legal changes are important for the discussion of workfare programs and neo-liberal international governance system in mainly four respects. Although İŞ-KUR provided employability training programs from 1988 when it was the Labor and Employment Organization (*İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu*), the emphasis on these programs increased as a crucial responsibility of the organization with the establishment of the Turkish Employment Organization instead of the Labor and Employment Organization in 2003. Through these employability training programs, İŞ-KUR attempts to improve the “employability” of the unemployed/poor to enable them to seek new jobs in the market rather than providing effective public

¹³⁴ For these attempts, see Bayram Coşkun, *Kamu Yönetiminde Yeniden Yapılanma: 1990’lı Yıllardaki Gelişmeler ve İŞ-KUR Orneği* (Ph.D dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2003).

intervention to remedy unemployment. Second, the scope of the “disadvantaged group” that suffers from social exclusion and has limited to access economic opportunities such as finding decent jobs and obtaining credit has been extended with new projects organized by the Turkish Employment Organization. Whereas the traditional definition of “disadvantaged group” mainly includes former convicts and the disabled, due to the increase in poverty and unemployment, the organization has begun to enlarge its definition to include women in poverty, orphans, and long-term unemployed people. Third, the organization has contributed to the international projects for poverty alleviation programs that have been supported by the World Bank and the European Union by playing the roles of facilitator and coordinator in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system. Finally it has executed unemployment benefits since 2002 as a “workfarist benefit” in which an amount of money is paid as if it is job-seeking allowance rather social right to compensate job losses. According to contents of workfare, workfare programs have three dimensions: one is employability training programs which enhance the “employability” of the participants through skill formation, self-employment programs which encourage participants to create their own jobs, and other is the “workfarist” benefit systems which tightens the benefit conditions that serve the same function as employability training programs to integrate the beneficiaries into the market. Three dimensions are embodied in the Turkish Employment Organization. In this part focusing on the Law no. 4904 of the Turkish Employment Organization, first the “workfarist” attempts of the Turkish Employment Organization in terms of recent changes in both responsibilities and organizational structure since the beginning of the 2000s will be discussed. Here these workfarist attempts will be examined in two groups: First, employability training programs and

self-employment programs will be discussed together since they are complementary to each other rather than being alternative to each other and the execution of unemployment benefits will be evaluated.

The Workfare Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization in the Context of the Neo-liberal International Governance System

The Labor and Employment Organization was the main body for the state's employment policies since it helped in activities for developing the national employment policy, protecting and enhancing employment, and preventing unemployment. Its main responsibility was finding suitable jobs for the unemployed. With recent legal changes, the emphasis shifted from "job placement" to the improvement of "employability" of unemployed/poor.¹³⁵ Moreover although it did not abandon its responsibility of providing employment, it began to share this responsibility with Special Employment Offices (*Özel İstihdam Büroları*). Article 17 of the law gives natural and legal persons permission to open employment offices outside Turkish Employment Organization in order to bring employer and employee together.¹³⁶ The emergence of these special offices is not only a division of responsibilities concerning job placement among the Organization and these offices, but also a structural transformation within the Organization in which emphasis is more on employability than employment. Thus the Organization on the one hand has begun to share its responsibility of providing employment with the special offices, on the other hand through employability training programs it aims to

¹³⁵ Article 3 of Law on Turkish Employment Organization (*İş-KUR Kanunu*), Law no.4904, Date of Adoption: 25 June 2003.

¹³⁶ Article 17 of Law on Turkish Employment Organization.

increase the skills of the participants so that they become ready to integrate into the labor market, rather than provide employment to them directly.

The shift from “employment” to “employability” reflects the changing nature of public employment policy. Public demand-side policies for job creation have turned to supply-side on the assumption that people can not find decent work because of a lack of skills. In this context, the assumption that employment will grow if labor is attractive to employers in terms of skill leads to stress on employability training programs. Therefore providing skills and seeking jobs in the market rather than public intervention are seen as solutions for both economic competition and poverty alleviation.

The recent changes not only re-define the responsibilities of the organization, but also re-structure its internal organization structure. In the governance context, the state’s responsibilities are defined as bringing the state closer to the people by co-opting non-state actors to the state organizations. With this law, both the existing bodies of the organization were changed and new bodies were created in order to become more open to voluntary organizations. This situation is obvious in a speech by the Minister of Labor and Social Security made during the Parliament discussions over the Law on the Turkish Employment Organization. He stated that: “We are especially providing an opportunity to the voluntary organizations for incorporation with the structure of İŞ-KUR. We want to maintain our understanding of participatory democracy in employment politics by integrating social and relevant sides into the General Board, the Directorate General and the Provincial Employment Boards.”¹³⁷

¹³⁷ “İŞKUR’un yapısını özellikle sivil toplum örgütlerine açıyoruz. Genel Kurula, Yönetim Kurulu’na ve illerde öngördüğümüz İl İstihdam Kurullarına sosyal tarafları, ilgi tarafları olabildiğince katarak, aynı zamanda katılımcı demokrasi anlayışımızı istihdam politikalarında da sürdürmek

Particularly, the member compositions of the newly established Provincial Employment Boards (*İl İstihdam Kurulları*) and General Board (*Genel Kurul*) reflect the recent tendency the of the Organization to be more open to the representatives of voluntary organization and the private sector. Their members range from representatives of different state organizations such as the Ministry of Justice, National Education, Labour and Social Affairs to representatives of the private sector such as the Turkish Chamber of Commerce, Industry.¹³⁸

These legal changes in both the responsibilities and organizational structure of İŞ-KUR result in the adaptation of the İŞ-KUR to the new social policy environment dominated by workfare programs and the neo-liberal international governance system. The following parts of the discussion on the Organization will highlight three faces of workfare in terms of first the conduct of the employability training programs, and self-employment programs, and then the execution of unemployment benefits by the Organization. The training programs of the Turkish Employment Organization will be discussed three sections: Employability Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization, Employability Training Programs for “Disadvantaged Group” and Employability Training Programs for International Privatization Social Support Project supported by the World Bank.

istiyoruz.” See TBMM, *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Term 2, Legislation year 1, Session 97, vol.19, 24 June 2003.

¹³⁸ Article 13 and 15 of *Law on Turkish Employment Organization*.

Employability Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization

To provide employability training programs to the unemployed/poor has been among the main responsibilities of the Turkish Employment Organization especially after the legal changes in 2003. These programs are carried out by the Organization mostly in coordination with the private sector and voluntary organizations. The main body responsible for arranging employability training programs is the Department of Labor Force Harmonization (*İş Gücü Uyum Dairesi*) under the Directorate General, composed of the main body of the Organization.

The preparation of employability training program plans follows such a procedure in which Provincial Employment Boards (*İl İstihdam Kurulları*) prepare, mostly upon the request of the private sector, the annual training course plan consisting of the vocation, participation requirements, the number of participants, and estimated cost of the courses, and then submit the plan to the Directorate General for approval.¹³⁹ Within the Directorate General, the responsible body for employability training programs is the Department of Labor Force Harmonization.

The Turkish Employment Organization arranges employability training programs in cooperation with many different actors that vary from the public and private education institutions affiliated with the Ministry of National Education and universities to the private sector, foundations, associations, labor and employee organizations which have enough equipment and the space required for providing vocational training courses.¹⁴⁰ The demands for employability training courses mostly come from the employer to meet his/her labor needy. If the employer has

¹³⁹ Article 6 of *İşgücü Yetiştirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*, 25560 sayılı Resmi Gazete, 21 August 2004.

¹⁴⁰ Article 7 of *İşgücü Yetiştirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*.

enough equipment and appropriate place to the conduct a course, the course is arranged in that employer's work place. Otherwise, the course is provided through the coordination of that employer with the education institutions. If the training course is arranged in the work place, the employees of that work place may also participate in the course in order to develop their skills on the condition that the costs of the course are met by the employer.¹⁴¹ The main responsibility of the Turkish Employment Organization is here to coordinate this process and meet the financial costs of the programs.

Some employability training programs offer an employment guarantee (*iş garantisi*), which means that the executive of the training program should find employment within ninety days for at least fifty percent of the participants who have been successful in the exam at the end of the training program. The executive of the employability training programs is obliged to send to the job entrance documents of the participants to İŞ-KUR.¹⁴² In other words, in the training programs with employment guarantee, the participant should stay on the work for thirty days. However, The Turkish Employment Organization does not monitor whether the participants continue to the work or not after the time period for thirty days lapses. Thus, apart from only thirty days employment, the training programs with employment guarantee do not “guarantee” anything more than the training programs carried out without such guarantee.

The contents of employability training programs may be classified in two groups, one is employability training programs for wage labor and the other is training programs for self-employment. While at the beginning the training programs are arranged mostly in order for wage labor, then they also begin to

¹⁴¹ Article 11 of *İşgücü Yetistirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*.

¹⁴² Article 22 of *İşgücü Yetistirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*.

emphasize self-employment. For example, the General Board states that self-employment is an alternative for wage labor and should be encouraged through incentives.¹⁴³ Yet in the case of the training programs the distinction between wage labor and self-employment is disappearing. For instance, in 2004, an employment guarantee training program concerning care of elderly sick people at home (*evde yaşlı hasta bakımı*) was arranged for wage labor. Yet the same training program aimed at self-employment in both 2004 and 2005 (see Tables 7, 9 and 10). A similar situation was also valid for training programs related to the textile sector. In 2004 while there were training programs with employment guarantee related to the manufacture of ready-made clothes (*hazır giyim*) and machine sewing (*makina nakışı*) for wage labor, there were cut and sew programs (*biçki-dikiş*) for self-employment (see Tables 7 and 9). Therefore training programs of the Organization for wage labor and self-employment function complementarily with the aim to integrate the unemployed/poor into the market.

Table 7. Employability Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization with Employment Guarantee in 2004*

Province	Vocation	Number of Participant		
		Male	Female	Total
Aydın	Elder Care	-	80	80
Edirne	Ready-Wear Sewer	-	20	20
İzmir	Ready-Wear Sewing Machine Operator	20	-	20
Kayseri	Carpet Carver (<i>Halı Oymacılığı</i>)	36	-	36
Kırklareli	Hand and Machine Sewer	9	11	20
Konya	CNC Operator	5	10	15
	Total	70	121	191

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İş Kur, 2005), 20.

¹⁴³ İŞ-KUR, *III. Genel Kurul Kararları*, available (online) at <<http://www.iskur.gov.tr/mydocu/3.Genel%20Kurul%20Raporu.doc>>.

* Employment guarantee employability training programs engage a small part of the employability training programs of İŞ-KUR. For example, in 2004, 10 employability training programs among 109 offered employment guarantee. This situation is in conformity with the new public employment policies that aim to improve the “employability” of the unemployed rather than providing decent work. Here I use the list of employment guarantee training programs since İŞ-KUR publishes only the contents of employment guarantee training programs.

Table 8. Employability Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization with Employment Guarantee in 2005.

Province	Vocation	Number of participants		
		Male	Female	Total
Aydın	Presser	3	16	19
Bursa	<i>Kablo Ağı Montajcısı (7)</i>	53	85	138
İstanbul	<i>Kablo Ağı Montajcısı (2)</i>	24	16	40
Kayseri	Upholsterer/ <i>döşemeci</i>	26	-	26
Nevşehir	English Formal Education	30	26	56
Niğde	<i>Vaterci (2)</i>	30	-	30
Ordu	Sewer(7)	-	140	140
Tokat	Sewer(6)	8	112	120
Uşak	Dairy farmer/ <i>süt mandıracısı</i>	7	3	10
	Total	181	398	579

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2006), 20.

Table 9. Self-Employment Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization in 2004.

Province	Vocation	Number of Participant		
		Male	Female	Total
Amasya	Natural Gas Plumber	10	-	10
Amasya	Computer Operator	10	-	10
Amasya	Plastic Material Manufacturing Workman	10	-	10
Batman	Hairdresser	-	10	10
Düzce	Agricultural Producer	10	-	10
Erzincan	Machine Sewer	-	15	15
Hakkari	Kilim Weaver (4)	-	80	80
Hakkari	Computer Operator	12	8	20
Hakkari	Natural Gas Plumber	20	-	20
Hakkari	Knitwear/ <i>Trikotaj</i>	-	20	20
Hakkari	Carpenter	20	-	20
Hatay	Barber	12	-	12
Hatay	Shoe Production Workman	12	-	12
Hatay	Furniture Workman	10	-	10
Kilis	Machine Sewer	-	20	20
Kilis	Hairdresser	-	20	20
Kilis	Laceworker	-	20	20
Kilis	Cut-Sewer	-	20	20
Kilis	Hand Sewer	-	20	20
Kilis	Cloth Dyer	-	20	20
Konya	Elder Care	10	20	30
Siirt	Computer Operator	15	9	24
Sinop	Carpet Weaver	-	22	22
Sinop	Hand-based Carpet Weaver	-	13	13
	Total	151	427	578

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2005), 20.

Table10. Self-Employment Training Programs of the Turkish Employment Organization in 2005

Province	Vocation	Number of Participant		
		Male	Female	Total
Adana	Hand and machine sewer (3)	5	40	45
Ağrı	Carpet Weaver	11	-	11
Ağrı	Kilim Weaver	-	15	15
Amasya	Electronic Operator (2)	13	17	30
Amasya	Natural gas Plumber (2)	30	-	30
Amasya	Wireless, telephone repairer	13	2	15
Ardahan	Carpet Weaver	-	16	16
Aydın	Child Care at Home	-	20	20
Bayburt	Carpet Weaver	-	20	20
Diyarbakır	Lacework	-	10	10
Diyarbakır	Hairdresser	-	10	10
Gaziantep	Kilim Weaver	-	13	13
Gaziantep	Kilim Weaver (2)	-	15	15
Hakkari	Kilim Weaver	-	34	34
Hatay	Barber	12	-	12
Hatay	Hotel Servicer	15	-	15
Hatay	Furniture polisher/ <i>mobilya cilacısı</i>	12	-	12
Kilis	Hand Sewer	-	20	20
Kilis	Furniture Decorator	-	20	20
Kilis	Jewellery Designer	-	20	20
Konya	Child Care	20	-	20
Konya	Beekeeper	20	-	20
Rize	Rize Cloth Weaver	-	12	12
Sinop	Hand-Based Carpet Weaver	-	13	13
	Total	151	297	448

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2006), 20.

When the contents of the employability training programs provided by İŞ-KUR in 2004 and 2005 is examined, most of them were directed at the textile sector, such as presser (*ütücü*), machiner (*makinacı*), sewing machine operator (*dikiş makina operatörlüğü*), and workman in the field of ready-made clothes (*hazırgiyim alanında işçilik*). The training programs specifically aimed at self-employment, on the other hand, were directed at such vocation as hand-embroidery (*el nakışı*), lace making (*iğne oyası*), machine embroidery (*makine nakışı*) in 2004 and hand-embroidery (*el nakışı*), jewellery design (*takı tasarımı*) in 2005, especially for female

participants. There were training programs on haircutting for women. The natural gas plumbers (*doğal gaz tesisatçılığı*) in 2005 was another alternative for men. The courses on carpet weaving (*Halı dokuma*), rug weaving (*kilim dokuma*) in 2004 and Rize cloth weaving (*rize bezi dokuma*) are newly opened ones (see Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10)

As easily seen, the vocational composition of the training programs has a gender dimension. There are explicit differences between employability training programs according to gender. Although the training courses are not arranged for men and women separately, the gendered composition of the courses constitutes itself the distinction between the courses for male participants on the one hand and for female participants on the other hand. While women mostly participated in employability training courses related to the low-paying textile sector including jobs heavily based on hand-skills, or courses related to jobs which are seen as “traditional female jobs” such as child-care or elder care, men, on the other hand, attended training programs related to machine usage (*makine kullanımı*) that demand skill and contribute to upward mobility in the textile sector (see Tables 7, 8, 9, 10). This gendered composition of the employability training programs arranged by the Turkish Employment Organization illustrates the situation of women in the low-wage labor market, which at the same time contributes to women’s situation within the low-wage labor market. For this reason, such courses do not constitute an alternative for women in order to recover their situation within labor market.

When examining the sectoral distribution of the employability training programs, employability training programs were arranged in relation to the textile sector. Contrary to the expectations, there were few programs related to the service sector, most of which mainly aim to integrate the women into the personal service

sector such as child care and elder care. This may be related to the quality of the cooperation between the organization and the private sector. Since the organization demands employment guarantees from the private sector for carrying out such courses, such a guarantee may be only given by sectors that employ more workers such as the textile sector.

Besides the employability training programs for wage labor and self-employment, the Turkish Employment Organization also coordinates Temporary Community Employment Programs (*Toplum Yararına Geçici İstihdam*). These programs are generally arranged when and where unemployment is high. They provide only short-time employment. In order to participate in these programs, the participants are required first to register with the Turkish Employment Organization as unemployed. Other requirements are to be above the age of nineteen, not to have participated in such programs before and to have no right to receive any social assistance.¹⁴⁴ The length of time of these programs is not to be more than forty-five hours in a week and not to be more than six months. During this period, the participant takes a monthly wage which is not allowed to exceed the amount of the minimum wage.¹⁴⁵

Socially Beneficial Activities are also carried out in European countries. Therefore it will be useful to compare the Socially Beneficial Activities in Turkey with those of European countries. Although there are differences between the practices of European countries, the social assistance is given on the condition of socially beneficial activities.¹⁴⁶ In Turkey, on the other hand, the program is not considered as a part of social assistance programs. The aim of these programs in

¹⁴⁴ Article 10 of *Türkiye İş Kurumu İşgücü Yetiştirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*.

¹⁴⁵ Article 15 of *Türkiye İş Kurumu İşgücü Yetiştirme ve Uyum Hizmetleri Yönetmeliği*.

¹⁴⁶ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *Social Assistance in Turkey: For A Policy of Minimum Income Support Conditional on Socially Beneficial Activity* (Ankara: UNDP, 2007).

Turkey is to provide temporary income support, provide work experience and improve skills to make easier to find jobs in the market.¹⁴⁷ The other difference involves the time duration of the programs. While in practices in the European countries, the socially beneficial activities do not require a full working day, weekly work does not generally extend beyond 15-20 hours,¹⁴⁸ whereas in Turkey, the Temporary Socially Beneficial require a full weekly working hours that can be extended to 45 hours. Yet the main difference is towards the contents of the program. In Turkey the beneficiaries are made to work in areas the private or public sector has already created. In other words, in Turkey these programs do not provide alternatives to the existing market; with aiming to integrate the beneficiaries into the existing market relations. However, in most European countries, conditional income support programs attempt to create alternative work programs for market relations such as helping the elderly with their problems, assisting them in house work or in shopping or cleaning the local environment, or planting trees as socially beneficial activities.¹⁴⁹ In Turkey, the Temporary Community Employment Programs mostly include repairing stone and parquet (*taş ve parke yapımı*), providing security at the beach (*sahillerde güvenliği sağlama*), the maintenance of parks, gardens and concrete sidewalks (*park, bahçe ve kaldırım düzenleme*), and cleaning up the environment (*çevre temizliği*), and the improvement of canals (*kanal ıslahı*).¹⁵⁰ Therefore the programs in Turkey can be evaluated as workfare which aims to

¹⁴⁷ The draft on Social Assistance Law also states conditions such as attending training program or socially beneficial activity for social assistance. See *Sosyal Yardım ve Primsiz Ödemeler Kanun Taslağı*, available (online) at: <<http://www.csgeb.gov.tr>>.

¹⁴⁸ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *Social Assistance in Turkey: for a Policy of Minimum Income Support Conditional on Socially Beneficial Activity*.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ In Turkey Temporary Social Community Employment Programs are also being carried out as a part of Privatization Social Support Project and Social Risk Mitigation Project that will be discussed later.

integrate the participants into the market by providing transitional and low-paying public work in the case that the laid-off worker is seeking for a new job in contrast to integrating them to social life and contributing to the welfare of the people and environment surrounding them. Thus the Temporary Employment Community programs are the part of “employability” programs for aiming to integrate the poor into the market whereas in Europe these programs are being carried out as a component of the social benefit systems

After having discussed in general the employability training programs carried out by the Turkish Employment Organization in terms of their implementation, the quality of both participants and the programs, the following pages will focus on the employability training programs specifically created for “disadvantaged group.” Here the issue will be discussed through the example of a project called “From Foster Dormitory to Employment” (*Yetiştirme Yurdundan İstihdama Projesi*) to see how the Organization has enlarged its definition of “disadvantaged group.”

The Turkish Employment Organization and “Disadvantaged Group”

“Disadvantaged group,” which is defined as a group in which the upward mobility of individuals is curtailed due to social exclusion and having limited access to natural resources and economic opportunities such as finding decent work. Women, unemployed youth, long-term unemployed, the disabled, former convicts and victims of terror are considered as some examples of disadvantaged groups. The traditional definition of “disadvantaged group” of the Turkish Employment Organization mainly included the former convicts and the disabled. Yet with the

recent legal changes in 2003, the Organization has begun to enlarge its definition to include unemployed youth, women in poverty, orphans and victims of terror. The emphasis on “disadvantaged group” can be followed through the decisions of the bodies of the Turkish Employment Organization and the organization’s publications. For example, the General Director Board emphasizes the importance of integrating the disadvantaged groups such as women in poverty, young unemployed, disabled, ethnic groups, and immigrants to the market. According the Board, the Turkish Employment Organization can play an important role by transforming its structures and cooperating with voluntary organizations for programs aimed at the “disadvantaged groups.” Two important responsibilities of the organization are stated as to provide the employability of disadvantaged groups by carrying out employability training programs and a project for job placement especially in the private sector.¹⁵¹ In this context, the incentives for the encouragement of job placement for “disadvantaged groups” in the private sector and lowering the punishments for not employing the disabled are offered for finding suitable jobs for individuals from the “disadvantaged groups”.

As parts of the Turkish Employment Organization’s traditional definition of “disadvantaged group,” the training courses are arranged to prepare former convicts and victims of terror to participate in the labor market. There are also training programs provided for inmates in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice.¹⁵² Therefore the target group of these programs includes not only the former convicts but also the inmates. The training programs for the “disadvantaged groups” are implemented on the basis of Article thirty of the Labor Law, which states that an

¹⁵¹ İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR III. Olağan Genel Kurul Kararları*, Available (online) at: <<http://www.iskur.gov.tr/mydocu/3.Genel%20Kurul%20Raporu.doc>>.

¹⁵² İŞ-KUR, *Özürlü ve Eski Hükümlü Projeleri* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2005).

employer who employs over fifty people is to provide jobs for disadvantaged people such as former convicts, the disabled and victims of terror, the number of which is decided by the government. If the employers in question do not provide jobs for these people, they are punished with fines as stated in the last paragraph of the Article 30.¹⁵³ These fines are transferred to the budget of the Turkish Employment Organization as revenue by the Ministry of Finance, and then spent on projects for these “disadvantaged groups” like rehabilitation projects and employability training programs, the costs of which are determined by a Commission established on the basis of same article. The commission consists of the General Director of Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Labor Health and Security Director of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, the Administration for the Disabled, and a representative of the Turkish Confederation for the Handicapped and representatives of the employer and labor organizations. The Directorate General of the Turkish Employment Organization is the chairman of the Commission. The Commission evaluates the projects for the disadvantaged groups in terms of their aims, length of time, the number of beneficiaries and potential contribution to employment. The project proposals are submitted to the Commission through the responsible of the Turkish Employment Organization or the Turkish Confederation for the Handicapped.¹⁵⁴

The employability training programs for disabled people generally included such courses as computer programming (*bilgisayar programcılığı*), computer operation (*bilgisayar operatörlüğü*), computer-based accounting (*bilgisayarlı muhasebe*), office management (*büro yönetimi*), all of which were directed at the business service sector in 2004 and 2005. There were also several training programs

¹⁵³ Article 30 of *Labor Law (İş Kanunu)*, Law no. 4857, Date of Adoption: 22 May 2003.

¹⁵⁴ Article 30.

related to the textile sector such as machine embroidery, cloth sewing, cloth cutting (*kumaş kesim*), sewing machine operating, and ready-wear workmanship.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, there were also the training programs for the former convicts who are included in the disadvantaged group by the Organization. As mostly directed at self-employment, these programs for the former convicts involve training courses in areas such as on barber and hairdresser, heater stoker (*kaloriferci*), doorkeeper (*apartman görevlisi*), cook, natural gas plumber, and employability training programs towards painting and whitewashing (*boya ve badana*), and dairy farming.¹⁵⁶ As seen, the training programs for the disabled are obviously more qualified than those for the inmates and former convicts since the programs for the disabled direct them at the business service sector in terms of the quality of the vocations in the programs.

Especially in its recent projects, the Turkish Employment Organization enlarged the scope of its works related to “disadvantaged groups.” One of these projects is the “From Foster Dormitory to Employment (*Yetiştirme Yurdundan İstihdama Projesi*)” which was implemented between May 2005 and March 2006. With the financial support of the European Education Foundation, the Organization initiated this project as a model for its following projects related to disadvantaged groups. For the first time, by including the young girls who had grown in foster dormitories, the Organization went beyond former convicts and the disabled in terms of its definition of disadvantaged group.

The main objective of the project in question for the Organization was to develop social policies for the specific disadvantaged group of foster dormitory with

¹⁵⁵ İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 22 and İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*, 21.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

the aim of increasing the employability of this target group in coordination with both other state institutions and voluntary organizations.

The target group of the project was taken as a “disadvantaged group” consisting of young girls from the age of eighteen and above who had grown up in the Social Services and Child Protection Agency (*Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu-SHÇEK*) and completed their high school educations. These girls were considered as disadvantaged because they had grown up in SHÇEK and they were female and young as well as poor. According to the Organization, these conditions altogether rendered the girls disadvantaged especially when they try to enter the labor market; therefore the state attempted to educate them through training programs in order to help them integrate into the labor market.¹⁵⁷

In implementing the project, the Organization cooperated with many actors such as other state institutions, voluntary organizations and the private sector. The project was mainly based on employability training programs so that the Ministry of National Education was involved in the project as an actor since it is the main body that develops and implements the main policies concerning employability training programs. The other actor involved into the project in question was SHÇEK because the “disadvantaged group” was girls who had grown up in this organization. In the project, cooperation with voluntary organizations was also important. Since the project had basically two parts: education as empowerment strategy and employability training programs, while the Association for the Support and Education of Women Candidates (*Kadın Adaylarını Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği-KADER*) provided education for empowerment in terms of the development of communication skills and self-confidence, and the encouragement of

¹⁵⁷ Nazik Işık, *Dezavantajlı Gruplarla Aktif İşgücü Önlemleri El Kitabı* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2006), 55.

entrepreneurship, the Foundation of Contemporary Women and Youth (*Çağdaş Kadın ve Gençlik Vakfı*) supplied the employment part of the project through the arrangement of employability training programs.¹⁵⁸ All these actors in cooperation with the Organization in the project in question constituted a working group. Representatives from the private sector were also welcomed by this group during the project.

The participants in the training programs were determined through face to face interviews at local meetings. Face-to-face interviews were important in order to create an environment of trust among the girls and the state organizations. Since there is a legal quota promising the provision of jobs in the public sector for people who grow up in the Social Services and Child Protection Agency, most of the girls at the beginning hesitated to participate in the training programs in order not to lose their job opportunity in the public sector. After they were convinced they would not lose their right to work in public sector stemming from this legal quota, girls decided to participate in the project.¹⁵⁹ After the local meetings, seventy-two girls decided to participate in the program. The program was arranged in Ankara in three groups, each group of which was composed of twenty-four participants. The first group took training courses on computer, second and third groups on public relations (*halkla ilişkiler*).

The training programs in this project included more than employability training programs.¹⁶⁰ Since the target group of the project was girls, empowerment programs were also provided by KA-DER as complementary part of the training programs, which consisted of the development of communication skills and self-

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 53-54.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 58-61.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 92.

confidence, and the encouragement of entrepreneurship together with social activities and psychological support programs. Gender and women's rights were other components of the empowerment strategy including the subjects of the reproduction, sexual health, civil rights and violence against woman. The last part of the empowerment strategy was related to the labor market in terms of socio-economic rights.¹⁶¹ In the final report of the project, it was argued that the empowerment programs were very significant especially for "disadvantaged groups" and recommended that they be enlarged by the Turkish Employment Organization.

In the project in question the Organization cooperated with such actors from the private sector as the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği*), the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (*Türkiye İş-Veren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu*) and the Confederation of Artisans and Crafts of Turkey (*Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu- TESK*) in order to provide employment for its target group. The project aimed at least eighty percent employment but it was unable to achieve this number.¹⁶² Therefore the project contributed to the employability of its disadvantaged group rather than providing employment.

To conclude, although İŞ-KUR provides employability training programs for the unemployed, it has enlarged its programs for "disadvantaged groups" in an environment where the paid work is seen as a way out of poverty. The Project of "From Foster Dormitory to Employment" was the first attempts for İŞ-KUR in this context. For the first time, İŞ-KUR met with a new "disadvantaged group" beyond former convicts and the disabled. It also received the support of international organizations for its projects, and executed the project with voluntary organizations

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 93-95.

¹⁶² Ibid., 109-114.

and the private sector. In addition to employability training programs, its programs began to include empowerment strategies as an effective way to struggle against poverty.

This situation reflects the new environment regarding social policy. First, it reflects the diverse partnership between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector that de-politicize the social policy by averting different alternative policies. Second, it is in harmony with the new poverty alleviation programs, which enables the poor to adopt the necessary skills capacities for entering the market as capable market actors through empowerment strategies. Integrating such empowerment programs to workfare programs plays a legitimizing discourse in integrating the poor into the market.

The Turkish Employment Organization and the Privatization Social Support Project

The Turkish Employment Organization began to provide employability training programs for international projects supported by international organizations. Here the Privatization Social Support Project supported by the World Bank will be discussed as an example of such international projects. This project is relevant to the discussion in two ways. First, as its main part the project embraces Labor Re-deployment Services including job counseling, employability training programs and Temporary Community Employment Programs which are carried out by the Turkish Employment Organization. In this respect, the role of the Organization within this project is especially important for its contribution to such an international project. Second, although the project does not explicitly aim at struggling against poverty directly, the policies developed within the project tend to define the unemployment

that the privatization process leads to as a structural problem, it proposed labor policies to shorten the duration. Characteristically, these policies are workfare in kind which invests in the “employability” of the unemployed and provide temporary and low-paying works in the public sector for helping the unemployed to seek jobs in the market.

The Privatization Social Support Project was initiated on 21 December 2000 and lasted until 2005 with the objectives of mitigating the economic and social consequences of the privatization process in Turkey.¹⁶³ Therefore the social support program was seen as a complementary part of the ongoing privatization process.

The Privatization Social Support Project within the context of privatization had some economic, social and political objectives. From an economic perspective of the World Bank, it was argued that the public reforms create a more competitive economic environment which should be encouraged. Thus the public sector reform process including privatization was given priority by the Bank. The Social Support Project therefore provided an effective privatization strategy through incorporating a “social program” in the project. For socio-economic reasons, the project then aimed to shorten the duration of unemployment by proposing active labor programs. Finally the political objective of the Privatization Social Support Project was to gain the political support of the communities, citizens, and labor organizations in order to create an environment of consensus for the privatization policies by preventing and mitigating the social and political risks in the ongoing privatization process that would affect its own future.¹⁶⁴ Thus the “rationality” of the World Bank for its

¹⁶³ For the results of the first Privatization Social Support Program, see World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on A Loan in the Amount of \$250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, Report No: 34931-TU (Washington D.C: World Bank., 2006). Now the Second Privatization Social Support Project is being carried out and is planned to finish in 2008.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

involvement in the project is to support the government's privatization policies with the purpose of mitigating the negative socio-economic and political consequences of the privatization process.

The Privatization Social Support Program had two components namely job loss compensation and labor re-deployment services. The first one was compensation for job loss, which aimed to eliminate the temporary negative economic and social effects of privatization.¹⁶⁵ This component included finance severances and related payments to workers who lose their jobs due to privatization. These conditions were determined by the Privatization Law. According to the Article 21 of the Law, workers who lose their jobs due to privatization are to be compensated for their loss. Job loss compensation is twice as much as the daily minimum wage. Workers who have a labor agreement for at least 550 working days have the right to receive ninety days job loss compensation; for 1,100 days to receive 120 days; for 1,650 days to receive 180 days and for more than 2,200 days to receive 240 days job loss compensation.¹⁶⁶ The time length of the job loss compensation was short to create the incentive to integrate into the market as soon as possible. These payments were not made in lump sum but in payments which had a delaying effect to integrate into the work.¹⁶⁷ Payments to unemployed person due to privatization were cut off if s/he found employment.¹⁶⁸

The second part of the project was the labor re-deployment services, which were provided by the Turkish Employment Organization and the Small and Medium

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

¹⁶⁶ Article 21 of *Özelleştirme Uygulamaları Hakkında Kanun*, Law no. 4046, Date of Adoption: 24 November 1994.

¹⁶⁷ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan in the Amount of \$465.4 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Second Privatization Social Support Project* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2003).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 8.

Industry Organization (*Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli Sanayi Gelistirme ve Destekleme İdaresi Başkanlığı- KOSGEB*) in order to support the laid-off workers to re-enter the labor market as quickly as possible. Like other contents of the employability training programs, both wage labor and self-employment were encouraged. The partnership for the small employment was the KOSGEB. KOSGEB provided Small Business Assistance Service to people who preferred to create their own business, together with its counseling services about business establishment, the preparation of business plans and enterprise management. Besides supporting small-employment projects, KOSGEB also served Enterprise Development Center (*İş Geliştirme Merkezleri*) for new small enterprises by providing offices and business development services.¹⁶⁹ The duration of support for new small enterprises was three years. The most important support was giving loans and some costs such as electricity, and water.¹⁷⁰ 3,500 people applied for the small business assistance service, of which 438 participants established their small businesses by benefiting from these services in the First Privatization Social Support Projects.¹⁷¹

As for Enterprise Development Center, the first Enterprise Development Center was set up in Tarsus. For these services, the provider should guarantee that at least eighty percent of the participants would continue working. Since there was high demand for this service, Tarsus Businessmen as a party in the project attempted to increase the number of firms within the project. At the beginning, there were only five firms within the project, and then the number of firms involved in the project increased to forty-two providing employment to 192 people as of December 2004. Tarsus became a model for other Enterprise Development Centers. These centers

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 14, see also the internet site of the project. Available (online) at: <<http://www.osdp.org.tr>>.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 19.

¹⁷¹ World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on A Loan in the Amount of \$250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, 18.

were then also opened in Nevşehir, Yozgat, Elazığ, Van, and Diyarbakır where there are few alternative for employment opportunities and unemployment rates are high. 162 firms were active by hiring 1,777 people as of March 2006 which exceeded the targets.¹⁷²

The other partner in the project is the Turkish Employment Organization. The target group of the organization programs was laid-off workers registered to the Organization who had lost their jobs due to privatization policies or people who had had difficulty finding decent jobs on account of economic programs.¹⁷³

The Turkish Employment Organization provided counseling services, employability training programs and Temporary Community Social Programs to its target group in order to enable them to re-enter the labor market. The aim of the counseling service was “to assist them in finding new jobs it was envisaged to provide them with counseling services, determination of labor need in the labor market and ensure that participants successfully and easily adjust to their new jobs.” Through these services, participants attended vocational counseling, received information about the labor market, job placement and social counseling. Potential service providers should guarantee employment for ten percent of the participants. During the First Privatization Social Support Program, the Turkish Employment Organization provided thirteen counseling services.¹⁷⁴

The Turkish Employment Organization also provided employability training services in order to help the unemployed develop new skills and find new jobs. The service providers for the training programs were private training and educational

¹⁷² Ibid., 19.

¹⁷³ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Loan in the Amount of \$465.4 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Second Privatization Social Support Project*, 34.

¹⁷⁴ World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on A Loan in the Amount of \$250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, 17.

institutions affiliated with the Ministry of National Education. The same service might be also provided by private firms. If the service was provided by an education institution, employment should be provided for at least fifty percent of the participants. If the provider was a private firm, the private firm should guarantee work for at least seventy percent of the participants.¹⁷⁵

Within the Privatization Social Support Project, the training programs consisted of courses such as reading for those who could not find jobs because of being illiterate, employability training programs with job guarantees and training programs for small employment. During the first project, the Employment Organization provided 686 training programs.¹⁷⁶ The employability training programs were usually related to the textile sectors including making yarn (*iplikçilik*), woven production machine operation (*dokuma üretim makine operatörlüğü*), cricket workmanship (*çırçır işçiliği*), ready-wear workmanship (*hazır giyim işçiliği*), sewing operation (*dikim operatörlüğü*), *overlok* workmanship (*overlok işçiliği*), and lace dyeing (*iplik boyama*). These training programs were arranged in the work places in the provinces where the textile sector is more developed areas such as Gaziantep, Bursa, Kahramanmaraş, Diyarbakır, Adana and Adıyaman. Besides the textile sector, there were also training programs with employment guarantee on automotive workmanship (*otomotiv işçiliği*), lathe workmanship (*torna işçiliği*), welding (*kaynakçılık*) for the manufacturing sector. These courses were also held in work places.

In addition to the employability training programs directed at mainly the textile sector, there were also employability training programs for different parts of

¹⁷⁵ Available (online) at: < <http://www.osdp.org.tr>>.

¹⁷⁶ World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on A Loan in the Amount of \$250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, 17.

the service sector. These courses on how to be a waiter (*garson*), hotel business service men, service/bar person (*servis/bar elemanı*), and cook which can be evaluated as components of personal services directed at especially the tourism sector. The courses on child and elder care were given to women in order to integrate them into the personal service sector. Training programs on accounting (*muhasebecilik*), office management (*büro yönetimi*), secretary of executive (*yönetici sekreterliği*), and designing (*grafikerlik*), and computer programming (*bilgisayar programcılığı*) were components of the more qualified service sector directed at the business service sector.¹⁷⁷

When the gender composition of the training programs is examined, the number of male participants was higher than that of female participants. The qualifications of the training programs of the men were also higher than those of women. Even in the textile sector, women participated in courses such as making yarn, lace dyeing, weaving where the wages are low while the men were concentrated in courses related to using machines in the sector which needs skill. These jobs might provide upward mobility for the men. Therefore the labor market conditions should be considered in the textile sector for men and women separately in order to understand the labor market situation in the textile sector. In terms of the service sector, women mostly attended training programs related to personal services which are seen as extensions of “tradition female work” while men attended employability training courses related to the business service sector which may provide them upward mobility.

Moreover, there were also training programs encouraging small entrepreneurship. These training programs were especially related to the making of

¹⁷⁷ İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*, 24-37.

furniture (*mobilyacılık*), beekeeping (*arıcılık*), and butchery (*kasaplık*). Yet the number of small-employment courses is few in comparison to the other training courses conducted by the Turkish Employment Organization.¹⁷⁸

Besides the Counseling Services and Employability Training Programs, the Turkish Employment Organization also provided Temporary Community Employment Programs. These programs provided work for people in the preservation of cultural heritage, environmental protection, the infrastructure and related works.¹⁷⁹ These jobs provided temporary jobs, which lasted sixth months at most. The aim of these programs was to provide temporary income support for the participants through temporary employment. Thus, participants learned to adapt to a work environment, and gain work experience and work discipline.¹⁸⁰ For the Temporary Community Employment Programs, the potential providers were voluntary organizations or private institutions. The public institutions and local municipalities might also provide services for temporary community employment programs but it was not encouraged since the aim of the program was determined as the creation of employment in the private sector rather than in the public sector.¹⁸¹ The provider should guarantee jobs for at least ten percent of the participants. During the first project, the Turkish Employment Organization arranged seventy-six Temporary Community Employment Programs.¹⁸² These programs were

¹⁷⁸ The Second Privatization Support Program is in progress and will last until 2008. Therefore we have no exact components of the training programs. Up to March 2007, there are 60 ongoing projects. The compositions of these training programs were not so different from the contents of the first project. The second projects mainly include employability training programs which encourage the participant to enter the textile, tourism and personal and business service sectors. E-Mail to Author form the Administration of the project, 24 April 2007.

¹⁷⁹ World Bank, *Implementation Completion Report (SCL-45870) on A Loan in the Amount of \$250 million to the Republic of Turkey for a Privatization Social Support Project*, 16.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 17.

¹⁸² Ibid.,17.

implemented in the provinces where the unemployment rate was high, such as Kırşehir, Sivas, Tunceli, and Şırnak. This work included cleaning the environment, repairing stone and parquet, providing security at the beach, planting trees, providing security at the beach, improvement of canals. Most of these jobs were among the main responsibilities of the municipalities.¹⁸³ There is a paradox here. These programs aim at creating jobs in the private sector while the contents of the programs were jobs conducted by public organizations. Therefore these programs do not aim to provide employment; rather they provide low-paying public jobs to enable the participants to seek jobs in the market by providing them work experience and work discipline.

Unemployment Benefits as Workfare

Unemployment benefits as social right to compensate job loss has turned to a payment for job-seeking reflecting the implementations in most European countries due to cost pressures on social insurance funds. Yet it also reflects a policy shift from demand-side policies to the supply-side ones focusing on getting into the jobs the market offers as far as possible. In this context, unemployment benefits are evaluated as workfare since they serve the same function as workfare, driving the unemployed into the market through tightening eligibility criteria, reducing the level of benefits and shortening the maximum duration of insurance-based benefits.¹⁸⁴

In Turkey, unemployment benefits came onto the agenda in such context. Before the introduction of unemployment benefits, workers only had the right to a

¹⁸³ İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 24-37.

¹⁸⁴ Anne Gray, *Unsocial Europe* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 82.

seniority allowance (*kıdem tazminatı*). If workers had been employed at least one year and the work contact was concluded for a valid reason as cited in Labor Law no. 4857,¹⁸⁵ the employer was required to pay a seniority allowance at the value of one monthly wage for each year that the work contact had been in force.¹⁸⁶ Therefore the execution of unemployment benefits can be evaluated as an important step for the support of the unemployed. Yet the workfare situation where unemployment benefits have been executed should also be taken into consideration.

The law concerning unemployment benefits was promulgated in 1999. Yet it was put into force only in 2002 because the law had to wait for the collection of the Premium of unemployment benefits. With this law, for the first time, the state contributed to the social security system. The rate of the contribution of the state is one percent with the contribution of the worker and the employer of one percent and two percent in return.¹⁸⁷ Although the state takes responsibility for the unemployed, unemployment benefits do not provide enough protection for the unemployed. First, the eligibility criteria for unemployment benefits are very difficult to meet. The system provides benefits for only the insured unemployed who have paid 120 day unemployment premium before being unemployed. If the unemployed pay premium for 600 days they receive unemployment benefits for 180 days. If they pay for 900 days, they receive 240 days. If they pay for 1,080 days, they receive 300 days of unemployment benefits. These premiums should be paid in the last three years

¹⁸⁵ Article of 17 and 25 of *İş Kanunu*.

¹⁸⁶ The seniority allowance is arranged with Labor Law with no of 1475 adopted in 1971. This law lost force with the new Labor Law with no of 4857 published in Official Gazette in 10 June 2003. Yet only 14. article of Labor Law 1475 is still in force which regulates the seniority allowance. See article 14 of *Labor Law (İş Kanunu)*, Law no. 1475, 1971.

¹⁸⁷ Article 49 of *İşsizlik Sigortası Kanunu*, Law no. 4447, Date of Adoption: 25 August 1999.

before being unemployed.¹⁸⁸ The duration of the benefit therefore changes according to the premium that is paid. The unemployed at most receive unemployment benefits for ten months if they pay their premium for all days in three years, but this is difficult when we consider the labor market conditions in Turkey. It seems that 99,032 unemployed people have become eligible to receive unemployment benefits as of June 2007.¹⁸⁹ When it is considered that there are approximately 2,562,000 unemployed people in Turkey as of March 2007,¹⁹⁰ the number of the unemployed who are accepted as eligible for the benefit clearly illustrates the difficulty of the unemployed in meeting the tightening eligibility criteria. Second, the amount paid as unemployment benefits is also not satisfactory. The amount of unemployment benefits is determined by considering the recipient's daily earnings on the basis of his most recent four months earnings. Fifty percent of their earnings are paid to the unemployed as unemployment benefits which can not be more than the minimum wage.¹⁹¹

In order to receive unemployment benefits, the recipients are also required to attend employability training programs. Otherwise their benefits are cut off.¹⁹² The employability training programs in return for unemployment benefits include an employment guarantee, which means that the unemployed have to accept the offered job. As stated by a member of the parliament:

The most important thing to do is to make unemployed find a new job by providing him/her employability training and encouraging him/her to gain new skills. This is the most significant function of this insurance system. Therefore the

¹⁸⁸ Article 50 of *İşsizlik Sigortası Kanunu*. See also Abdurrahman Ayhan, *Türkiye'de İşsizlik Sigortası Sistemi ve Uygulaması* (Muğla: Muğla Üniversitesi, 2004).

¹⁸⁹ *İşsizlik Sigortası Aylık Bülteni*, June 2007.

¹⁹⁰ *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Aylık Bülteni (newsletter)*, no. 93, 15 June 2007.

¹⁹¹ Article 50 of *İşsizlik Sigortası Kanunu*.

¹⁹² Article 52 of *İşsizlik Sigortası Kanunu*.

solution is to make people employable. If he/she is unable to find a job in his/her field, he/she should be directed to another field. I think this will be the most fundamental function of unemployment benefits.”¹⁹³

Another member of the parliament said:

Unemployment benefits do not encourage the unemployed to work. Rather, they make people become dependent on the payment. In addition, the resources reserved for unemployment benefits limit the creation of new business areas. Therefore the duration of the benefits should be kept short, the duration of premium payment should be long and employment benefits should be cut in case it is known that he/she is not looking for a job, or he/she does not intend to.¹⁹⁴

The Turkish Employment Organization also supports this view by emphasizing that the revenues collected in the unemployment benefits should be spent for employability training programs which are convenient with the labor market situation to the unemployed who especially can not find decent work easily in the markets.¹⁹⁵

Like other employability training programs, the training programs related to unemployment benefits are also carried out by the Turkish Employment Organization in response to labor market conditions by consulting with the private sector and voluntary organizations. The participants of the training programs are

¹⁹³ “Asıl Yapılması gereken işsiz kalan bir insana yeniden formasyon vererek, yeni beceriler kazandırarak iş bulur hale getirmektir. Bu sigorta sisteminin en önemli fonksiyonudur. Demek ki çare insanı iş bulur hale getirmektir. Eğer kendi mesleğinde iş bulamıyorsa, başka mesleğe yönlendirilecektir. Bu bence işsizlik sigortasının en büyük fonksiyonu olacaktır. See TBMM, *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Term 21, Legislation Year 1, Session 56, 24 June 1999, 372.

¹⁹⁴ “İşsizlik Sigortası işsiz bireyleri çalışmaya teşvik etmiyor, aksine bireyler bu ödemeye bağımlı hale getiriliyor. İşsizlik Sigortasına ayrılan kaynaklar, yeni iş alanları oluşmasını da sınırlamaktadır. Onun için işsizlik sigortasından yararlanma süresi kısa tutulmalı, prim ödeme süresi uzun tutulmalı, iş aranmadığının ve iş sahibi olunmak istenmediğinin bilinmesi halinde yardım kesilmelidir.” See TBMM, *TBMM Tutanak Dergisi*, Term 21, Legislation Year 1, Session 56, 24 June 1999, 388.

¹⁹⁵ İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR III. Olağan Genel Kurul Kararları*. Available (online) at: <<http://www.iskur.gov.tr/mydocu/3.Genel%20Kurul%20Raporu.doc>>.

chosen by provincial directors on the basis of qualification of the unemployed.¹⁹⁶ The time length of the education program also should not exceed six month.¹⁹⁷ The training programs for the beneficiaries of unemployment benefits began in April 2002. Between 2003-2005, 109 training programs were arranged, and 1,714 participants benefited from these courses. The number of the training programs arranged varied from year to year. In 2004, eleven training programs arranged, and 168 participants benefited from these courses, while there were eighty-eight training programs arranged and 1, 379 participants benefited in 2005.¹⁹⁸ The dramatic increase in the number of employability training programs demonstrates how the organization attempts to integrate unemployed into the market as far as possible.

Table 11. Employability Training Programs for Beneficiaries of Unemployment Benefits in 2004.

Province	Vocation	Number of Participant		
		Men	Women	Total
Artvin	Computer Operator	16	-	16
Bursa	Office Management	20	-	20
Bursa	Ready-Wear Machine Operator	18	-	18
Hatay	Computer-based Account(2)	14	16	30
Hatay	Computer Operator (2)	23	7	30
Hatay	Cooker	11	4	15
Konya	Computer Maintenance Servicer	12	3	15
Konya	CNC Operator (2)	24	-	24
	Total	138	30	168

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR, 2005), 22.

¹⁹⁶ Article 5 of *İşsizlik Ödeneği Alan Sigortalı İşsizlerin Meslek Geliştirme, Değişirme ve Edindirme Yönetmeliği*, Date of Adoption: 23 December 2000.

¹⁹⁷ Article 17 of *İşsizlik Ödeneği Alan Sigortalı İşsizlerin Meslek Geliştirme, Değişirme ve Edindirme Yönetmeliği*.

¹⁹⁸ For comparison, see İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2004 Faaliyet Raporu* and İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*.

Table 12. Employability Training Programs for Beneficiaries of Unemployment Benefits in 2005.

Province	Vocation	Number of Participant		
		Male	Female	Total
Adana	Computer Operator (3)	26	19	45
Adana	Computer-based Accountant	7	8	15
Adıyaman	Cut-Sewer	-	15	15
Ankara	Computer Operator	20	-	20
Ankara	Computer-based Accountant	20	-	20
Ankara	Human Resources	20	-	20
Ankara	Autocad Drawer	20	-	20
Artvin	Computer Operator	19	1	20
Bırdur	Computer Operator	16	19	35
Bursa	Computer Operator	16	19	35
Bursa	Manager Assistant (2)	17	23	40
Bursa	Machine Sewing Operator (2)	40	-	40
Bursa	Satellite and antenna fitter <i>uydu ve anten takıcısı</i>	20	-	20
Denizli	Hand Sewer	-	12	12
Elazığ	Marble cutter	10	-	10
Elazığ	Furniture Decorator	10	-	10
Elazığ	Natural Gas Plumber	19	-	19
Elazığ	Computer Operator (2)	10	-	10
Eskişehir	Welder	10	-	10
Eskişehir	Accountant	10	10	20
Eskişehir	Sale persons	18	2	20
Gaziantep	Office Management	15	-	15
Gaziantep	Accountant	16	-	16
Gaziantep	PVC WoodWork/Doğrama	16	-	16
Gaziantep	Textile	20	-	20
Gaziantep	Computer Operator	8	7	15
Gaziantep	Ready Wear Workman	-	15	15
Gaziantep	Natural Gas Plumber	15	-	15
Gaziantep	Lace Dyer	11	-	11
Gaziantep	Lace Dyer	31	-	31
Hatay	Computer Operator (2)	13	14	27
Hatay	Hotel Services	14	1	15
Hatay	Computer Maintenance Servicer (2)	26	1	27
Hatay	Cook	23	4	27
Hatay	Computer-based Accountant (2)	9	18	27

Karabük	Sewing Machine Operator	15	5	10
Kastomonu	Xlography/Ağaç Oymacılığı	10	-	10
Kayseri	Computer Operator (10)	85	14	99
Kayseri	Computer-based Accountant (6)	36	9	45
Kilis	Computer	10	-	10
Kilis	Electric	10	-	10
Kırıkkale	Computer Operator	20		20
Kocaeli	Sale Persons	7	13	20
Konya	Welding Business	20	-	20
Konya	CNC Operator (4)	54	-	54
Konya	Natural Gas Plumber (2)	40	-	40
Malatya	Dry Cleaner	20	-	20
Malatya	Cook	20	-	20
Malatya	Hotel Businesses	20	-	20
Malatya	Office Management	20	-	20
Malatya	Furniture Docerator	20	-	20
Malatya	Computer Operator (2)	30	-	30
Malatya	Computer-based Accountant (2)	40	-	40
Muğla	Computer Operator	10	-	10
Ordu	Computer Operator	9	6	15
Rize	Computer Operator	6	14	20
Şanlıurfa	Computer Maintanance Servicer	20	-	20
	Total	1,089	290	1,379

Source: İŞ-KUR, *İŞ-KUR 2005 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: İŞ-KUR), 24-25.

The composition of the training programs was more qualified in terms of vocation than the other employability training programs provided by the Turkish Employment Organization. Computer operator, computer technical service, computer management are the vocations on which most of the training courses are arranged. Besides training programs related to the business service sector, the employability courses related to the textile sector such as hand and machine sewing, handy-wear machine operator, and lace dyeing were also other components of the training programs. Moreover through some training programs, participants were encouraged to enter into self-employment, for example carpenters (*marangoz*), natural gas plumbers (see Tables 11 and 12). Yet the gender dimension of the

programs is obvious. In 2004 only thirty women attended the training programs in contrast to 138 men. In 2005 there were 290 female participants and 1,089 male participants. While men are attended the training programs related to the business service sector and programs in the textile sector which were vocational fields that gave a chance of mobility, women's participation was restricted to low-wage jobs based on handicrafts in the textile sector (see Tables 11 and 12).

Providing the training programs to the beneficiaries in exchange for unemployment benefits aim to shorten the time individuals receive benefits by encouraging the recipients to integrate into the labor market as soon as possible. Therefore the time length of the training programs is usually two or three months despite the fact that the regulation gives permission for six months. However, the statistics between 2003-2005 show that this aim to shorten the length of time benefits are received was not accomplished. The recipients mostly took their unemployment benefits for full the legal length of time.¹⁹⁹ The State Control Commission (*Devlet Denetleme Kurulu*) criticizes the Turkish Employment Organization for failing to shorten the time length for which the recipients can receive unemployment benefits by providing them employment through the employability training programs. The State Control Commission concludes that the resources should be spent on providing the employability training program.²⁰⁰ It is not stated that the budget should be used for increasing the number of recipients who receive unemployment benefits or the amount of their payments, or for extending the duration of the time they receive unemployment benefits. Conversely, it is planned that the budget be used for making the unemployed integrate into the

¹⁹⁹ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, *Türkiye İş Kurumu (İŞ-KUR) Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 2003, 2004, 2005 Yılları Eylem ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesi Raporu* no.2006/7 (Ankara: Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2006), 44.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

labor market as far as possible through employability training programs without taking into consideration the labor market conditions in Turkey.²⁰¹ Thus unemployment benefits in Turkey are used for integrating the unemployed into the market as far as possible rather than providing an effective social benefit by reducing the duration of benefits, tightening the eligibility criteria and including mandatory activities such as attending employability training programs.

Workfare Attempts of the General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity

(*Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü-SYDGM*)

The Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund was established in 1986 with Law no. 3294 to provide social assistance to needy and vulnerable citizens along with other individuals accepted to Turkey for any reason, to ensure fair income distribution and to support private solidarity as an extra-budgetary agency under the institutional body of the Prime Ministry,²⁰² where and when the struggle against poverty is not undertaken by international organizations such as the UN and the World Bank. Therefore the incentive for founding such an organization stemmed from the domestic situation of Turkey. Fikret Şenses connects this situation to the increase in the number of poor and visibility of poor due to the structural economic transformation which began in the 1980s.²⁰³ Although the Fund was established as a state organization, the state did not seem to take responsibility for the struggle

²⁰¹ On the other hand TOBB recommended using the money collected for unemployment benefits for meeting the insurance premium for each additional employment. See “25 milyarlık Musluğu Açın 1 Milyon İşsize İş Verelim,” *Hürriyet*, 11 March 2007; and “Prim İstemeyin, 1 Milyon İlave İstihdam Sağlayalım,” *Yeni Şafak*, 11 Mart 2007.

²⁰² Article 1 of *Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Fonu Kanunu*, Law no. 3294, Date of Adoption: 14 June 1986.

²⁰³ Fikret Şenses, “Yoksullukla Mücadele ve Sosyal Yardımlaşmayı Teşvik Fonu,” *ODTU Gelişme Dergisi* 26, no.3-4 (1999), 432.

against poverty since the Fund did not have organizational structure and a share from the general budget was not allocated for the Fund. The establishment of the Fund thus seemed a means of encouraging private solidarity with emphasis the importance of voluntary activities for poverty alleviation.²⁰⁴ Yet since the 2001 economic crisis, the Fund has risen as an important actor in the social policy area, which has been dominated by poverty and poverty alleviation strategies. Especially the World Bank's attempted to strengthen the Fund through the Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP) for enabling its policies towards poverty alleviation have played an important role in this context. While the Fund has emerged as an important actor, it has increased its workfare attempts through providing income-generating activities, attempting to improve the "employability" of the poor and developing short-term, low-paying public jobs. Therefore it is important to study the Fund to investigate the recent attempts at transforming social policy through poverty alleviation programs.

In this part, first how the Fund has become an important body in terms of poverty alleviation programs will be discussed by highlighting the recent reform attempts to institutionalize it in order to demonstrate how the Fund has re-organized its structure and enlarged its responsibilities to adapt to the new environment of poverty alleviation programs. Finally the Social Risk Mitigation Project supported by the World Bank will be examined with the aim of pointing out the component of the poverty alleviation strategies in the neo-liberal period. In particular, workfare programs of the project including mainly programs "encouraging" self-employment, employability training programs and temporary community employment programs

²⁰⁴ For parliamentary discussions about the importance of voluntary organizations during the discussions on law on the law of the Fund, see Ayşe Buğra, "Türkiye'de Sağ ve Sosyal Politika," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.106 (2006), 57.

will be discussed. Through the Social Risk Mitigation Project, how the Fund has integrated itself into the workfare conditions will be evaluated.

Institutionalization for Poverty Alleviation Programs

When the social policy agenda currently implemented in Turkey is considered, a new social agenda in Turkey takes at its focus on poverty alleviation programs. The change in the focus of attention from wage-labor to those sections of society categorized as poor is critical in this process. As stated poverty alleviation programs as the central component of social policy, the institutions on poverty alleviation programs have risen as the main actors of social policy. In this context, the Fund has become the main carrier of the new poverty programs thanks to the work of the World Bank.

Social Solidarity Fund (SSF) was established in 1986, operating through 931 Social Solidarity foundations which operate at the provincial and district levels and are financed from the budget. It thus has a decentralized and flexible institutional structure. The Bank evaluates such decentralized structure of the SSF as applicable for its poverty alleviation programs. Furthermore, as stated above, the SSF provides social services to those who are not covered by any social security system. This character of the Fund is also assessed by the Bank as in conformity with its poverty alleviation programs.²⁰⁵

However, the organizational structure of the Fund was analyzed by the Bank in need of reform. With the efforts of the Bank, the Fund took on its currency

²⁰⁵ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no. 22510-TU (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2001), 35.

organizational structure with Law no. 5263 in 2004 after reform attempts in especially its financial structure and its target group for poverty alleviation programs. One aspect of these reforms was related to the financial structure of the organization. As noted above, the SSF was financed as an extra budgetary fund, which makes its financial basis highly inconsistent and unaccountable. Most of its revenues were mainly provided from 50 percent of traffic fines, 30 percent of advertisement revenues collected by Turkish Institution for Radio Television (*TRT*), 2.8 percent of income and corporation taxes, revenues from oil consumption tax and 5 percent of the proceeds obtained from the sales of forestry properties.²⁰⁶ Thus such extra-budgetary funds were financially vulnerable to fluctuations in economic growth. Although the revenues from the oil consumption tax and the proceeds obtained from the sales of forestry properties were abolished, for the first time, the financing of the SSF was incorporated into the public budget in 2003. The revenue separated from the regular budget reached 31 percent of its budget in 2003 and 20.9 of its budget in 2004.²⁰⁷ In addition to providing a regular financial basis by means of integrating it into the public budget, the transfer of its budget to the general budget, which consisted of the main part of its expenditure, was cancelled in 2003.²⁰⁸ In this way the budget of the organization arrived at a financial structure for effective poverty alleviation programs.

For an institutionalized structure of poverty alleviation, the issue of targeting also came onto the agenda. The Law on the Fund defines the target group as those who are poor or in need of help, and are excluded from the Social Security System,

²⁰⁶ Available (online) at: <<http://www.sydgm.gov.tr/sydtf/web/gozlem.aspX?asp?sayfana=93>>.

²⁰⁷ T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü (SYDGM), *2006 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: SYDGM, 2007), 93.

²⁰⁸ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, *Başbakanlık sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Eylem ve İşlemlerine İlişkin Araştırma ve Denetleme Raporu*, report no. 2006/2 (Ankara: Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2006), 11.

but can be “productive” if supported with education and training.²⁰⁹ However, the target groups of the foundations have been enlarged over time to include immigrants to Turkey and university students while dealing with activities such as opening rest homes, student hostels, and orphanages.²¹⁰ With recent attempts the fund has attempted to restrict its target group by transferring some of its responsibilities to other institutions. The execution of the university education scholarship was transferred to the Institution of the Higher Education Loan and Dormitories Foundation (*Kredi ve Yurtlar Yüksek Kurumu*) in 2003. In 2004, the execution of the program related to the uninsured families of the soldiers was transferred to the Ministry of National Defences. Moreover, the health expenditure apart from the Green Card given to the poor who are uncovered by the social security system for health expenditures was transferred to the Ministry of Health.²¹¹

After restricting its target groups by transferring the execution of some its programs to other organizations, the Fund attempted to develop eligibility conditions in identifying its beneficiaries. The beneficiaries are determined through the board of trustees of each foundation relying on informal local knowledge about the applicants rather than through clearly defined and standard selection criteria. Therefore, the operations of the foundations in localities have always mainly depended on the “good will” of their official authorities. Similarly, the SSF in its social assistance operations against poverty has not relied on the analysis of prevailing conditions or the profile of poverty at all.²¹² Yet there have been attempts

²⁰⁹ *Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Fonu Kanunu*, Law no. 3294, Date of Adoption: 14 June 1986.

²¹⁰ Fikret Şenses, “Yoksullukla Mücadele ve Sosyal Yardımlaşmayı Teşvik Fonu,” 435.

²¹¹ T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Yardım Programları ve Proje Destekleri* (Ankara: SYDGM, 2006), 7-12.

²¹² Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *New Poverty and Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey* (Ankara: UNDP, 2003), 45.

at means-test social assistance by grouping the population from richest to the poorest to provide social assistance to the poorest of the section. In the context of the Social Risk Mitigation Project, a scoring formula was implemented for targeting the social assistance programs as a model in this respect.

In terms of strengthening its organizational structure capacity, a law entered into force in 2004 by which the staff regime of the organization changed. The organizational structure was mainly based on staff with seconded status which meant they were officially the personnel of other public institutions and served at the Fund and foundations on temporary terms.²¹³ With recent attempts, the organization was secured stable staff. Second, the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund was turned into the General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity (*SYDGM*). Within its new structure, a new department named the Department of Cooperation with Volunteer Organizations (*Gönüllü Kuruluşlarla İş Birliği Departmanı*) was founded. The main responsibility of this newly established department is stated as attempting to cooperate with voluntary organizations and the private sector on programs related to social services and social assistances.²¹⁴ Thus the organizational structure of the Director opened to voluntary organizations. As stated above, while the SSF has had a tendency to assign poverty alleviation to private charity activities, the emphasis on cooperation with voluntary organizations is situated in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system that can not be defined as the “retreat of the state” from the social policy arena. These

²¹³ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no.22510-TU, 36.

²¹⁴ Article 8 of *Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun*, Law no. 5263, Date of Adoption: 24 December 2004.

regulations involve both the responsibilities of the central state and a diverse partnership between the state and voluntary organizations.²¹⁵

Overall, thanks to the strengthening attempts of the World Bank through the Social Risk Mitigation Project, the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund has risen as an important actor in a context where the main part of the social policy programs are directed towards poverty alleviation programs. The World Bank involved the poverty programs in Turkey toward SYDGM. This situation led not only to rise of the importance of the director but also influenced the approaches for poverty alleviation strategies by which, the attempts for integrating the poor into the market through self-employment programs, employability training programs and low-paying public work have been dominated poverty alleviation programs, which will be discussed through the Social Risk Mitigation Project, below.

The Social Risk Mitigation Project

The Social Risk Mitigation Project was an effort of the World Bank, implemented through SYDGM between 2001 and March 2007 to mitigate the negative social and economic effects of the 2001 economic crisis on the poorest and most vulnerable groups of the population.²¹⁶ The project was mainly composed of two parts namely, the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT), which supplied regular help in cash on the condition that the receiver of benefit from the basic education and health services directed towards the 6 percent poorest of the population, and

²¹⁵ Ayşe Buğra and Sinem Adar, "Social Policy Change in countries Without Mature Welfare States: The Case of Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.38 (2008), forthcoming.

²¹⁶ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no: 22510-TU, 2.

workfare attempts through Local Initiatives (LI), which focused on the employability of the poor and vulnerable to help them engage in income-generating activities, employability training programs and temporary community employment programs.

The project was reasoned on the basis of two main studies which set the profile and accordingly set the policies for poverty alleviation programs. These studies are “Turkey: Living Standards Assessment (2000)” and “Turkey: Poverty and Coping after Crises (2003).”²¹⁷ One of the main conclusions of the Bank from these two studies which the Bank put at the center of the SRMP was that Turkey is a country with low rates of extreme poverty but high rates of urban food poverty and economic vulnerability. In the Bank’s terminology, extreme poverty was defined as a population with per capita consumption under the \$US 1. In terms of economic vulnerability, vulnerable implied the situation of an individual who is not absolutely poor but an economic shock may push them into absolute poverty.²¹⁸ These assessments reflect the Bank’s poverty reduction agenda for reducing the economic vulnerability rate where the extreme poverty level is identified at “low” level.

Another yet an important variable for reasoning the SRMP was the threat of the loss of human capital in Turkey. In this context, the issue of education was devoted the highest attention with a special emphasis on the negative coping mechanisms that the poor developed in response to economic crisis such as reducing the consumption of and quality of food, cutting education and health expenditures,

²¹⁷ For a detail and distinguished analysis of these research, see Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation As Social Policy: The World Bank’s Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey* (MA thesis, METU, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences 2005), 82-107. Here I mostly benefit from the analysis of Taştan for these researches.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85-86.

and withdrawing children from the school and sending them to work for income.²¹⁹ Against this background, the Bank aimed the CCT at the extremely poorest children to build up their human capital with the promise that the increased level of education will break the generational cycle of extreme poverty.

The SRMP also was reasoned on the basis of a lack of a coherent social security system. The Bank offered a new social protection system instead of the current social security system since the social security system was not a welfare mechanism benefiting the “poor” segments of society. The system was defined as a public transfer mechanism biased towards the non-poor sectors of society which provide security for formal workers, equating social protection with having a job.²²⁰ Thus, the SRMP targeted the poor section of the population who are not covered by formal security system.

In this respect, a strong social assistance system was evaluated as important for reaching the “poor” section of the population instead of the social security system that was biased toward non-poor section of the population. Turkey already has a social assistance system, but according to the Bank, the existing system does not give sufficient importance to the social assistance system.²²¹

Reasoning the project on the basis of the threat of loss of human capital, the lack of an effective social security system and social assistance system for the poorest of the population and the economically vulnerable groups, the SRMP aimed to carry out for people who were not covered by the social security system. In this context, the target population of the project was divided into the two groups, the

²¹⁹ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no: 22510-TU, 14.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

poorest of the population who were not work-able and able-bodied, and an economically vulnerable group who were able to work in the market. While the social assistance was offered to the former as a way of struggling against poverty, workfarist attempts such as self-employment, employability training programs, and temporary community employment policies were offered to economically vulnerable groups.

Table 13. Components of the Social Risk Mitigation Project and its Loan Category Schedule as of February 2007.

Categories/ <i>Kategoriler</i>	Committed / Taahhüt		Disbursed / Harcanan		Balance / Bakiye	
	USD	YTL	USD	YTL	USD	YTL
Institutional Development/ <i>Kurumsal Gelişim</i>	36,000,000	51,817,036	33,541,964	47,283,593	3,158,036	4,533,443
Conditional Cash Transfer/ <i>Şartlı Nakit Transferi</i>	258,300,000	352,812,776	258,300,000	352,812,776	0	0
Local Initiatives/ <i>Yerel Girişimler</i>	100,000,000	139,162,352	99,764,393	138,837,857	235,607	324,495
Rapid Response/ <i>Hızlı Yardım</i>	100,000,000	138,981,166	100,000,000	138,981,166	0	0
Front-end Fee/ <i>Ücret</i>	5,000,000	6,949,058	5,000,000	6,949,058	0	0
Total/ <i>Toplam</i>	500,000,000	689,722,388	496,606,357	684,864,450	3,393,643	4,857,938

Source: T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu* (Ankara: SYGM, 2007), 25.

The SRMP project consisted of four parts: Rapid Response, Institutional Development, Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) and Local Initiatives (LI).²²² While the first part aimed at responding rapid needs of the poor section of the population, the CCT and the LI aimed were at preventing poverty risks in the future and developing measures against breaking the generational cycle of poverty. The Rapid Response as a part of “poverty mitigation” was used to financially support the existing activities of the SYDGM. For this purpose, \$US 54 million was transferred to local foundations to meet the urgent needs of schools such as uniforms, shoes and

²²² I have already discussed the Institutional Development portion through the SYDGM. Here I will discuss the other portions of the Project.

textbooks.²²³ On the other hand, while \$US17 million was transferred for food support, \$US 29 million was transferred for heating support. The activities under Rapid Response were completed in 2002.²²⁴

Due to the lack of poverty benefits in Turkey, the Bank proposed a regular cash transfer system. Towards this aim, it incorporated the CCT as a particular component of the SRMP. It was seen as necessary as a result of poor families giving up investments in the human capital of their children.²²⁵ Thus it was addressed for mitigating the impact of the recent crisis on the vulnerable groups. This short-term aim also was combined with the long-term human capital formation of the children to prevent intergenerational transfer of poverty.

The CCT was modeled as a highly targeted social assistance system directed towards the poorest six percent of the population. Its reason was presented those public sector resources that can be allocated for social assistance are scarce and they can only be used by targeting.²²⁶ Moreover, a targeting for the CCT was stated as necessary for the division of labor which it set out as a different component of the project, such as Local Initiatives.²²⁷ In this direction, a scoring formula was designed by using indicators demonstrating the demographic, socio-economic, and life quality characteristics of the household, such as the number of children and the elderly, level of education of the members of the family.²²⁸

²²³ T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu* (Ankara: SYGM, 2007), 26.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no. 22510-TU, 26.

²²⁶ Ibid., 26.

²²⁷ Ibid., 28.

²²⁸ Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation As Social Policy: The World Bank's Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey*, 127.

The CCT started in 2001. Yet its first cash transfers were distributed in 2003. The project was carried out in six pilot regions; finally it was enlarged to the whole country in 2004.²²⁹ The transfers were paid twice in a school term or four times during the nine months of an academic year. The CCT was given to the mothers since they were seen as being more reliable about spending money on their children than men. The mothers were encouraged to take money from Ziraat Bank on the grounds that the project implied that going to the bank also would empower the women through participating in the public life.²³⁰ For this component of the project, US\$ 360.00 million was allocated, nearly US\$ 260 million of which was provided by the World Bank. The amount of money given as the CCT increased each year. After the increase in 2005, the amount of the money given to students who attended basic education was US\$ 13 and US\$ 21 monthly for students attending secondary education. The amount of money for girls was a bit more, US\$ 16 for primary education students and US\$ 29 for secondary education students. The conditional health assistance was, on the other hand, US\$ 13 for each child under school.²³¹ As of February 2007, within the scope of the CCT nearly US\$ 525,000 was transferred to the accounts of beneficiaries that exceeded the amount of allocation in the initial period of the project. At the end of the Social Risk Mitigation Project, 2,603,816

²²⁹ Ibid., 130.

²³⁰ Yet the project has not been implemented such a way. There are different methods for getting the cash transfers. For example, in Diyarbakır, the money is usually distributed through the directors of the schools since it needs money to go to the bank. Moreover, the women mostly do not know Turkish to communicate with employees of the bank in South-east Anatolia. See Çağlar Keyder and Nazan Üstündağ, “Doğu ve Güneydoğu’nun Kalkınmasında Sosyal Politikalar,” in *Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Öncelikler Raporu* (İstanbul: TESEV, 2006), 135.

²³¹ T.C.Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu*, 88.

children benefited from the CCT; 36.26 percent of them were health beneficiaries, while 63.74 percent of them were education beneficiaries.²³²

In line with the conceptualization of social policy as a set of policies for improving the poor's ability to participate in the labor market, the Bank carried out such initiatives through the component of Local Initiatives (LI). The beneficiary target of the LI was defined as the 36 percent of the population who are identified as economically vulnerable. The LI was determined on the basis of four sub-components, namely income-generating projects, employability training programs, temporary community employment programs and the expansion of social services for children, youth, the elderly and the disabled, and Community Development Programs.²³³ The amount of money for this component was US\$ 139,950 million, of which nearly US\$ 100, 53 million was supplied by the World Bank.²³⁴ Therefore it had the second largest budget after the CCT. Yet, the importance of this component was extended beyond its budget share since it provided income opportunities for its beneficiaries higher than the cash transfers.²³⁵ Moreover, the Bank also concluded that the Bank could not rely only on passive social assistance. According to the Bank, the social assistance should be completed by active programs aimed at

²³² Ibid., 76. The budget of the SYGM is also used for CTT besides the resources provided by the World Bank.

²³³ Here I will discuss the sub-component of income-generating activities, vocational training jobs and temporary employment community programs that can be evaluated as workfare. Social service programs and Community Development Programs as a part of LI are beyond the scope of this thesis.

²³⁴ T.C.Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu*, 112.

²³⁵ Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation As Social Policy: The World Bank's Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey*, 150.

creating income-generating activities through self-employment programs and increasing the employability of the poor to integrate them into the market.²³⁶

Table 14. Sub-Components of Local Initiatives Projects

Sub-component/ Alt Bileşen	Number of Project/Proje sayısı	Number of Beneficiary/Fayda Sahibi	Amount Demanded/Talep Edilen Toplam (YTL)	Amount Approved/Kabul Edilen Toplam (YTL)
Income Generating/ <i>Gelir Getirici</i>	542	45,549	175,288,618	126,911,812
Temporary Employment/ <i>Geçici İstihdam</i>	735	5,125	11,675,662	6,417,715
Employability Training/ <i>İstihdam Eğitimi</i>	387	12,453	14,040,238	9,684,530
Social Services/ <i>Sosyal Hizmet</i>	2,480	460,707	82,773,113	44,604,412
Community Development/ <i>Toplum Kalkınması</i>	12	2,504	5,138,019	3,901,225
Total/ <i>Toplam</i>	8,856	526,338	288,915,650	191,519,694

Source: T.C.Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapaniş Kataloğu* (Ankara: SYGM, 2007), 135.

Considering the distribution of weight among the sub-components of the LI, the most emphasized sub-component was income generating activities where the 45,549 poor citizen benefited from 5,242 income generating projects (see Table 14).

The organization had undertaken such micro-income generating projects before the SRMP. Most such income generating projects had been carried out in east Anatolia and south-east Anatolia. The provision of carpet-looms, green housing facilities for the production of vegetables, agriculture, and poultry farming were among the practices often attempted which were usually unsuccessful due to the

²³⁶ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no: 22510-TU, 27.

lack of market for the productions.²³⁷ With the SRMP, the Bank aimed at transforming these activities into an expanded and systematic structure through improving both their extent and quality. The objective of the income-generation programs was described as “setting up such business by the poor households that would through on site-employment help them make their living, reach income opportunities and sustain all these activities in the long run.”²³⁸ In this respect, it was declared as one of the main component of poverty alleviation strategies

The application process was described on the basis of two channels, either the direct application of beneficiaries themselves, or the application of the consultant agencies who give technical support to the projects and implementation. The experts, voluntary organizations were identified as eligible for consultancy services. The public sector could not provide consultancy service to give priority to voluntary organizations to urge them to participate in the projects. Yet a different picture emerged during the implementation of the project. Projects that were designed and implemented under the application of the beneficiaries and voluntary organizations were few. Most projects were prepared and implemented by the initiation of Social Assistance and Solidarity Funds.²³⁹ Keyder and Üstündağ in their research carried out in east Anatolia and south-east Anatolia reached similar conclusions. They concluded that the number of applications was low, and projects mostly were initiated by local agencies. Van was presented as a successful example where the SRMP had separate offices. Yet even in Van, the number of application was below 100, where many of the projects were related to animal husbandry. The

²³⁷ UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programs in Southeast Anatolian Region* (Ankara: Türkiye Sosyal Bilimler Derneği and UNDP, 2004), 27.

²³⁸ T.C. Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Yerel Girişimler El Kitabı* (Ankara: SYDGM, 2004), 3.

²³⁹ Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation As Social Policy: The World Bank's Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey*, 153.

others were related to a barber shop and grocer, which were closed with great losses.²⁴⁰ In Van, most projects were initiated by the officers rather than applicants. Even the application form was filled out by the officers. There was an establishment constructed by 11 people for the decoration of Paşabahçe glassware, which may be evaluated as a success.²⁴¹ Yet when the market conditions of the region is considered, the project seems to be likely to fail in the future. Moreover, Keyder and Ustundağ argue that these projects were unable to reach to the poor, who especially migrate to the city. To be successful, there is a need for a network in the cities, where most of the new immigrants do not have such a network to sustain their jobs.²⁴²

There was no limit for the projects. Projects could include herbal production or animal husbandry, agricultural product processing, handicrafts, trade, retail, and sales-marketing. Yet there needed to be regional and national demand for products that will be produced during the project. At the beginning of the project, the financial support for the individuals and groups was US\$ 1,000 and US\$ 25,000 respectively.²⁴³ Yet due to lack of applications, the amount of support was increased to US\$ 3,000 for rural areas and a maximum of US\$ 5,000 for urban areas. For group projects, the amount of money was not to exceed US\$ 100,000.²⁴⁴

The accepted projects began to be implemented on the basis of an agreement between the foundation and applicants. During the projects, if it was necessary, an expert could be included in the project for services such as project development,

²⁴⁰ Çağlar Keyder and Nazan Üstündağ, “Doğu ve Güneydoğu’nun Kalkınmasında Sosyal Politikalar,” in *Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu’da Sosyal ve Ekonomik Öncelikler Raporu*, 142.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 142-143.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 144.

²⁴³ Özlem Zehra Taştan, *A Critique of the Poverty Alleviation As Social Policy: The World Bank’s Social Risk Mitigation Project in Turkey*, 155.

²⁴⁴ T.C. Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Yerel Girişimler El Kitabı*, 3.

project evaluation, market research, data collecting, and checking the project. If there was an expert for the project, s/he also attended the agreement meeting. After the agreement, the payments were paid in stages. The stages could be changed according to the properties of the project, but the general rule was that they would be paid in four stages. These supports were loans than grants which needed to be paid back according to the repayment plan. The credit was not paid for the first year of the project. It was paid in the second, third and fourth years in three installment. There was no interest demanded for payments. The applicants were to pay the capital without any interest rate. Similarly for those approved individual projects, it was necessary to appoint a few persons as the guarantors of the contract.²⁴⁵

Table 15. Number of Projects and Beneficiaries in Income-Generating Activities

Components of Income-Generating Activities	Number of Project	Number of Beneficiary
Animal Husbandary	2,031	33,673
Herbal Production	595	6,184
Self-Employed	2,616	5,692

Source: T.C.Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu* (Ankara: SYGM, 2007), 137.

When examining the contents of income-generating activities, the projects intensified in animal husbandry, herbal production and self-employment (see Table 15). The income generating activities in animal husbandry mostly included bee-keeping (*arı yetiştiriciliği*), and the breeding of turkey (*hindi yetiştiriciliği*), rabbit (*tavşan yetiştiriciliği*), and poultry (*kümes hayvancılığı*). While the projects in herbal production comprised green-housing, berry production (*çilek üretimi*), culture mushroom production (*kültür mantarcılığı*), olive production (*zeytincilik*); floriculture (*çiçekçilik*), textiles, gift shops, tea/coffee houses, hairdressers, local

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 10.

dish restaurants were the main income generation projects for creating self-employment. These projects mainly were carried out in the Black Sea Region and East-Anatolia Region where the 90.60 percent of the projects were implemented in rural areas of Turkey.²⁴⁶

The second part of the Local Initiatives was employability training programs. The aim of this component was to contribute to enhance employment opportunities for the poor through helping them acquire the skills necessary for the market.²⁴⁷ The upper limit of financial support for these projects was determined as US\$ 50,000 which was US\$ 25,000 during the initial period of the projects. These training programs were expected to be lasted six-eight months, but the length of the duration of employability training programs could be extended to one year.²⁴⁸

12, 453 people benefited from employability training programs through 387 projects (see Table 14). The priority targeting for this sub-component of LI was given to women in poverty, unemployed youth, former convicts and the disabled. With regard to women, adult literacy programs were brought to apply as the most effective means to improve their employability. Besides adult literacy programs, other employability training programs aimed at improving their employability for integrating them into the textile and personal service sectors. Carpet and kilim weaving, stocking production training, ready-made clothing, cut-weaving, and sewing training programs can be evaluated as employability training programs for the textile sector. However, most employability training programs were related to the low-paying service sector, such as child care, elder care, serving and kitchen work, running a family pension business (*aile pansiyonculuğu*) and pre-school

²⁴⁶ T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Katoloğu*, 113-117.

²⁴⁷ T.C. Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Yerel Girişimler El Kitabı*, 4.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

education assistants (*okul öncesi eğitime yardımcı personel*).²⁴⁹ In respect to unemployed youth, the particular sub-projects investing in their technical and life skills were identified as the most suitable ones for employment training activities. Cotton collection machinery operation, agricultural machinery operation, marble and stone garnishing business courses (*mermer ve süsleme taşcılığı eğitimi iş kursu*), welding (*kaynakçılık*), glass decorating training, horticulture training (*bahçecilik*), technical music training, and furniture making were some of the employability training programs aimed at the young unemployed. As for former convicts and the disabled, ceramics training and production, a cookery course, auto-maintenance repair (*oto-bakım onarım*), welding, and hairdressing were carried out to improve their “employability”.²⁵⁰

Temporary Community Employment Programs as sub-components of the LI programs underlied low-paying, temporary public works. Similar to other sub-components of LI, Temporary Community Employment Programs improved the “employability” of the poor and encourage them to seek jobs in the market. During the SRMP 5,125 citizens were temporarily employed through 735 projects (see Table 14).

The main feature of the temporary community employment project was identified as its low-paying and temporary character. First, the wages were to be low enough that the only poorest of the poor would attend these programs. The Bank offered wages even under the minimum wage. Second, duration of the job was to be short-termed so as not to create the public welfare dependency. The poor should find

²⁴⁹ T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Katoloğu*, 118-119.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

long-term employment in the market. Therefore such projects did not exceed six months.²⁵¹

The Temporary Community Employment programs mostly included temporary employment of SRMP personnel. Protection of Cultural Heritage, Excavation, and Natural Resources Protection Development Work such as riverbeds, roadsides, and the maintenance and repair of the irrigation system were other work at which the poor were temporarily employed.²⁵² Most of the projects were carried out by municipalities. The State Control Institution (*Devlet Denetleme Kurulu*) stated in its report on SYDGM that the temporary community works were developed by the municipalities and fees of the workers of the municipalities were paid through these projects.²⁵³

* * *

The Social Risk Mitigation Project closed in March 2007. Although it lasted for only a short period time, the project affected both institutionalization for poverty alleviation programs and the content of poverty alleviation programs. First, SYDGM has risen as an important institution for poverty programs. The state took responsibility for poverty programs with diverse partners with voluntary organizations and the private sector through SYDGM. Second, the composition of the poverty alleviation programs changed. While social assistance was restricted for a “limited group” such as children and women, training programs for improving the employability of the poor and income-generating activities for encouraging self-

²⁵¹ World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document on A Project Proposed Hybrid Investment/Adjustment Loan in the Amount of US\$ 500 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Social Risk Mitigation Project/Loan*, Report no.22510-TU, 22.

²⁵² T.C. Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, *Sosyal Riski Azaltma Projesi Kapanış Kataloğu*, 120.

²⁵³ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, *Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü'nün Eylem ve İşlemlerine İlişkin Arastırma ve Denetleme Raporu*, no.2006/2, 24.

employment were offered as workfare programs as a way to struggle against poverty. Therefore integrating the poor into the market through workfare programs became a main component of poverty alleviation programs.

The Workfare Programs and Income-Generating Projects of Multi-Purpose
Community Centers (*Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezleri- ÇATOM*)

In this part, both institutional structure and workfare programs of the ÇATOMs will be evaluated to demonstrate how the organization has adapted them to the new social policy environment. First how the organizations carry out their programs will be examined. In the initial period of the activities of the project, their activities were financed and executed by the state. However, under the impact of the increasing attention paid to voluntary organizations, they began to cooperate with voluntary organizations and the private sector to carry out their activities. Moreover, although the ÇATOMs are governmental organizations, they act like voluntary organizations, playing the role of mediator between the poor and public and private organizations. Thus the ÇATOMs offer an example of how the boundary between the state and voluntary organizations has blurred within the context of the neo-liberal international governance system. Second the workfare programs of the ÇATOMs will be discussed. The ÇATOMs have intensified their activities on income-generating and socio-educational services. Within the recent workfare condition, their emphasis on workfare programs through promoting income-generating activities based on arranging employability training programs, encouraging self-employment and attempting to find market for products of women has increased. In this context, the UNDP has become an important actor for

generating income and finding market opportunities as a way of struggling against poverty in cooperation with the ÇATOMs.

The ÇATOMs were established as a part of the South-eastern Anatolia Project (*Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi-GAP*). Therefore the transformation of the GAP from an infrastructure project into an integrated development project in the early 1990s at a time when social development was become a significant concern should be taken into account while evaluating the ÇATOMs and their activities and projects. Although some references are made to the GAP, the scope of this thesis goes beyond such an evaluation of the ÇATOMs from the transformation of the understanding of “developmentalism.”²⁵⁴ Here I will focus on the ÇATOMs as important actors for poverty alleviation programs in the GAP region.

The ÇATOMs as a part of the South Eastern Anatolia Project (*GAP*) began to be established in 1995, first in Şanlıurfa with the initial support of UNICEF,²⁵⁵ then the number of the centers reached thirty in nine provinces of the GAP region where they were established at the periphery of cities largely inhabited by the rural migrants²⁵⁶ who mostly worked in marginal temporary jobs for minimum wage and below.²⁵⁷ The ÇATOMs were founded on the basis of the Social Action Plan that

²⁵⁴ For a distinguished analysis of the transformation of the *GAP* in the context of neo-liberal developmentalism, see Nilay Özok, *Social Development as a Governmental Strategy in the Southeastern Anatolia Project* (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2004).

²⁵⁵ UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Southeast Anatolia Region*, 35.

²⁵⁶ Presently active ÇATOMs are located in the Yesilyurt neighbourhood in Adıyaman; Petrolkent and Yavuzselim neighbourhoods in Batman; Benusen and Bağlar neighbourhoods in Diyarbakır; Oğuzeli district in Gaziantep, İslambey and Ekrem Çetin neighbourhoods in Kilis; Meydanbaşı, Evren, Saraçoğlu neighbourhoods, Dargeçit, Kiziltepe, Midyat, Nusaybin, Ömerli districts, Dargeçit-Kilavuz township in Mardin; Seyh Searfettin Caddesi, Kurtalan and Sirvan districts, Kurtalan-Kayabağlar township in Siirt, Yakubiye neighbourhood, Bozava, Halveti and Siverek districts in Şanlıurfa; and Central, Cizre, Beytüşebap, İdil and Uludere districts in Şırnak.

²⁵⁷ Available (online) at: < <http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/eylem.htm>>.

was developed from both findings of surveys²⁵⁸ conducted during 1992-1994 in the GAP region, and the results of a research called ‘Research on the Status of Women in the GAP Region and Their Integration to the Process of Development’ in 1994, which was one of the these surveys.²⁵⁹

The Social Action Plan, which was prepared on the basis of the surveys conducted between 1992-1994, not only presented a description and the main characteristic of the region, but also offered policies, strategies, and action plans to eliminate its social and economic problems. In the Social Action Plan, nomads, women, and youth were identified as the target group and relevant policies were proposed in line with them. These policy proposals were offered especially in seven areas including organization and participation, population and settlement, education, health, agricultural extension, *employment and incomes* and proprietorship and land-use.²⁶⁰ The policy proposals targeting women were mainly based on the “Research on the Status of Women in the GAP Region and Their Integration to the Process of Development,” which attempted to examine the characteristic of women in terms of family and marriage, education and health, employment, and attitudes and expectations from the GAP.²⁶¹ The study described the conditions of women from these aspects. For example, low age of marriage, polygamy, marriage with relatives, and religious marriages were presented as the main problems of the women related

²⁵⁸ These surveys which were conducted between 1992 and 1994 were: “Research on the Trends of Social Change in the GAP Region” (*GAP Bölgesi Toplumsal Değişme Eğilimleri Araştırması*, 1993), “The Research on Population Movements in the GAP Region” (*GAP Bölgesi Nüfus Hareketleri Araştırması*, 1994), “The Research on the Problems of Resettlement and Employment in Areas to Remain under Reservoirs in the GAP Region” (*GAP Bölgesi Baraj ve Ayna Gölleri Altında Kalacak Yörelerde İstihdam ve Yeniden Yerleştirme Sorunları*, 1994), and “The Research on the Status of Women in the GAP Region and their Integration into the Process of Development (*GAP Bölgesinde Kadının Statüsü ve Kalkınma Sürecine Entegre Edilmesi Araştırması*, 1994).

²⁵⁹ Available (online) at: <[http:// www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/eylem.htm](http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/eylem.htm)>.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Nilay Özok, *Social Development as a Governmental Strategy in the Southeastern Anatolia Project*, 89.

to the status of women in family and marriage in the region. In the same way, education problems such as illiteracy and health problems due to the lack of effective birth-control were evaluated as other problems that women faced in the region.²⁶²

Identifying the problems of the women in the region, the Social Action Plan, based on the “Research on the Status of Women in the GAP region and Their Integration to the Process of Development,” presented strategies for solving their problems. Two strategies were developed for this purpose. The first one was based on skill and development of income on the basis of production for markets. Agricultural production, women’s handcrafts, and tourism were evaluated as sectors that might provide some income for women if they improved their skills and produced for the market.²⁶³ Besides attempting to provide income-generation through workfare programs, social services also were emphasized in areas such as education, health. For this purpose, the Social Action Plan proposed policies such as literacy courses, mobile health services, mother-child health programs, birth control, and hygiene.²⁶⁴ Targeting these general objectives, the GAP administration established the ÇATOMs for training in various fields for promoting income-generating skills by integrating them into the market and enhancing female employment and entrepreneurship and various social and cultural activities to improve the status of women in the region.²⁶⁵

Although the ÇATOMs were established as state organizations, under the impact of the neo-liberal governance system, they started to cooperate with both

²⁶² Ibid., 90.

²⁶³ Ibid., 91.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Available (online) at: < [http:// www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/catom.html](http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/catom.html)>.

other governmental organizations, voluntary organizations, and the private sector to sustain both their institutional structure and undertake activities related to poverty. For example, while the technical assistance for opening a new ÇATOM was mostly ensured by the Development Foundation of Turkey (*Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı*), their buildings were provided by the provinces or municipalities.²⁶⁶ Other governmental organizations and the private sector also contributed for opening new centers. For example, a ÇATOM was established in the Bağlar of Diyarbakır with the support of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Similar support came from the Social Risk Mitigation Project carried out by the General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity. While a ÇATOM opened with the support of the Turkish Education Foundation (*Türk Eğitim Vakfı*), the Protector and Gamble Company contributed to the establishment of another one in the Siverek district of Şanlıurfa.²⁶⁷

Other public institutions not only contributed to open new the ÇATOMs but also helped the ÇATOMs to carry out their programs. For example, computers for the ÇATOMs were provided by the provinces and ministry of National Education. The provinces also met the financial expenditures of the centers. The wages of the staff of the ÇATOMs were paid by provinces. The municipalities on the other hand, provided vehicles and personnel for the programs of the ÇATOMs.²⁶⁸ Thus the contribution of other public institutions was significant for the ÇATOMs to sustain their activities.

²⁶⁶ UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Southeast Anatolia Region*, 35.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ For such cooperations between public institutions for each ÇATOMs, see ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*. Available (online) at: <<http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/cfaal2.pdf>> and ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*. Available (online) at: <<http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/Sosprj/cfaal3.pdf>>.

Besides cooperation with public institutions, the ÇATOMs executed collective projects with voluntary organizations. For example, in 2004, the Mother-childhood Education Foundation (*Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı- AÇEV*) arranged literacy courses in the ÇATOM in the Evren district of Mardin. Other literacy courses were carried out by the Rotary Club of Erenköy in the Uludere district of Şırnak.²⁶⁹ In the Evren district of Mardin, the Soroptomist Club contributed to opening an employability training program for carpet weaving.²⁷⁰

The ÇATOMs not only cooperated with the other public institutions, the private sector and voluntary organizations, but also acted like voluntary organizations.²⁷¹ They carried out programs to help the local population benefit from Green Cards, social aid programs, and scholarship for successful students. For example, the ÇATOMs attempted to persuade families to send their children to school through a project called “Father Send Me to School” (*Baba Beni Okula Gönder*). They also found scholarship by mediating between the poor students and the private sector.²⁷² Moreover, the ÇATOMs played an important role in obtaining Green Cards and benefiting from the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations for clothing, food, and heating support.²⁷³ Thus, the role of the ÇATOMs was transformed from an institution of the provision of governmental services into a mediatory body between the state and the local population to reach governmental services.

²⁶⁹ ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 28.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁷¹ Nilay Özok, *Social Development as a Governmental Strategy in the Southeastern Anatolia Project*, 133.

²⁷² ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*, 15-16.

²⁷³ UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Southeast Anatolia Region*, 38.

The ÇATOMs were managed by ÇATOM communities elected among ÇATOM participants. These communities were composed mainly of 5- 7 members including a staff. Yet the significant point to mention here is that the staff had to be from the region. The idea was to manage the ÇATOMs with staff who were familiar with the needs and conditions of the region to communicate with the local population easily.²⁷⁴ Beside the staff, other women also took responsibility for the management of centers in ÇATOM communities. This situation overlapped with the main poverty alleviation strategy of the World Bank by facilitating the empowerment of the poor by strengthening their participation in the political process and local decision making to influence the state institutions that affect their lives.²⁷⁵ The ÇATOM communities mostly prepared the annual activity programs of Center. While preparing the programs, the communities took into consideration on local conditions and needs. That is to say, the projects were prepared for the particular requirements of the locality in which each ÇATOM carry out its activities.²⁷⁶

Therefore the institutional structure of the ÇATOMs reflects the main characteristic of the neo-liberal international governance system. Although they are governmental organizations, they receive assistance from other public institutions to open centers. Moreover, they execute their programs with the financial support of public institutions. They also carry out their programs in cooperation with voluntary organizations. However, what it is observed that is not only the cooperation with both public and private actors, but also the ÇATOM's transformation into a body

²⁷⁴ For detail information about staffs of ÇATOMs, see Hande Sözer, *ÇATOM Project: Field Supervisors In-Between "the State" and "the Social"* (MA thesis, Bogazici University, Institution for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2004).

²⁷⁵ World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001*, 39.

²⁷⁶ Available (online) at: < <http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/sosprj/catom.html>>.

like a voluntary organization. Rather than functioning as a governmental organization, they function as mediaries between the state and the population like voluntary organizations. Thus it is not clear whether the ÇATOMs are governmental organizations or voluntary organizations. The institutional structure of the ÇATOMs is therefore an illustrative example that demonstrates how the boundary between the state and civil society had blurred.

After discussing the institutional structure of the ÇATOMs that is in conformity with neo-liberal international governance system, the contents of the ÇATOM's programs will be examined. Among these special focus will be given to the workfare programs of the ÇATOMs through their income-generating activities in their workshops, employability training programs and self-employment initiatives for enhancing employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. Through these programs, the ÇATOMs attempted to develop the skills of women and earn income on the basis of production for the market. Therefore markets became the central focus of the lives of the poor as a way of struggling against poverty through workfare programs.

The regional women were the target group of the ÇATOM's programs. The ÇATOMs aimed to reach out to the family and household through women with the concern that educating the women and providing income for women also would have an impact on the welfare of the household since it was believed investment on the women would lead to the development of the children, of the family, and of society in turn.²⁷⁷ Yet the target groups of the ÇATOMs extended to different part of the ÇATOM's project. Children were also the focus of the projects through pre-school education programs and children's reading rooms. Adult males also began to

²⁷⁷ Hande Sözer, *ÇATOM Project: Field Supervisors In- Between "the State" and "the Social"*, 71.

attend employability training programs on such topics on computers and literacy. Moreover, the social support programs and cultural/social activities addressed all members of the household.²⁷⁸

The ÇATOMs programs are classified under eight headings including health programs, programs for income generation and programs aiming to promote female employment/ entrepreneurship, training programs, pre-school training programs, children's reading rooms, social support programs, programs for social responsibility, and social and cultural activities.²⁷⁹ Put another way, the ÇATOMs programs are collected in areas such as social services, women empowerment and workfare programs. The social service programs of the organization mostly include health programs related to hygiene, maternal and child health, and education programs such as pre-school training programs covering children from 4-6. As for empowerment strategies, the ÇATOMs provide programs in literacy training, training programs on the civil code and legal rights, nutrition; and cultural and social activities such as seminars, exhibition, and interactive meetings. There are also workfare programs for building occupational and income generating skills in areas such as hand-crafts, machine knitting, cutting-sewing and furniture making; and training activities and services to encourage entrepreneurship through micro-financing and business counseling which mostly address women in order to integrate them into the labor market as a poverty alleviation strategy.²⁸⁰

The ÇATOMs carry out their workfare programs through providing income-generating activities in their workshops for the market, finding employment opportunities and encouraging small entrepreneurship with the aim to integrate

²⁷⁸ Available (online) at: < [http:// www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/sosprj/catom.html](http://www.gap.gov.tr/Turkish/sosprj/catom.html)>.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

women into the labor market as a way of struggling against poverty. The number of workfare programs increased with the projects supported by the international organization, namely the UNDP. The UNDP became especially an important actor with its attempts at seeking out market opportunities for selling the products produced by women in the ÇATOMs. The following part of the discussion will be about the workfare programs carried out by the ÇATOMs, and the projects conducted in cooperation between the ÇATOMs and the UNDP.

The ÇATOMs provided income-generating activities in their workshops to contribute to the welfare of the women. In these workshops, the women mostly produced hand made textile products.²⁸¹ Yet it seems that there was a problem of providing markets for the products produced in these workshops. Attempts were made to solve by fostering cooperation with the state and voluntary organizations. For example, the sewing shops opened by the participants of the ÇATOMs took orders from the administrative district (*kaymakamlık*) to sew a hundred student uniforms. Similarly, the textile workshop in Mardin, where nine women were employed producing textile sewed for the gendarmerie.²⁸² The workshops worked upon orders, and therefore could not provide permanent revenues for women.

Besides these workshops, the ÇATOMs carried out employability training programs to develop the skill of the women in poverty. Both in 2004 and 2005, the employability training programs worked to integrate poor women into the market via wage labor and self-employment. Employability training programs towards wage labor included machine and hand embroidery, needlework, carpet weaving, and haircutting. In 2004, 129 out of over 1,731 participants in these programs found

²⁸¹ ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 15-16 and ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*, 14-15.

²⁸² UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programmes in Southeast Anatolia Region*, 37.

employment, but these jobs were mostly related to the low-wage service sector including child care at home, sales and working as cashiers, secretariets, and cleaners in the clinics and drugstores. Only 19 of these 129 participants were able to benefit from the protection of the social security system (see Table 16). In 2005, similar jobs were also provided in the ÇATOMs. 144 women over 1,475 participants found jobs, but only nine of them were covered by the social security system. These jobs were mostly baby-sitting, secretarial work and personal services in hotel and restaurants (see Table 17).

Table 16. Field of Work/occupation of Beneficiaries of Multi-Purpose Community Centers' Employability Training Programs in 2004.

ÇATOM's Centers	Number of beneficiaries	Field of work/ Occupation	Social Security
Batman Petrolkent	39	Employee in Sewing Workshop and Child care at Home	
Batman Yavuzselim	11	Child Care at Home	
Kilis Merkez	15	Secretary, Child Care, Clerks, Hairdresser	3 SSK
Mardin Dargeçit	2	Child Care at Home	
Mardin Evren	1	Temporary Employee in SYDGM	1 SSK
Mardin Merkez	8	Cleaner in Drugstores, Sales Persons, and Employee in Textile Sector	
Mardin Saraçoğlu	10	Waiter in Cafe, Cleaner at Hotels, Employee inTextile sector	7 SSK
Siirt Kurtalan	4	Secretary, Employee in a Medical Clinic	
Şanlıurfa Halfeti	13	Employee in Sewing Workshop, Instructor in Literary Courses	
Şanlıurfa Yakubiye	4	Cashier in Markets	4 SSK
Şırnak Cizre	5	Cashier, Dress Maker, Clerk, Child Care	2 SSK
Şırnak Merkez	9	Hairdresser, Clerk, Secretary, Child Care at home	1 SSK
Şırnak Uludere	8	Sales Persons in Large Stores, Employee in Textile Sector	1 SSK
TOTAL	129		19 SSK

Source: ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 16.

Table 17. Field of Work/Occupation of Beneficiaries of Multi-Purpose Community Centers' Employability Training Programs in 2005.

ÇATOM's Centers	Number of Beneficiaries	Field of Work/Occupation	Social Security
Adıyaman	8	Employee in the Service Sector	
Batman Petrolkent	30	Employee in Sewing Workshop, Clerk, Child Care	
Batman Yavuz Selim	17	Employee in Sewing Workshop, Clerk, Child Care	
Kilis Merkez	3	<i>Vekil Öğretmenlik</i> , Child Care	1SSK
Mardin Dargeçit	4	Secretary, Child Care	
Mardin Merkez	20	Cleaner in Hotel, Sales Person in Markets	
Mardin Midyat	1	Employee in Cafe	
Mardin Nusaybin	3	Cleaner in Health Clinic, Employee in Restaurant, Employee in Printing House	
Mardin Ömerli	6	Temporary Employee in SDYGM, Employee in Restaurant, Cafe, and Health Clinic	3SSK
Mardin Saraçoğlu	9	Employee in Cafe and Restaurant, Child Care	1SSK
Siirt Merkez	1	Hairdresser	
Siirt Şirvan	1	Child Care	
Şırnak Cizre	21	Employee in Knitwear Workshop, Sales Person, Employee in Confectionary shop, Secretary, Cook,	3SSK
Şırnak İdil	1	Employee in Restaurant	
Şırnak Merkez	12	Hairdresser, Sales Person in Large Store, Cleaner in Polyclinic	
Şırnak Uludere	7	Employee in Confectionary Shop, Sales Person, Employee in Ready-Wear Shop, Employee in Restaurant, Cleaner in Drugstore	1SSK
Total	144		9 SSK

Source: ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2005 Faaliyet Raporu*, 14.

When the contents of the small enterprises are examined, thirteen women managed to establish their own jobs in 2004 and twenty-four did in 2005. They mostly opened shops related to tailoring, haircutting, drapery, restaurant business, and ready-wear. Some businesses were established at home where the distinction between home and work blurred for women. Shops were mostly opened by getting into debt or with supported from the family. A small part of the women used credit from the GAP Entrepreneur Support and Guidance Centers (*GAP Girişimci Destekleme ve Yönlendirme Merkezleri- GAP-GİDEM*) Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation through Social Risk Mitigation Project and credit from KOSGEP (see Tables 18 and 19).

Table 18. Participants of Multi-Purpose Community Centers Who Establish Their Own Business in 2004.

ÇATOM's Centers	Number of Beneficiaries	Field of Work	Debt/ Credit
Batman Petrolkent	1	Sewing Workshop	Credit from SRMP
Batman Yavuzselim	1	Sewing Workshop(At Home)	Installment
Kilis Merkez	1	Haircut Saloon	Getting into Debt
Mardin Evren	1	Day-care Center	Owner's Capital
Mardin Merkez	1	Haircut Saloon	
Mardin Ömerli	1	Cosmetics Shop	
Şırnak Cizre	2	Haircut Salon and Tailor Shop	Credit from SRMP
Şırnak Merkez	2	Haircut Salon and Confectionary Shop	Family Support
Şırnak Uludere	2	Kilim Selling (At Home)	Raw Material Support from Province
TOTAL	13		

Source: ÇATOM, *ÇATOM 2004 Faaliyet Raporu*, 16.

Table 19. Participants of Multi-Purpose Community Centers Who Establish Their Own Business in 2005

ÇATOM's Centers	Number of Beneficiaries	Field of Work	Debt/Credit
Adıyaman	3	Dowry Shop, Hairdressing, Hairdressing	
Batman Petrolkent	5	Confectionary Shop, Sewing Shop	Credit from SRMP
Batman Yavuz Selim	3	Sewing Shop at Home, Embroidery at Home	
Kilis Merkez	3	Hairdressing, Cutting-sewing at Home	
Mardin Merkez	2	Hairdressing	Credit from SRMP
Mardin Ömerli	2	Café, Hairdressing	Credit from SRMP
Şırnak Cizre	6	Hairdressing, Dowry Shop	
Toplam	24		

Source: ÇATOM, *2005 ÇATOM Faaliyet Raporu*, 14-15.

Besides these activities, the ÇATOMs also involved in the projects of international organizations aiming at providing employment opportunities for the women. The ÇATOMs' activities in 2006 were mostly conducted through such projects. Especially the UNDP's support for the ÇATOMs through the project of "Strengthening Regional Development and Reduction of Socio-Economic Disparities in the GAP Region" (*Bölgesel Kalkınmanın Güçlendirilmesi ve Bölgedeki Sosyo- Ekonomik Farklılıkların Azaltılması*) was significant in this respect. The project aimed to follow the attempts of sustainable development

through the GAP project. The first phase of the project included many research and pilot projects targeting women, displaced persons, environmental issues, income generation, cultural heritage and entrepreneurship development. The second phase of the project, which was implemented between 2004 and 2007, on the other hand, targeted specific projects for poverty alleviation aiming to reach groups such as children, women and youth. These groups were defined as disadvantaged and vulnerable groups that suffer most from poverty in the region. By targeting these disadvantaged groups, the project aimed at strengthening the socio-economic position of the women, rehabilitating street children and the socio-economic development of the youth. The Swedish government provided financial support for the project. The part of the project related to children closed in July 2006; its part on the youth closed in August 2006 as well. The women's part then closed in April 2007.²⁸³

The UNDP worked with the ÇATOMs for the part of the project concerning female employment/entrepreneurship. This part included product development (*ürün geliştirme*), cooperatives, sales and marketing, employment creation and fair trade for marketing the products. The product development aimed to create high quality and high-value added products, which were peculiar to South-Eastern Anatolia. There were certain workshops related to this sub-component such as the Keçe Art Shop in Sanlıurfa, the *Antepişi* Shop and the Kilis Home Textile Shop in Kilis. In these workshops the number of the working women changed according to the size of orders, yet three to six women usually worked in these workshops.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ UNDP, *GAP Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Programı, Bölgesel Kalkınmanın Güçlendirilmesi ve Bölgedeki Sosyo-Ekonomik Farklılıkların Azaltılması-Aşama II Değerlendirme Raporu*, (Ankara: UNDP, 2006), 5.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

There were attempts to provide cooperatives for the sustainability of the enterprises opened by the women. For this aim, five women's cooperatives were established in Mardin, Gaziantep (*Antepişi* embroidery), Adıyaman (bread production establishment), Siirt (packaged food) and Suvarlı (currant trade) in the region.²⁸⁵

There were also attempts to develop sales and marketing. The UNDP attempted to create markets for the products produced in cooperatives in different ways. Products such as dried vegetables (*kurutulmuş sebze*), greeting cards, and local shawls were sold in large stores in big cities. For example, dried vegetables were sold to the restaurants in İstanbul. Since the amount of the dried vegetables was not held at a high enough level, the sales did not become permanent. Therefore sustaining the continuity in production became a problem for the cooperatives.²⁸⁶

Apart from such direct sales, women's production markets (*kadın ürünleri pazarları*) were another method for creating markets for the products. The cooperation between the local municipalities was important in this sense. For example, there was a women's production market three times in a week in Şanlıurfa in 2006. During the April-June 2006 period, twenty women worked in the market and obtained revenues of 2,000 Turkish Liras, which was very low for survival and also below the official minimum wage. The other attempt at providing a market for the sale of the products produced in the cooperatives was made in cooperation with Mardin province and Mardin municipality. As a result of this cooperation a local market was opened in August 2005 in Mardin where 27 women sold their products. Yet this local initiative

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 8.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 9.

was unable to survive due to the limited market opportunities and insufficient conditions for sale, and it closed down in October 2006.²⁸⁷

For providing markets for the sale of the products, thanks to the attempts of the UNDP, the ÇATOMs also cooperated with the foreign companies. For example, with a French company of the French Alter Eco Company, an agreement was made to create an additional market in France especially for the sale of dried vegetables (currants) produced by the ÇATOMs. Yet the process to export the products to France took long times due to the long period of testing the product in France. After all these, 3, 975-kilos of currants were exported to France on 11 December 2006. Yet there was no following order for dried vegetables.²⁸⁸

Besides searching markets for the goods produced in the ÇATOMs, the project of Strengthening Regional Development and Reduction of Socio-Economic Disparities in the GAP region aimed at creating income activities for women in sectors which extended beyond the “traditional female jobs.” However, when the contents of the employment creation programs are examined, they consisted of kitchen-building activities (*mutfak kurma faaliyetleri*) and sewing-embroidery training programs which were also among “traditional female works.”²⁸⁹ The kitchen building activities (*mutfak faaliyetleri*) were formed in the ÇATOMs in Mardin, Batman, Siirt and Besni. Each kitchen employed almost five to six women whose revenues were very low. Yet the Mardin experience may be accepted as a successful one. During the period of July-December in 2006 the kitchen made sales in the amount of nearly 12,000 Turkish Liras, which provided nearly 400 Turkish

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 10.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 14.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 11.

Liras monthly for a woman.²⁹⁰ Yet it may not be long-term when the market conditions for kitchen-building activities are considered. Besides the kitchen activities, there were also sewing-embroidery training programs. Ten workshops were established between 2005 and 2006. The project also supported the Women's Center's (*KAMER*) soap workshops by providing raw materials to it.²⁹¹ In these workshops, prayer rugs, dowery items, blouses and skirts were produced. The number of the workers working in these workshops changed between 8 and 40. There was not enough information about the revenues earned in these workshops. Yet, for instance, it is known that the Dargeçit Knitting Workshop earned revenues of 800 Turkish Liras for a month. When the number of women working in this workshop, which was 10, is taken into consideration, the share of each from the total gains was too low for the women to be able to deal with poverty.²⁹²

To conclude, the ÇATOMs are important actors engaging especially in the GAP region via poverty alleviation strategies. They carry out both social services and workfare programs to alleviate the poverty. With the support of international organizations such as the UNDP, they expanded the scope of their workfare programs. They attempted to integrate women into the market through income-generation activities, job placements and encouragement of self-employment. Most women either found employment opportunities in the low-wage service sector or encountered problems in the continuity of orders and marketing problems for the sale of their products while managing their businesses. Most of them were also not

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 12.

²⁹¹ *Kadın Merkezi (KA-MER)* executes its activities in Diyarbakır. The organization provides employability training programs and encourages women entrepreneurship by providing credit to women. For detailed information on KA-MER, see Nebahat Akkoç, "Diyarbakır KA-MER'in Kuruluş Hikayesi ve Yürüttüğü Çalışmalar," in *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, Aksu Bora, and Asena Günel eds. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 205-217.

²⁹² UNDP, *GAP Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Programı, Bölgesel Kalkınmanın Güçlendirilmesi ve Bölgedeki Sosyo-Ekonomik Farklılıkların Azaltılması-Aşama II Değerlendirme Raporu*, 13.

covered by social security system. The ÇATOM case also illustrates how workfare programs do not provide alternatives for eradicating poverty.

Integrating Voluntary Organizations into the Picture: The Workfare Programs of the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği- ÇYDD*) and the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (*Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı-KEDV*)

In this part, an evaluation of the workfare programs carried out by voluntary organizations in the context of neo-liberal international governance system in Turkey will be presented. As is the case for many countries around the world, Turkey witnessed the revival of voluntary organizations during the 1980s. Since the academic discussions on voluntary organizations were commonly confined to a matter of democratization, the rise of voluntary organizations was perceived as an “extension of the society” against the “strong state” as an indicator of democratization. Yet this view of civil society- state relation was “revised” after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, by harmonizing with the neo-liberal governance system. Thus, voluntary organizations were re-defined as “active agents” collaborating with the state and the private sector to provide social services as well as to struggle against poverty. This is a new international governance system responding the recent demands of the neo-liberal era that emphasizes the necessity of cooperation between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector in developing and conducting social policy programs which were previously among the basic responsibilities of the state during the welfare period. This neo-liberal new international governance

system arose in Turkey particularly after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis, and it is supported on the basis of a neo-liberal approach which promotes the withdrawal of the state from the social policy arena and the provision of the state's responsibilities through cooperation between different actors such as voluntary organizations, the private sector and the state. Especially since the economic crisis, the international projects on poverty alleviation programs supported by the World Bank and the EU have also contributed to the increasing emphasis on such cooperation for providing social services and struggling against poverty.

In this part, it will first be discussed how voluntary organizations have revived as an active agent in providing social services as if supplementing the state in social policy. Second, the changing forms of state-voluntary organization relations in terms of poverty alleviation programs will be evaluated. Although there are many other voluntary organizations engaged in poverty alleviation programs, ÇYDD and KEDV were chosen since they carry out their projects and programs concerning poverty issue in closer cooperation with the state and state institutions and mostly by benefiting from international funds. Focusing on the projects and programs of these two voluntary organizations on poverty alleviation in general and workfare programs in particular, the quality of the relationship between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector will be elaborated critically by depending on the argument that in this relationship, voluntary organizations collaborate with the state by sharing the state's responsibilities in the social policy arena rather than exerting pressure on the state to demand the fulfillment of the state's responsibilities in social policy. This relationship is thus based on a "division of labor" among different actors for implementation of the projects rather than providing alternative policies concerning

social policy, and that further contributes to the de-politicization of the social policy area.

* * *

In the contemporary world, in parallel to the recent developments of global politics, voluntary organizations have become influential actors in social and political life. They undertake many activities ranging from promoting human rights and social justice and protecting the environment to struggling against poverty. Particularly since 1990 the increasing emphasis of international organizations such as the UNDP and the World Bank on those issues has also promoted voluntary organizations. It begins to be presented as a key actor for both good governance and poverty reduction. For example, at international conferences such as the UN Conference on Environment and Development (*Çevre ve Kalkınma konferansı*) in 1992, the UN Conference on Population and Development (*Nüfus ve Kalkınma Konferansı*) in 1994, the UN World Women's Conference (*Dünya Kadın Konferansı*) in 1996, the presence of voluntary organizations was seen as providing both the participation of the people for the effectiveness of the projects and the efficiency of the projects due to the "innovative," flexible, and problem-solving potential of the voluntary organizations.²⁹³ Thus the role of the voluntary organizations commonly is reduced to a matter of providing the efficiency of the projects rather than developing alternative policies and exerting pressure on international organizations and the state.

The increasing emphasis on civil society by international organizations coincided with the historical conjuncture of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to the revival of civil society in post-communist countries as an alternative

²⁹³ Tanıl Bora and Selda Çağlar, "Modernleşme ve Batılılaşmanın Bir Taşıyıcısı Olarak Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, vol.3, *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, ed. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 339.

model of democratization. For example, many intellectuals who had been against the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe promoted the expansion of civil society since “civil society” was perceived as the most viable alternative while it was utilized as a way of legitimizing the transition to the free market economy, which equated the democratization process with the free market economy during the 1990s.²⁹⁴ Therefore civil society was supported as an alternative to the authoritarian state and socialist economic system. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of voluntary organization in the East European countries also gave inspiration to Middle Eastern and Latin American countries to see civil society as an alternative model of democratization. Civil society thus became a prominent phenomenon especially in the Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Latin America in discussions of the democratization process.

In Western Europe, the importance of voluntary organizations came onto the agenda with the decline of the Keynesian welfare regimes. Especially after the 1990s, welfare states attempted to regulate their welfare regimes in accordance with neo-liberal economic policies. In this respect, the European states transferred their responsibilities to voluntary organizations, especially the responsibilities of providing social services such as education and child and elder care.²⁹⁵ In accordance with the neo-liberal international governance system, “mixed welfare regimes” emerged in the European countries where voluntary organizations appeared as influential actors in the social policy alongside the state and market forces.²⁹⁶ The main characteristics of the welfare regimes in the Keynesian period

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 336.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 337.

²⁹⁶ Adalbert Evers, “Mixed Welfare Systems and Hybrid Organizations: Changes in the Governance and Provision of Social Services,” (paper presented at sixth International Conference of International

could be described as the primacy of the state and the highly professionalized, standardized and centralized welfare system.²⁹⁷ However, in the context of the neo-liberal governance system, the trend turned towards de-centralization and “devolution” in social welfare in Europe. The main attempt became to give more responsibility and autonomy to local organizations and service providers.²⁹⁸

Voluntary organizations were the essential component of the European welfare regimes during the Keynesian welfare period. However, in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system, the nature of the relationship between the state and voluntary organizations changed. As Bode discusses, the issue over the welfare regimes of France, Germany, and Denmark, long-established relationship between the state and voluntary organizations for providing alternative policies for social policy programs shifted into the short-term relationship for developing state-sponsored projects.²⁹⁹ In this new model, the state remained a key player deciding social policy programs and allocating funds to these programs. The voluntary organizations, on the other hand, executed programs for a limited period of time.³⁰⁰ The relation between the state and the voluntary organizations has rested on the cooperation among these actors to carry out the short-term projects.

In this historical context, the voluntary organizations established preeminence over the global politics. The emphasis of the importance of the partnership with voluntary organizations for good governance and poverty

Society for Third-Sector Research, Toronto, Canada, July 11-14, 2004); and Ingo, Bode, “Disorganized Welfare mixes: Voluntary Agencies and New Governance Regimes in Western Europe,” *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, no.4 (2006).

²⁹⁷ Adalbert Evers, “Mixed Welfare systems and Hybrid Organizations: Changes in the Governance and Provision of Social Services,” 4.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁹⁹ Ingo Bode, “Disorganized Welfare Mixes: Voluntary Agencies and New Governance Regimes in Western Europe,” 349-350.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 350-352.

alleviation for the efficiency of the projects by international organizations such as the UN and the World Bank; the democratization process and the liberalization of the economy in Post-Soviet countries, Middle Eastern countries and Latin America; and the welfare states' sharing of their social responsibilities with the voluntary organizations are the three basic historical factors which paved the way for the revival of civil society. As for Turkey, the civil society came to be promoted as a symbol of the democratization of state-society relations. Yet after the 1999 earthquake and 2001 economic crisis it began to be seen as key to the provision of social services in the transformation of welfare regimes in general, which was the transformation of the relation between different actors into a neo-liberal type of governance model.³⁰¹ Now, after briefly explaining the development of the notion of the civil society in Turkey this transformation will be delineated.

In Turkey as well, it was commonly argued that the expansion of civil society would democratize state-society relations by challenging the “strong state.” Especially after the 1990s, the emergence of new actors particularly through the rise of Kurdish, Islamist as well as feminist movements resulted in a marked increase in civil society. These developments also were treated as incredible progress in the democratization process, challenging the privileged status of the nation-state.³⁰² On the other hand, the emergence of the democratization demands by such new actors

³⁰¹ Yasemin İpek also discusses the rise of voluntary organizations for providing social services beyond being tool of democratization after 1999 Marmara Earthquake in Turkey. She evaluates the complex nature of relation between the state and voluntary organizations in education area in neo-liberal period. She argues that voluntary organizations attempt to fulfill the social responsibilities of the state after the retreat of the state from its social responsibilities. In this part, I also expand the scope of the debate by focusing on the neo-liberal international governance system in social policy programs by highlighting the actors of the governance system such as international organizations, the state, the private sector and voluntary organizations and quality of relations among them. See Yasemin, İpek, *Volunteers or Governors? Rethinking Civil Society in Turkey Beyond the Problematic of Democratization: the Case of TEGV* (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2006).

³⁰² Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu, “Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey: Actors, Boundaries and Discourses,” *Citizenship Studies* 7, no.2 (2003), 223.

coincided with the integration process of Turkey to the EU, and during this process the Turkish government made certain political, administrative and judicial reforms. For the same liberal perspective, these attempts also were directly associated with the democratization of state-society relations that was undermining the legitimacy of the strong state tradition in Turkey.³⁰³ In this context, as one of the key actors in politics, civil society was commonly promoted as an extension of society against the “strong state.”

In the liberal discussions on the contributions of civil society to the democratization process, voluntary organizations are yet divided into two groups, the issue-specific ones which contribute to the provision of the social services and the others supporting ideological societal visions. By utilizing this distinction most voluntary organizations are labeled as organizations framed on the basis of big societal visions such as Kemalism, Socialist Turkey, and Islamic life, and the issue-specific ones are encouraged as being “non-ideological.” Such a liberal perspective promoting this kind of division rests on some basic essentialists views about civil society. First, for this perspective, the expansion of civil society is seen as the democratization of state-society relations by making a sharp distinction between the state and civil society without questioning the complex relations among them. Second, neo-liberalism is completely ignored in classifying civil society. While perceived as key to the democratization process by excluding the others since they are “accused” of being “ideological,” the issue-specific voluntary organizations are celebrated as constituting an “ideal civil society” which mainly provides social services by replacing the welfare providing state. From this view, being “non-ideological” has been equated with providing the social services without questioning

³⁰³ Ibid., 224.

the transformation in the welfare regimes as if they are not the “carriers” of the neo-liberal ideology. Holding such a “non-ideological position” in the eyes of the state also determines the relationship between the state and voluntary organizations. As the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey’s (*Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı- TÜSEV*) report prepared for the International Civil Society Index Project states, the Turkish state prefers to cooperate mostly with the issue-specific voluntary organizations which provide social services to the poor while evading cooperation with voluntary organizations that are mainly engaged in the issues of human rights and freedom of speech.³⁰⁴

Until now effort has been made to explain how the expansion of civil society in Turkey was commonly considered as indispensable element of the process of democratization as well as modernization and liberalization of the Turkish state, and a necessary factor for the establishment of stability in the relationship between Turkey and the EU. In short, civil society from this perspective was placed in opposition to the state. Yet the new conjuncture that emerged since the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis changed the perception of civil society together with the form of its relations with the state. In this context, civil society was encouraged to support the state in the provision of social services since after the earthquake and economic crisis the neo-liberal discourse on the insufficiency of the state in providing social services began to be openly pronounced due to the commonly perceived failure of the state in dealing with these crises.

The discourse on the insufficient state has grown stronger since the earthquake because the state has been questioned loudly by all segments of society due to its “bad performance” both during and after earthquake; the state should have

³⁰⁴ Filiz Bükmén and Zeynep Meydanođlu, eds., *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum: Bir Deđişim Süreci, Uluslar Arası Sivil Toplum Endeksi Türkiye Ülke Raporu* (İstanbul: TUSEV, 2006), 75.

fulfilled its responsibilities, but it was no longer anymore. Yüksel Selek perhaps best expresses the effects of the earthquake on the perceptions about the state in the 6th symposium on voluntary organizations arranged by the Turkish Foundation for Economic and Social History (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı*). She states that “In my opinion, the August 17 Earthquake took a snapshot of the system. There was a blurry 6X9 photograph of the system in Susurluk but what we have here now is a huge and clear photo of the system with this big disaster and we are in this photo, too.”³⁰⁵ The state was accused not only of being late to intervene in the crisis, but of attempting to avert the activities of voluntary organizations. Ibrahim Betil as a chief of the Turkish Foundation for Education volunteers (*Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı-TEGV*), which was one of the most active voluntary organizations, described this situation as: “What have we learned and what have we not learned as a voluntary organization and government in a society like this? We have not actually learned anything. An ineffective government, clumsy and crummy organization prevents people, entrepreneurs, who are trying to do good things for society with good intentions.”³⁰⁶

The critiques of the state were at the same time turned into the encouragement of the voluntary organizations to fulfill the responsibilities of the state. Yaprak Özer gave good news about the emergence of the “third sector”:

³⁰⁵ “17 Ağustos Depremi sistemin fotoğrafını çekti bana göre. Susurluk’ta 6x9 luk ve biraz flu bir fotoğraf vardı, ama bu sefer bu büyük felekatte kocaman ve net bir fotoğraf görüyoruz ve bu sistemin fotoğrafı içinde bizler de varız.” Yüksel Selek’s speech in the 6th symposium on voluntary organizations called “17 Ağustos Depreminden STK’lar olarak Neler Öğrendik” in *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve YASALAR-ETİK-DEPREM* (4th, 5th, and 6th symposiums on voluntary organizations) (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000), 289.

³⁰⁶ “Biz böyle bir toplumda sivil toplum ve devlet olarak neler öğrendik, neler öğrenmedik? Bir şey öğrenmedik aslında. Beceriksiz bir devlet, hantal, atıl, köhne bir organizasyon toplumun iyi niyetle bir şeyler yapmaya çalışan insanlarını, girişimcilerini sürekli engellemekte.” Ibrahim Betil’s speech in the 6th symposium on voluntary organizations called “17 ağustos Depreminden STK’lar olarak Neler Öğrendik”, in *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve YASALAR-ETİK-DEPREM* (4th, 5th and 6th symposiums on voluntary organizations), 286.

For the first time in Turkey, people not only showed their dissatisfaction but also filled the gap effectively. They got ready to rescue people, got under the debris, brought tents, brought food. And now, I think they want more. Supposedly, there are a lot of things left to us from the earthquake. We have learned something. We will forget some of it but it will leave dregs behind. Unfortunately natural disaster has become a catalyst. As a result of this disaster, we noticed that voluntary organizations that we had not thought well of at all were there to help people with a new and different identity. Some people call them “third sector”, and others call them “voluntary or non-profit organizations.” No matter what we call them, there is a civil society revolution all around the world now. We are expecting the 21st century will be the years of voluntary organizations.³⁰⁷

Surprisingly, the emphasis on the inability of the state to provide social services turned into an emphasis on cooperation with the state in providing social service programs. In other words, it was argued that the state and voluntary organizations have to collaborate: “Both the government and voluntary organizations display activities on the same ground, in the public sphere. They are not enemies. After the earthquake, with some exceptions, the attitude of the government gave hope to improve the understanding of voluntary organizations. voluntary organizations succeeded that.”³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ “Türkiye’de halk belki de ilk kez memnuniyetsizliğini ifade etmekle kalmadı, ortaya çıkan boşluğu fiilen doldurdu. Kolları sıvadı, enkazın altına girdi, çatır götürdü, çatır getirdi, yiyecek götürdü, yiyecek getirdi. Ve şimdi daha fazlasını istiyor gibi geliyor bana. Görünüşe bakılırsa depremden geriye bize bir çok şey kaldı. Anlaşılan bir şeyler öğrendik. Birazını unutacağız ama arkasında tortusu kalacak. Doğal afet katalizör oldu ne yazık ki. Felaket sayesinde bir baktık ki hafife aldığımız sivil toplum kuruluşları farklı bir kimlik kazanıvermişler ve ortaya çıkmışlar. Adına bazılarımız üçüncü sector, bazılarımız gönüllü kuruluşlar, bazılarımız kar amacı gütmeyen kuruluşlar diyoruz.. Adına ne dersek diyelim, sivil toplum kuruluşları bütün dünyada bir devrim yaşıyor. 21.yüzyılın sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yılı olmasının bekliyoruz.” Yaprak Özer’s speech in the 6th symposium on voluntary organizations called “Kriz Durumları ve STK Pratikleri” in *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve YASALAR-ETİK-DEPREM* (4th, 5th, 6th symposiums on voluntary organizations), 301-302.

³⁰⁸ “Devlet de sivil toplum kuruluşları da aynı zeminde, kamu alanında faaliyet göstermektedirler. Birbirine düşman değildirler. İşte deprem sonrasında devletin bazı istisnalar dışında gösterdiği tavır, sivil toplum anlayışının gelişmesi için umut verici olmuştur. Sivil toplum kuruluşları bunu başarmışlardır.” Hikmet Bila’s speech in the 6th symposium on voluntary organizations called

It is interesting that the speaker points out that the state and voluntary organizations have to collaborate since they carry out their activities in the same area. This expression reflects the neo-liberal international governance system that calls for cooperation between the state and voluntary organizations. This type of cooperation began to institutionalize in Turkey especially after the 2001 economic crisis. International projects such as the Social Risk Mitigation Project supported by the World Bank and the Active Labor Market Project funded by the EU have contributed to the institutionalization process of the governance system since the voluntary organizations have used international funds via presenting their projects to the state, resulting in the institutionalization of cooperation between the state and voluntary organizations.

After analyzing how the relationship between the state and voluntary organizations has been re-formulated since the Marmara earthquake as a result of the neo-liberal international governance system, the quality of the relations between different actors of the new governance system will be evaluated by focusing on the workfare programs of ÇYDD and KEDV. The two of them were chosen among others since their cooperation with both the state and the private sector have become more institutionalized which reflects the main dimensions of the neo-liberal international governance system. First the place of ÇYDD in the context of new governance system will be discussed by stressing on its workfare programs.

ÇYDD was established in 1989 with the aim of “providing equal contemporary education for everybody in the country, thereby raising children to be conscious, educated, and respectful of the universal rights of humans, children and women; environmentally-conscious and enlightened by Atatürk’s principles and

“STK’lar ve Basın Yayın Dünyası” in *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve YASALAR-ETİK-DEPREM* (4th, 5th, 6th symposiums on voluntary organizations), 355-356.

reforms in order to achieve a contemporary society.”³⁰⁹ It was organized in Turkey with ninety-six branch offices and nearly 16,000 members, and also has branch offices in Germany and the USA. It has a public interest status; therefore all donations to ÇYDD are tax-exempt and has the right of assistance from the general budget. For example, the association received financial assistance of ten billion Turkish Liras from the general budget in 1999.³¹⁰

Necmi Erdoğan discusses the reasons behind the emergence of such a Kemalist civil society in the early 1990s. He argues that the rise of the Kurdish and Islamist movements created a hegemonic crisis of the Kemalist regime. Such organizations attempted to reconstitute the Kemalist hegemony through civil society.³¹¹ In the documents of the ÇYDD, it is clearly stated that civil society appears as the most hopeful thing when the state and political parties have disappointed in preserving secular republic and Kemalism.³¹² Bora and Çağlar develop similar arguments. They evaluate the projects of the association related to education as attempts at providing the continuity of the Kemalist modernization project. According to this argument, in this sense, civil society has become the main tool of the modernization project.³¹³ Although these approaches successfully demonstrate the modernist perspective of the association and its attempts to reconstitute the Kemalist hegemony over society, they ignore the relationship between the projects of the association and neo-liberalism. It is argued here that that the

³⁰⁹ “ÇYDD herkese eşit bir çağdaş eğitimin sağlanması, böylece bilinçli, eğitimli, evrensel insan, çocuk, kadın haklarına saygılı, çevreye duyarlı, Atatürk ilke ve devrimlerinin aydınlığında çağdaş bir toplum oluşturulması amacıyla kurulmuştur.” Available (online) at: <<http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=biz>>.

³¹⁰ Necmi Erdoğan, “ ‘Kalpaksız Kuvvacılar’: Kemalist Sivil toplum Kuruluşları” in *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002), 239.

³¹¹ Ibid., 235.

³¹² Ibid., 250.

³¹³ Tanıl Bora and Selda Çağlar, “Modernleşme ve Batılılaşmanın Bir Taşıyıcısı Olarak Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları,” 341.

association attempts to “fill in the gap” left by the “retreat of the state” from its responsibilities in social services. In accordance with the no-liberal international governance system, the association also cooperates with the state and the private sector and uses international funds for its projects.

ÇYDD carries out projects mainly related to education and workfare programs. While its education projects are aimed at girls who can not afford to attend school, workfare programs aim to help young women and housewives struggle against poverty. The association arranges its projects by cooperating with state organizations such as the Ministry of National Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*), Social Services and the Child Protection Agency (*Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu-SHÇEK*), the Government Minister for Women and Family (*Kadın ve Aileden Sorumlu Devlet Bakanlığı*), and the civil and local administration of the state(*Mülki ve Mahalli İdareler*).³¹⁴ The importance of the cooperation with the state organizations perhaps is best expressed by the representation of the ÇYDD in the 7th symposium of the voluntary organizations carried out by the Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı:

The way ÇYDD perceives the government and its relations with the government may be different than those of other voluntary organizations. ÇYDD approves that the government should support voluntary organizations, cooperate with them and receive their help, support and view. For this reason, in the projects that it wants to carry out, ÇYDD wishes to see the government not as standing against it but siding with it. ÇYDD persistently wants to cooperate with the government.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Available (online) at: <<http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=biz>>.

³¹⁵ “ÇYDD’nin devlete bakışı ve devletle ilişkileri belki de diğer STK’lardan farklıdır. ÇYDD, devletin STK’lara destek vermesi, onlarla işbirliği içinde olması, onların yardım, destek ve görüşlerinin alınmasından yanadır. Bu nedenle gerçekleştirmek istediği projelerde devleti karşısında değil, yanında ve arkasında görmek ister. Sürekli devletle iş birliği yapmak ister.” Deniz Banoğlu’s speech in the 7th symposium on voluntary organizations called “STK’nın Devletle İlişkilerine Bakışı” in *Avrupa Birliği, Devlet ve STK’lar* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2001), 61.

The project on Cooperation between Civil Society and Civil and Local Administrations of the State for the Development of Rural Areas (*Kırsal Alanın Kalkınması için Sivil toplum Kuruluşlarının Mülki İdare Amirleri ile İşbirliği Projesi*) can be given as an example of the cooperation between ÇYDD and the state organizations. The project has been carried out since 1998 in the south-east Anatolia. With the support of state institutions, the association opens schools, builds libraries, and attempts to persuade the families to send their girls to school.³¹⁶ Similarly, the association cooperates with SHCEK for its projects on the rehabilitation of the street children. In this project, ÇYDD gives support to Bakırköy and Osmaniye Children Houses (*Çocuk Evleri*) under SHÇEK, especially via providing employability training programs for street children.³¹⁷

The projects of ÇYDD have mainly concentrated on education. Their projects on education mainly consist of building schools, providing scholarships for university students and girls in the South-East Region, and supporting early childhood education. ÇYDD builds schools and additional classrooms in the South-Eastern Anatolia and the periphery of the urban areas with the support of the local officials of the state. After the Marmara earthquake, the projects for building schools were concentrated in the earthquake region.³¹⁸ In addition to the building of schools, the association also attempts to provide student dormitories for both university students and girls in the eastern part of Turkey.³¹⁹ All these buildings (schools, additional classrooms and student dormitories), after they are made ready for use, are assigned to the Ministry of Education.

³¹⁶ Available (online) at: < <http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=sta#mia>>.

³¹⁷ Available (online) at: < <http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=diger#sok>>.

³¹⁸ Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği, *Deprem Seyir Defteri* (İstanbul: ÇYDD, 2002), 193-223.

³¹⁹ Available (online) at: < <http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=burs>>.

In support of education, ÇYDD provides scholarship through different projects. For instance, since 1995 nearly 16,000 university students have benefited from scholarships awarded by ÇYDD. It also provides scholarships for girls who attend primary school in rural areas. In cooperation with Turkcell, one of the leading telecommunication firms, the association initiated Contemporary Girls of Contemporary Turkey Project (*Çağdaş Türkiye'nin Çağdaş Kızları Projesi*) to support the education requirements of girls in the South-Eastern Anatolia Region.³²⁰ Moreover ÇYDD opens nursery schools for early childhood education. Until 2004, ÇYDD provided eighty-four nursery schools for primary schools. During the summer holiday, the association provides “summer nursery schools” in the South-Eastern Anatolia Region with the support of SHÇEK. For example, in 2001 ÇYDD opened summer nursery schools in Van and Diyarbakır for 2,000 children.³²¹

In addition to cooperation with state organizations, the association attempts to develop collective projects with the private sector. In the context of the neo-liberal governance system, the private sector gets involved in social policy programs to fulfill their “social responsibility,” which is encouraged by tax reductions. The state in the neo-liberal period supports the private sector in providing social services through tax reductions rather than collecting taxes from private sector and providing social services in return through these taxes. By getting involved in social services in the name of “social responsibility,” the private sector begins to act as the state looking after and protecting its citizens. Through these programs, the private sector

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Available (online) at: <<http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=erken#ana>>.

presents itself as a responsible actor to legitimate its high profits by breaking off its connections with ‘brutal capitalism.’³²²

It is possible to explain the rise of the private sector as an actor engaged in social policy by focusing on the present neo-liberal context celebrating the retreat of the state from social services. However in Turkey, the cooperation between the state, voluntary organizations and private sector is a recent phenomenon. The support of the private sector is limited to short-term projects. Yet the cooperation between voluntary organizations and private sector has begun to be institutionalized recently.³²³ ÇYDD is one of the most active voluntary organizations that has established institutionalized relations with the private sector. TNT Express, HSBC, İşbank and Turkcell are the main partners of ÇYDD from the private sector in conducting its projects. For example, “Farther, Send Me to School” (*Baba Beni Okula Gönder*) is one of these projects in which the private sector acts as a “responsible actor.” Milliyet newspaper has sponsored this project since 2005. Through this project, the private sector is invited to support voluntary organizations and get involved in such activities. The private sector supports the project by providing books and scholarships to the girls. For example, Metro Group Companies have provided scholarships to 1000 girls in Izmir, Gaziantep, Osmaniye, Adana, and Muş. The other example is TEB Insurance (*Sigorta*). The company separates the revenues obtained from the sales of the products “Education of My Child” (*Çocuğumun Eğitimi*)” to the projects. 150 students from Şanlıurfa and Denizli have been supported by the project.³²⁴

³²² Yasemin İpek , “Türkiye’de Sivil Toplumunu Yeniden Düşünmek: Neo-liberal Dönüşümler ve Gönüllülük,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.108 (2007), 104.

³²³ Filiz Bükmen, and Zeynep Meydanoğlu, eds., *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum: Bir Değişim Süreci, Uluslar Arası Sivil Toplum Endeksi Türkiye Ülke Raporu*, 79.

³²⁴ For other supporters of the project, see available (online) at:

As stated above, the projects of ÇYDD have been concentrated mainly on girl's education in particular and workfare programs to women in poverty. Similar to the conducting of projects related to the education, workfare programs are also arranged by ÇYDD in cooperation with the state and private sector. For its poverty alleviation and employment provision programs the association also uses international funds. For ÇYDD, the main target group of the workfare programs is housewives in poverty. The local branches of the association arrange these programs. The employability training programs mostly include courses on sewing and needlework, child and elder care, and carpet weaving. For example, the Pendik official branch of the association ran courses on child and elder care in 2005. While carrying out these workfare programs, the local branches mostly cooperate with Public Education Centers (*Halk Eğitim Merkezleri*).³²⁵

The association attempts to find markets for the sale of products that have been formed in workfare programs of the association for generating some income in different ways. One way of creating income for women is to sell their products through local exhibitions. Moreover, the association has a business enterprise in Nişantaşı to sell products that are produced in the employability training programs. ÇYDD also collaborates with the private sector in finding markets to sell these products. The last example of this kind of cooperation was the partnership between ÇYDD and Boyner, an important chain store in Turkey. ÇYDD cooperated with Boyner in the sale of the carpets that were produced in a workshop opened by the Province of Hakkari for selling carpets.³²⁶

<[http:// www.bababeniokulagönder.org](http://www.bababeniokulagönder.org)>.

³²⁵ Available (online) at: <[http:// www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=ulusal](http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=proje&proje=ulusal)>.

³²⁶ Turkan Saylan, "Hakkari Kilimleri İçin Davet," *Radikal*, 06 July 2006.

ÇYDD worked to expand its workfare programs after the 1999 Marmara earthquake as well as its cooperation with the private sector in the conducting of these programs. For example, the association established a shawl (*şal*) workshop in Izmit in 1999 with Benetton. In this workshop, 1,353 shawls was produced and sold to the Benetton Company. In Izmit, a jam project (*reçel projesi*) and cooking projects were carried out with the support of the Şişe-Cam company. These projects were transferred to Public Education Centers to provide the continuity of the projects. In addition to these two projects, ÇYDD provided ten workbenches for producing rugs, carpets, and doormats for workshops provided by the Mersin Public Education Center in Yalova. These products sold through business enterprise of ÇYDD in Nişantaşı.³²⁷

ÇYDD institutionalized its cooperation with the state and private sector through projects supported by international organizations such as the EU. Active Labor Market Strategy Project (*Aktif İş Piyasası Stratejisi Projesi*), supported by the European Commission, was one such project, through which ÇYDD benefited from the EU's funds. The Active Labor Market Strategy Project was initiated and financially supported by the European Commission. The project began in 2003 and lasted until 2006. The project provided employability training programs for “disadvantaged groups” such as women in poverty, disabled people and young unemployed to improve the employability of these groups to enable them to integrate into the labor market. The European Commission cooperated with the Turkish Employment Organization (*IŞ-KUR*) for the selection of the projects. The projects of the voluntary organizations, universities and local governments were presented to IŞ-KUR to receive the financial support of the organization. IŞ-KUR

³²⁷ ÇYDD, *Deprem Seyir Defteri*, 251-253.

mostly supported employability training programs related to tourism, textiles, and the personal service sector. IŞ-KUR also supported education and counseling programs in such areas as entrepreneurship, human resource management, marketing, and job seeking.³²⁸

The financial support of the state to voluntary organizations through projects is an important way of the institutionalization of the cooperation between the state, and voluntary organizations. It is argued that voluntary organizations in Turkey mostly suffer from financial difficulties in providing for their projects since the lack of individual donations to such associations leads to a lack of incentives for donations through tax reduction. Yet the state has become an important financial source by transferring the international funds to voluntary organizations. In this context, the European Union's projects have become substantial financial resources for voluntary organizations like the European Active Labor Market Strategy.³²⁹

ÇYDD arranged three workfare programs which were financially supported by IŞ-KUR as a way of struggling against poverty. While the first project which provided employability training programs for a more high-qualified service sector for girls may not be evaluated as workfare, the other projects aim at integrating the women in poverty into low-paying personal service sector.

The first project was The "Project of Vocational Training and Incorporation to Production of the Contemporary Graduated Girls (*Çağdaş Lise Mezunu Kızları Meslek Edindirme ve Üretime Katma Projesi*)," which aimed to reach girls who had completed high school education but were unable to manage to enter the university, living in the peripheral areas of Istanbul such as Pendik, Gaziosmanpaşa and

³²⁸ IŞ-KUR, *IŞ-KUR 2006 Faaliyet Raporu* (Ankara: IŞ-KUR, 2007), 36-38.

³²⁹ Filiz Bükmen and Zeynep Meydanoğlu, eds., *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum: Bir Değişim Süreci, Uluslar Arası Sivil Toplum Endeksi Türkiye Ülke Raporu*, 59.

Bağcılar. The financial cost of the project was 135,997,000 Euros, which was supported with the EU funds. In the project the employability training programs involved upon office management (*büro yönetimi*), tourism and the hotel business. While sixty students attended the course on office management, forty students participated in the tourism and hotel business employability training programs. For this project the program of employability training programs was formed with the Istanbul Technical University Permanent Education Center. Hotels such as Hilton, Taksim, Conrad, Beyazıt and companies such as HSBC, TNT Ekspres, and Mercedes participated by providing job opportunities for the participants of the courses. However among the participants of the employability training programs in this project only four students found employment.³³⁰

The second project of ÇYDD was named “The Project of Education and Production for Contemporary Life from Ümitköy to the Women of Sincan” (*Ümitköyden Sincanlı Kadınlara Çağdaş Yaşam için Eğitim-Öğretim ve Üretim Projesi*). The project aimed at 48 women between the ages of 15-50. The project began on December 2004 and lasted for ten months. The cost of the project was 54793,77 Euros. It consisted of employability training programs on sewing, embroidery, and ready-wear, which aimed to integrate the women in poverty into the textile sector.³³¹ The final İŞ-KUR-financed project of ÇYDD was initiated by Zonguldak branch office of the association. It was carried out between December 2004 and October 2005. During the project, 100 women attended a training program

³³⁰ Available (online) at: < <http://www.cydd.org.tr/?sayfa=haberac&id=324>>.

³³¹ Ibid.

on child care. The project was executed with the support of Zonguldak Anatolia High School.³³²

When examining the contents of employability training programs carried out by ÇYDD, it can be observed both workfare programs and employability training programs which go beyond workfare programs. The Project of “Vocational Training and Incorporation to Production of the Contemporary Girls Graduated from Highschool” (*Çağdaş Lise Mezunu Kızları Meslek Edindirme ve Üretime Katma Projesi*) aimed at integrating women into more high-qualified service sector, going beyond the “traditional female jobs.” However, other programs aimed to integrate women into the low-paying textile and personal service sectors which do not provide alternatives for the current situation of women in the labor market.

After evaluating the workfare programs of ÇYDD above, the discussion on workfare programs in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system will be deepened by introducing the workfare programs of KEDV. KEDV was established in 1986 as a non-profit organization aiming to support lower income women in order to improve the quality of their lives. It has a public interest status and all donations to the foundation are tax exempted.³³³

KEDV concentrates its endeavor generally low-income areas of Istanbul, the Marmara earthquake region and the South-Eastern part of Turkey. It also provides support for local governments and voluntary organizations that want to integrate KEDV programs into their activities.³³⁴ While carrying out its activities, the foundation seeks partnerships with local governments, public agencies, universities and other voluntary organizations. KEDV also cooperates with representatives of

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Available (online) at: < <http://www.kedv.org>>.

³³⁴ Ibid.

the private sector on a project basis, like Citibank, Microsoft, ideefixe.com, estore.com.tr and Varan Cargo.³³⁵

KEDV believes that women can play important roles in the struggle against poverty. In this context, the foundation carries out employability training programs in order to provide income-generating activities to poor women. Besides employability training programs, KEDV has also carried out microcredit programs. KEDV established a microcredit institution called MAYA in 2002. As the first microcredit program in Turkey, it provides credit for women to develop or improve their own small businesses. Here the focus will be on only the employability training programs of KEDV. Since microcredit is recommended persistently as a “miracle” for poverty alleviation by different actors such as international organizations and the state, the microcredit programs will be discussed in another section below. The microcredit program of the foundation will thus be discussed in the section related to microcredit programs.

KEDV arranges its workfare programs through cooperatives. It believes that women should organize and come together to affect local politics to solve their problems.³³⁶ That is why the foundation supports women’s organizations at the local level. Fifteen womens cooperatives have been supported by the foundation. KEDV provides not only workfare programs, but also day-care centers in the cooperatives. In Turkey, there is a serious lack of day care centers and this makes it difficult for women to work. As Özar and Ercan note, women mostly participate in the labor market at early ages and depart from the labor market after marriage and bearing

³³⁵ Available (online) at: < <http://www.kedv.org.tr>>.

³³⁶ Ibid.

child.³³⁷ On the other hand, the workfare strategies of most European countries have involved support programs through work benefits. For example, England provides childcare centers through the National Care Strategy in order to enable housewives to integrate into the market.³³⁸ However, such support programs are not available as a part of the workfare programs in Turkey. Thus voluntary organizations like KEDV concentrate on this issue, and try to support women by providing day-care centers through the cooperatives or neighborhood motherhood (*mahalle anneliği*). In low-income communities, after being trained, some women provide childcare for three to four children in their own homes.³³⁹ This facility makes it easier for women to attend the workfare programs of the foundation.

In cooperatives, workfare programs mostly include employability training programs such as patchwork cushions, candles, toys, and home textile items. Similar to ÇYDD, KEDV tries to find markets for the products of the participants of its workfare programs. For this aim, it established a shop in Istanbul called Nahl where the products made by women in KEDV's workshops are sold. These products were also marketed on the Internet in cooperation with private companies. Local handcrafts bazaars have been established in cooperation with the local governments to provide income for women.³⁴⁰

KEDV has also used international funds in conducting its workfare programs. Like ÇYDD, KEDV benefited from the support of the European Commission for the conduct of its workfare programs in South-East Anatolia and İstanbul. The project financed by the European Commission was carried out in

³³⁷ Şemsa Özar and Fuat Ercan, "Emek Piyasaları: Uyumsuzluk mu, Bütünleşme mi?" in Neoliberalizmin Tahribatı, eds. Neşecan Balkan and Sungur Savran (İstanbul: Metis, 2002), 198.

³³⁸ Katherine Rake, "Gender and New Labour's Social Policies," *Journal of Social Policy* 32, no.2 (2001), 220.

³³⁹ Available (online) at: <<http://www.kedv.org.tr>>.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

Mardin and Diyarbakır on two year basis in 2001. The foundation established daycare centers in Mardin and Diyarbakır to enable women to have free time to undertake income-generating activities. As part of the project, KEDV also established knitting workshops in both Diyarbakır and Mardin, and candle-making workshop in Diyarbakır. These workshops began their activities with the support of Social Assistance and Solidarity Funds. Yet as other initiatives, the sustainability of these programs encountered with the difficulties in finding a market to sell the products produced by the women during the program.³⁴¹ The foundation also carried out employability training program on box making with the support of the European Commission for the Active Labor Market Strategy by cooperating with the Municipality of Beyoğlu, which lasted for six months in 2005. In the project, 150 women from Kasımpaşa attended to the program during which the workshop took orders for the weddings.³⁴²

As discussed above, in the context of the neo-liberal international governance system, KEDV executes workfare programs with the support provided by local municipalities and public organizations. Moreover, the foundation cooperates with the private sector in order to create markets for selling the products of women produce in the workshops. It also supplies the responsibility of the state by providing child-care centers so women can participate in income-generating activities. I will come back to KEDV while discussing the microcredit programs in the following section.

To sum up, this section discussed the workfare programs of voluntary organizations using the examples of ÇYDD and KEDV, in the present context of the new international governance system. Within this historical context with the retreat

³⁴¹ UNDP, *An Evaluation of Poverty Alleviation Programs in Southeast Anatolia Region*, 44.

³⁴² “Her Kutu Bir Mutluluk,” *Radikal*, 30 September 2005.

of the state from its social responsibilities, voluntary organizations “supply” social services and workfare programs by acting like the state. Yet this does not mean that the state has retreated from its social responsibilities. Within this context the major duty of the state has become to coordinate, and facilitate the social policy programs with different actors like international organizations, voluntary organizations and the private sector rather than providing social services directly on its own. The role of voluntary organizations has also changed. They began to “substitute” the state rather than exert pressure on the state to fulfill its main responsibilities. Therefore the relation between the state and voluntary organizations rests on a kind of “division of labor” for developing projects but short-term ones rather than providing alternative policies. This neo-liberal international governance system will find a scope of application through the projects supported by international organizations such as the EU, the World Bank, and the UN.

Encouraging Women’s Entrepreneurship: Microcredit Programs in Turkey

A consensus has emerged among international organizations, voluntary organizations, the state, and academicians; stating that the extension of small loans to the unemployed, poor entrepreneurs and others living in poverty can be an effective way of struggling against world-wide poverty. This consensus has emerged in the recent context of neo-liberalism according to which the market is seen not only as a matter of economic growth but also offered as an influential solution to poverty alleviation and social justice. In this sense, microcredit is promoted by global actors as a means of integrating the poor to the market as a way of struggling against poverty. In the neo-liberal period there increasingly have been attempts to

integrate the poor into the market rather than providing social services for them, through which the poor are continuously constituted as agents of their own survival rather than “passive” recipients of social assistance. Therefore microcredit programs are highly compatible with the current neo-liberal social policy agenda, constituting a part of the workfare programs.

As discussed in Chapter Two, workfare programs mainly consist of employability training programs aiming to integrate the poor into the wage-labor, and self-employment programs encouraging small entrepreneurship in “developing countries.” I have already discussed these two complementary parts of the workfare programs through İŞ-KUR’s employability training programs, the Social Risk Mitigation Project carried out by the General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity (*SYDGM*), and the ÇATOM’s employability training programs and projects in other parts of this chapter. Here I will attempt to extend the scope of the discussion towards self-employment programs as a part of the workfare programs by focusing on microcredit programs. Microcredit programs are different from other self-employment programs in two senses. First, microcredit programs specifically aim to reach women in poverty. Second, the microcredit is given as a loan that borrowers should pay back with interest. I will discuss the issue in terms of two examples being implemented by the Foundation for the Support of Women’s Work (*Kadın Emeğini Değerlendirme Vakfı-KEDV*) and the Turkish Foundation for Waste Reduction (*Türkiye İsrâfı Önleme Vakfı-TİSVA*) based on the Grameen Model.³⁴³

³⁴³ With the financial support of HSBC, the Foundation for Community Volunteers (*Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı*) has also begun to distribute microcredit. The program was initiated in Samsun. The first credits were distributed to 16 women and 1 young man. The amount of the credit was 700 Turkish Liras for each participant. The women created their own jobs in areas such as slipper sales (*terlik satımı*), petty goods (*tuhafiye*), grocer (*sebzecilik*), buying and selling under wear (*iç çamaşırı alımı ve satımı*), handicrafts (*el işi yapımı*), buying cow (*inek alımı*), milk marketing (*süt pazarlama*) calf buying (*buzacağı alımı*), flower making (*çiçek yapımı*). The young man on the other hand initiated web design (*web tasarımı*). The project was implemented by 30 volunteers of the university students

Concerns about the microcredit programs will be the conditions of the taking of and paying back of credits, jobs that are created by the women, and its importance for poverty alleviation strategies and the empowerment of women.

Although the “encouraging women’s entrepreneurship” has been discussed for last 30 years in the world as a part of a poverty alleviation strategy, it has been a recent phenomenon for Turkey, which came onto the agenda especially after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis. Yet the discussions on “women’s entrepreneurship” go back to the early 1990s when the issue was brought up for the discussion of creating job opportunities for women at conferences arranged by voluntary and professional organizations.³⁴⁴ In these conferences, the experiences of other countries on this issue were discussed in the attempt to provide a model for Turkey.³⁴⁵ Following these discussions the Turkish Republic Primary Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women (*T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü*) initiated a project focusing on the encouragement of self-employment as a supporting part of the strategy for increasing the employment opportunities of women.³⁴⁶

Although women’s entrepreneurship was discussed in the 1990s as a method for creating further employment opportunities for women, the topic received more

with cooperation with governor, mayor, and *muhtars*. This shows that the microcredit programs are increasing as a way of struggling against poverty. For details of the project, see internet site of the organization. Available (online) at: < [http:// www.tog.org.tr](http://www.tog.org.tr)>. See also: “HSBC’den Mikro Krediyeye 5 milyon dolarlık Kaynak,” *Hürriyet*, 11 December 2006.

³⁴⁴ Female entrepreneurship has come onto the agenda through conferences such as “Kadınların Ekonomik Bağımsızlığı için Geleneksel Olmayan İş Kollarının Desteklenmesi” organized by İstanbul Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi in 1992, “Türkiye’de Kadın Girişimciliği” organized by TESK and Friedrich Nauman Vakfı in the same year, and “Kadın Girişimciliğini Özendirme ve Destekleme Paneli” organized by the Turkish Republic Primary Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women in 1993.

³⁴⁵ For discussions, see *Kadını Girişimciliğe Özendirme ve Destekleme Paneli: Bildiriler ve Tartışmalar* (Ankara: Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993); and Necla Arat., ed. *Türkiye’de Kadın Girişimcilik* (Ankara: TES-AR, 1993).

³⁴⁶ For analysis of the project, see Özlem Şahin, *Kadın Girişimciliğinin Piyasaya Çıkması: Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Kadın Girişimciliği ve Politik Sonuçları* (MA thesis, Ankara University Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 1997).

attention on the agenda with the 1999 earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis as a component part of the poverty alleviation strategies since microcredit programs were introduced as an effective solution for unemployment and poverty. Muhammad Yunus, the founder of the Grameen Bank, criticizes the approach that ignores the significance of self-employment and underestimates the “potential within each individual to turn into an entrepreneur.”³⁴⁷ He is also skeptical about the provision of the training programs for the poor since in these programs the people are seen only as wage-laborers. According to him, these programs are based on the premise that people suffer from poverty since they have insufficient skills to become wage laborers, thus to overcome poverty.³⁴⁸ In other words, employability training programs assume that people can overcome poverty if they develop their skill of labor. Yet, according to Yunus, the main reason for poverty is not a lack of skills, but rather inadequate understanding of the capability of humans to create their own jobs.³⁴⁹ For him, to provide accessibility of the poor to capital to create their own jobs is more effective than other poverty alleviation strategies like employability training programs. For this aim, he has developed a model of a microcredit system in which small loans are given to the poor on certain conditions to encourage them to start small businesses. This model has been adapted by voluntary organizations KEDV and TISVA and implemented especially in the earthquake region and the South-Eastern Anatolia Region. It is not coincidence that microcredit programs are concentrated in these regions.

³⁴⁷ Muhammed Yunus, “Poverty Alleviation: Is Economics Any Help? Lessons from the Grameen Bank Experience,” *Journal of International Affairs* 58, no.1 (1998), 56.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 48.

According to Şemsa Özar:

It is not a coincidence that activities which support women's entrepreneurship take place in these regions. Even though women's organizations were not involved in the field of activities previously, they were compelled to intervene in the fields of entrepreneurship and microcredit due to the pressures and demands of work coming from women. This pressure is derived from the fact that both regions experienced natural disasters that caused loss of lives and income at high rates and poverty and unemployment that deepened as a result of the economic crisis.³⁵⁰

As stated while discussing the workfare programs of voluntary organizations, KEDV was established in 1986 as a women's civil society organization aiming to support lower income women in order to improve the quality of their lives. The foundation has intensified its activities especially in the peripheral areas of Istanbul, the Marmara earthquake region, and the South-East Anatolian with the aim of "mitigating" poverty by integrating the women to the market through employability training programs and microcredit programs. Therefore microcredit program is a component of its poverty alleviation programs.

Its first attempts at microcredit began with a pilot project in 1995-1997 in Istanbul. During this project, 91 low-income women were encouraged to operate their own jobs. This pilot project was presented as a success since 98 percent of the loans were repaid.³⁵¹ Yet the project was delayed because of the earthquake in 1999. After the economic crises in November 2000 and February 2001, a market

³⁵⁰ "Kadın Girişimciliğini destekleyen faaliyetlerin burada yürütülüyor olması rastlantısal bir durum değildir. Bu iki bölgede de kadın örgütleri çalışma alanlarına girmemesine karşın, kadınların alttan gelen zorlaması ve iş talepleri karşısında girişimcilik ve mikro-kredi alanına girmişlerdir. İki bölgenin de yüksek oranda insan ve gelir kaybına yol açan afetler geçirmiş olmaları ve ekonomik krizin daha da ağırlaştırdığı yoksulluk ve işsizlik bu baskının oluşmasına neden olmuştur." GAP-GİDEM Kadın Girişimciliği Bölgesel Arama Toplantısı, Diyarbakır, 10 Şubat 2004, unpublished document, 18.

³⁵¹ Sinem Özer, *Turkey's Experience with Microcredit: The New Governmental Strategy* (MA thesis, Bogaziçi University, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2004), 66-67; and İstanbul Ticaret Odası, *Mikro-Kredi Yoluyla Yoksulluğun Azaltılması: İstanbul Örneği* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ticaret Odası , yayın no: 2004-32, 2004), 90.

study on microcredit was conducted in Izmit to find out if there was a need to revise the project there, and after the market research a microcredit project was initiated in Izmit in 2002. A similar project was started in Istanbul in 2003, particularly in the residential areas of Istanbul where the poverty rate was higher, such as Maltepe and Pendik; and then in Düzce in 2004.³⁵²

KEDV institutionalized its microcredit programs in 2002 with the establishment of MAYA Enterprise for Microfinance (*MAYA Mikro-finans Destek İşletmesi*). It was the first microcredit institution in Turkey. Its mission is to support poor women who want to either extend their jobs or to create their own jobs.

The microcredit system in general is different from the traditional banking system. It addresses particularly poor people who are not considered “bankable” by the traditional banking system since they lack the collateral and steady employment to meet even the most minimal requirements of the banking system in order to gain access to credit. To receive microcredit, the borrowers are therefore not required to offer collateral or a guarantor.³⁵³ Microcredit programs also require no contractual relation between the credit borrower and the credit institution. Yet all these do not mean that microcredit system necessitates no arrangement for repayment. It rests on its own repayment mechanism. In microcredit programs such as KEDV’s practice, “borrower groups” are formed to control and arrange repayments. These groups are generally composed of three women who have borrowed credit. At the beginning the groups were composed mainly of five women, but it was then considered that it was difficult to preserve solidarity among five members of the group, therefore the

³⁵² Şensoy Acar, *Commercial Banks and Micro-Finance in Turkey: Banking the Unbankable* (Ankara: UNDP, 2006), 28.

³⁵³ Grameen Bank therefore was established as an alternative to the existing banking system in 1976. In Turkey, TİSVA also considers establishing such a bank named as Damla Bank. The foundation will provide initial capital. The participants of the program will hold 75 percent of the bank. It is planned that the government will be effective in the formation of the bank. See “Yoksula Kredi için Damla Bank Geliyor,” *Hürriyet*, 7 January 2007.

member of each group was decreased to three.³⁵⁴ Yet, close relatives can not be in the same group since it is believed that close relative relations may damage the commercial character of the social relations among the women.³⁵⁵ The reasoning behind the “borrower group” is to establish a repayment model in which if a borrower fails to repay, no more credit is lent to the other members of the group as a kind of “penal sanction”. It thus provides a guarantee for repayments in microcredit programs while offering to women a type of the internal-control mechanism within the group for repayments. However, this grouping model is legitimated as a way of poverty alleviation on the premise that women can come together and share their experiences and problems with each other. For example, the World Bank states that social norms and networks are key elements to move out of poverty by establishing social groups among the poor.³⁵⁶ However in the neo-liberal period, social relations such as solidarity, association, networks have been restructured within the market parameter of efficiency. In order words, social relations are rendered to the economic assets to enable the market to work more efficiently.³⁵⁷ In microcredit programs, the group formation therefore provides the financial health of microcredit programs by bringing the women into the client relationships as an auto-control system for re-payment where there is no collateral system.

As stated above, the banking system in Turkey like that other countries, is not efficient for the implementation of microcredit programs. In Turkey, the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) and Halk Bank are the main actors for small loans. *Halk Bank* provides small credits for small entrepreneurs with the cooperation

³⁵⁴ İstanbul Ticaret Odası, *Mikro-Kredi Yoluyla yoksulluğun Azaltılması: İstanbul Örneği*, 93. Yet the number of group members change from 3 to 10.

³⁵⁵ Sinem Özer, *Turkey's Experience with Microcredit: The New Governmental Strategy*, 79.

³⁵⁶ World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty* (Washington D. C.: World Bank, 2001), 67.

³⁵⁷ Ben Fine, “It Ain’t Social, It Ain’t Capital and It Ain’t Africa,” *Studia Africana*, no.13 (2002).

of the Turkish Cooperative of Craftsmen and Artisans (*Türkiye Esnaf ve Zanaatkarlar Kooperatifleri Merkez Birliği- TESKOBM*) with strict criteria. According to Burritt, these two banks can be also considered as potential actors for the micro-finance industry by transforming them into the major actors of the micro-finance sector.³⁵⁸ On the other hand, commercial banks are not major actors in the micro finance sector for the poor. Rather they began to offer loans to the small and medium enterprise sector with the claim that there is strong market growth in this sector. However, banks are encouraged to get involved microcredit programs through providing financial support for microcredit programs carried out by voluntary organizations.³⁵⁹ Therefore banks are encouraged to coordinate with voluntary organizations to support the system. In Turkey, for example, HSBC sets aside five million dollar for microcredit, aiming at reaching poor in both rural and urban areas. The Bank targets to reach 80-90,000 poor people in five years. To achieve this target, the bank distributes the credit in cooperation with the Society Volunteers Foundation (*Toplum Gönüllüleri Vakfı*) and Foundation for Waste Reduction (*TİSVA*) to distribute the microcredit.³⁶⁰

The role of voluntary organizations like KEDV engaging in the microcredit programs is therefore strongly emphasized for the success of the microcredit system. In many countries the main actors of the micro-finance sectors are voluntary organizations especially in the early stages of the development of the finance sector. The civil societies are involved in the microcredit programs so as to indicate that the poor can also be “bankable and served profitably.” Burritt states that in Turkey voluntary organizations also can play a considerable role in this area, but there is a

³⁵⁸ Kiendel Burritt, *Microfinance in Turkey: A Sector Assesment Report* (Ankara: UNDP, 2003),18.

³⁵⁹ Şensoy Acar, *Commercial Banks and Micro-Finance in Turkey: Banking the Unbankable*, 41.

³⁶⁰ HSBC'den Mikro-krediye 5 milyon Dolarlık Kaynak,” *Hürriyet*, 11 December 2006.

lack of a legal framework for the conduct of microcredit programs by voluntary organizations.³⁶¹ The Draft on Banking Law currently under consideration also restricts civil society, foundations and associations in the ownership of a licensed Microfinance Bank.³⁶² Being an institutional initiative of voluntary organizations, the legal status of MAYA therefore remains unclear. Besides that, for its establishment KEDV hardly obtained permission from the authorities. Although it is not a bank, MAYA “pays banking insurance and adheres to the bank tax laws, including the payment of appropriate transactional and stamps taxes which are passed onto the client”.³⁶³

Despite such legal restrictions and difficulties, MAYA undertakes the responsibility of three microcredit programs, namely group credits, individual credits and emergency loans. The most prevalent is group loans lent on the basis of the group, which is also called the “borrower group” as, stated above. At the beginning of the program the credit amount for each participant of one group ranged between 50-500 Turkish Liras, and this has been revised to a credit interval between 100-750 Turkish Liras. To be eligible to apply for group credit the individual must have at least six month-job experience, i.e., this credit is *not for creating new jobs, but for developing current jobs*.³⁶⁴ The other type of credit program carried out by MAYA is individual loans. The ceiling for this credit is 2,000 Turkish Liras. It is offered to women who cannot form a group to apply for a group loan or who demand additional loans although they are members of borrower groups. In return for loan, MAYA calls for guarantees such as gold, foreign exchange or guarantors

³⁶¹ Kiendel Burritt, *Microfinance in Turkey: A Sector Assessment Report*, 30-31.

³⁶² For more detail analysis about the draft banking law about micro-finance, see, Sinem Özer, *Turkey's Experience with Microcredit: The New Governmental Strategy*, 57-66.

³⁶³ Kiendel Burritt, *Microfinance in Turkey: A Sector Assessment Report*, 37.

³⁶⁴ İstanbul Ticaret Odası, *Mikrokredi Yoluyla Yoksulluğun Azaltılması: İstanbul Örneği*, 92.

because of both individual character of the credit and its highest level of ceiling for credit among others. The maturity for individual loans can be extended to twelve months, and is to be paid monthly.³⁶⁵ The last one is emergency loans, which are given for maturities ranging from one to six months for emergency issues like education, health and maintenance. The credit amounts change between 100-500 Turkish Liras, and the guarantees are called for from applicants.³⁶⁶ Therefore MAYA departs from other microcredit programs by providing individual demands for loans as well as providing group loans.

As stated above, the main component of the microcredit programs of MAYA is the group credits. The group credit requires the following phases: After the formation of the groups is completed, the credit is distributed among the group members five days later. Over the five days, each group gathers to choose their group leaders and to decide the regulations such as meeting days and the sanctions for members who do not attend the meetings and who delay the repayments. MAYA officials during these five days visit the houses or workplaces of the credit applicants and then decide on the credit amount. The credit payment is made via the banks rather than by hand.³⁶⁷

Repayments are made monthly. Within this system, the borrowers are required to repay on time since if one member of the group fails to repay, all members of the group are “punished” with not receiving new credit. The maturity for the group credits can be extended to eight months. Although the microcredit programs differentiate themselves from the banking system in certain respects, their interest rates, which are based on the monthly repayments, are as high as in those of

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 94.

the banking system since the level of interest rates in the microcredit programs is determined by taking into consideration the interest rate levels of the banks interest rates, and adjusted quarterly. Moreover there is also a four percent compulsory contribution in the group credit, which is charged to the borrowers each month.³⁶⁸ Apart from these monthly fees, the group members are required to deposit ten percent of the credit for their group's savings. In other words, this is a form of compulsory saving, which is considered to be available for the urgent needs of the members of the group, although the group members are not allowed to use their savings until they clear their credit debts.³⁶⁹ Thus these savings become another mechanism for guaranteeing the repayment of the credit.

Microcredit is a financial system developed to support especially poor women with small loans in order to encourage them to create their own jobs and consequently generate income in dealing with poverty. Yet when examined the composition of the jobs that are created via the use of the microcredit of MAYA, it generally includes such jobs as handicrafts, lacework (*el işi/dantel*), manufacturing and selling of millineries (*tuhafiye eşyası*), the sale of cosmetics and cleaning products (*kozmetik ve temizlik malzemeleri satışı*), tailoring (*terzilik*), and the production and sale of the imitation jewellery and giftwares (*takı ve hediyelik eşya üretimi ve satışı*). When examined the distribution of the credits according to “working place,” as of 2005 while 72 percent of the credits were allocated for home-based businesses, only 25 percent of the credit was used for the establishment or extension of workplaces/shops. The remaining percent of the credits was used for

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 92.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 96.

creating one's own jobs in the local market places and on the streets.³⁷⁰ These numbers are also confirmed by a study, which was conducted by Adaman and Bulut on the participants of the microcredit programs of both KEDV and TISVA, based on interviews and a survey with 708 credit borrowers. According to the results of the research, 50 percent of the microcredit borrowers of KEDV conducted their businesses from their homes.³⁷¹ Therefore the distinction between workplace and home blurs for women. Women thus become market actors in addition to their "gendered labor force" at home, including housekeeping and parenting.

Besides KEDV, another voluntary organization engaged in microcredit programs is the Turkish Foundation for Waste Reduction (*Türkiye İsrâfî Önleme Vakfı- TİSVA*), which was established by a former deputy of governing party to fight against poverty through microcredit programs based on the Grameen Model. The foundation has carried out a microcredit program in Diyarbakır since 2003.³⁷² As of 2006, 4,000 women had "benefited" from this program.³⁷³ The focus of its microcredit programs is also women, as with KEDV. The reasoning behind this is based on the following assumptions: firstly, it is argued that loans to women tend to more benefit whole welfare of family than loans to men do. Moreover it is also believed that the control and responsibility of small loans by women can contribute

³⁷⁰ Available (online) at: < <http://www.kedv.org>>.

³⁷¹ Fikret Adaman and Tuğçe Bulut, *Türkiye'de Mikrofinans Programlarının Yoksullukla Savaşındaki Başarısının Değerlendirilmesi* (Research carried out by the financial support of Open Society Institute and the Boğaziçi University Research Foundation, 2005), 50.

³⁷² The Foundation has also begun to execute microcredit programs in a district of Ankara, namely Mamak, with the financial support of HSBC. See "Mikrokrediye 5 Milyon Dolar," *Hürriyet*, 16 March 2007. It seems that the program will spread throughout Turkey.

³⁷³ Türkiye İsrâfî Önleme Vakfı, *Yoksullukla Mücadele Broşürü* (Ankara: TİSVA, 2006), 2. Türkiye İsrâfî Önleme The foundation attempts to give credit to beggars and burglars with cooperation with the police office by distinguishing them as deserving and undeserving. They give 50 Turkish Liras to beggars. With these credits, beggars sell tissues (*kağıt mendil*), pencils and gas lighters (*çakmak*) in the street. See Fulya Özkan, "Hırsıza, dilenciye Kredi Veriliyor," *Radikal*, 15 March .2007.

to raise their socio-economic status.³⁷⁴ Yet since the most part of the loans is invested in the income-generating activities at home, which enable women to work without leaving their “traditional responsibilities” at home, they thus do not need to leave the home or learn a new skill in order to work and generate income. They can do whatever they know best.³⁷⁵ Therefore, informal economy and household economy become important. The informal economy is evaluated as efforts of the poor people to create their own jobs where the household has raised an economic unit.³⁷⁶ Yet men can take credit via their women’s relative. In other words, the credit may be used by men but it should be taken by the women.

TISVA’s microcredit program carried out in Diyarbakır has been financially supported by the Grameen Bank, which was founded in 1976 by Muhammad Yunus to make small loans to poor people. This project has also been supported by the Open Society Institute, which is known for its similar efforts in Eastern Europe. There are also other supporting actors, including commercial banks such as Finansbank and Vakıfbank, deputies, chambers of commerce and several businesswo/men. Besides these, the main financial “sponsor” of the microcredit program is state organizations (see Table 20). For example, the Province of Diyarbakır is the legal partnership of this project; the location of the central office of the project reflects this relationship, which is located in the prefecture.³⁷⁷ Moreover, the Turkish government has also contributed US\$ 370,000 to the project budget, which constitutes the largest share of the project budget.³⁷⁸ Additionally, a certain

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 7.

³⁷⁵ Muhammed Yunus, “Poverty Alleviation: Is Economics Any Help? Lessons from the Grameen Bank,” 57.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 58.

³⁷⁷ Sinem Özer, *Turkey’s Experience with Microcredit: the New Governmental Strategy*, 94.

³⁷⁸ Şensoy Acar, *Commercial Banks and Micro-Finance in Turkey: Banking the Unbankable*, 31.

amount of money was also transferred from the budget of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations to this project. Through such a relationship, a link is established between social assistance and microcredit, in which even the repayment failures cause concerns about the cuts in the social assistances provided by Social and Solidarity Foundations.³⁷⁹

Table 20. Breakdown of the Initial Budget of the Grameen Microcredit Project in Turkey

Initial Fund	\$ 144,000
Vakıfbank	\$ 50,000
Finansbank	\$ 25,000
Mr. Aziz Akgül	\$ 15,000
Bahrain Government	\$ 15,000
Turkish Government	\$ 370,000
Open Society	\$ 300,000
TOTAL	\$ 919,000

Source: Şensoy Acar, *Commercial Banks and Micro-Finance in Turkey: Banking the Unbankable* (Ankara: UNDP, 2006), 31.

TISVA distributes credits on the basis of “group”, like KEDV. In its program each group is composed of five members. The groups are formed through mini-meetings. After the group is formed, there is a training program for seven days to explain the responsibilities of the microcredit recipients. After seven days, the loan is at the beginning given to only one woman in the group. This loan should be spent for certain purposes in a week. After that, other members of the group can receive

³⁷⁹ Ayşe Buğra, “Yoksullukla Mücadele Yöntemi Olarak Mikrokredi: Acıklı Bir Hikaye,” *Boğaziçi Sosyal Politika Forumu Bülteni*, no.2 (2007), 2.

loans.³⁸⁰ The loans are both distributed and collected through the meetings by hand rather than through the banks.

As in the groups of MAYA, close relatives are not allowed to be in the same group in order to preserve the “stability of the borrower groups.” If a member of the group fails to repay, no new credit is lent to the other members of this group. The repayments are to be completed within utmost forty-six months. The interest rate is 20 percent yearly, and it is to be repaid weekly.³⁸¹ In addition to the interest rate there is also a service cost (*hizmet bedeli*) at 15 percent of the total credit, which is paid each week. Moreover, compulsory saving (*zorunlu tasarruf*) is required from the borrowers, which they are allowed to use after one year.³⁸² The credit is given for one year and can be extended. While the credit amount for the first year is between 100-700 Turkish Liras, for next years it cannot exceed 800 Turkish Liras.³⁸³ Due to no failure in repayments the project has been hailed as a success. Yet there are certain mechanisms of repression ensuring the repayments, as discussed above in the case of KEDV. Adaman and Bulut also show that nearly one-third of the credit borrowers repay their loan debts by borrowing money from their relatives, which puts poor women into a debt circle.³⁸⁴

When composition of the jobs created in the Grameen Turkey project of TISVA is evaluated, the jobs mainly concentrate in areas such as raising stock, handicrafts and lacework (*el işi/dantel*). These are generally jobs that can be done at home. In the Diyarbakır experience, the microcredit was mostly used by the

³⁸⁰ Türkiye İsrافی Öneleme Vakfı, *Mikrokredi Projesi Uygulama Esasları, Mikro Kredi Serisi: 1* (Ankara: TİSVA, 2004), 58.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 53.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 52.

³⁸⁴ Fikret Adaman and Tuğçe Bulut, *Türkiye’de Mikrofinans Programlarının Yoksullukla Savaşındaki Başarısının Değerlendirilmesi*, 32.

borrowers to extend their existing businesses (which are usually their husband or other male family members) rather than to create new jobs.³⁸⁵ Therefore this credit model fails to reach to the poorest of the poor in contrary to the expectations. The loans are also used by the borrowers to meet their urgent needs or to repay their existing debts.³⁸⁶ Even when the loans are invested in production, the marketing of the products emerges as a serious problem for poor people. To deal with this problem most people develop alternative ways to sell their products such as selling the products to their neighbors or relatives, and taking to local markets or house-to-house sales.³⁸⁷

From the gender-sensitive perspective, the microcredit programs aim to encourage the empowerment of women, as stated above briefly. It is argued that microcredit programs give women the opportunities to generate income, which improves both the well-being of their family and increase women's socio-economic status within the household, and in general the borrower groups of women are considered further as a kind of solidarity groups that can generate collective action for social change.³⁸⁸ However, as Rankin claims, these arguments underestimate the power relation, which provide the financial sustainability of the system of collaboration between such actors as voluntary organizations, the state, and international organizations.³⁸⁹ Moreover many other studies also confirm that microcredit programs do not guarantee the empowerment of women; rather they

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 47.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 23.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 51.

³⁸⁸ Türkiye İsrافی Önleme Vakfı, *Mikrokredi Projesi Uygulama Esasları, Mikro Kredi Serisi: 1* (Ankara: TİSVA, 2004).

³⁸⁹ Katharine, N. Rankin, "Governing Development: Neo-liberalism, Microcredit, and Rational Economic Women," *Economy and Society* 30, no.1 (2001), 30.

reinforce the existing gender inequalities.³⁹⁰ The claim that the women's status will be improved in the household through microcredit has also been challenged by the research of Adaman and Bulut conducted in Diyarbakır. It states that men rather than women have mostly benefited from the loans in the case of Diyarbakır since men used the credit for extension of their work.³⁹¹ Moreover, the contents of the jobs that are created in the microcredit programs are examined; they are generally the ones to be carried out at home while blurring the distinction between the home and the work place. This situation is best expressed by the words of a representative of a voluntary organization in the meeting of GAP-GİDEM Women Entrepreneurship: "By encouraging work that women 'traditionally' carry out, we not only increase the exploitation of labor but we also can not open the way for women to participate in production. However, we should encourage them to do jobs that they both join by themselves and incorporate themselves."³⁹² Another representative also stated that: "We wondered if it was wise to add credit issues to the problems of women who also deal with children and work on farms."³⁹³

To sum up, microcredit programs are encouraged as a "miracle" solution to world-wide poverty. Yet this perspective ignores both the needs of the poor and labor conditions for small entrepreneurship. First, as Buğra concludes, entrepreneurship is a scarce resource, much more scarce than labor and capital, and

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 34.

³⁹¹ Fikret Adaman, and Tuğçe Bulut, *Türkiye'de Mikrofinans Programlarının Yoksullukla Savaşındaki Başarısının Değerlendirilmesi*, 24.

³⁹² "Kadınların zaten bildikleri işlerden gidildiğinde emek sömürsünü artırıyoruz hem de üretime katılmalarının önünü açamıyoruz. Oysa kadınların kendilerinden katılabilecekleri, kendilerini katabilecekleri işler yapmalarını önemsemek gerekiyor." GAP-GİDEM, *Kadın Girişimciliği Bölgesel Arama Toplantısı*, Diyarbakır, 10 Şubat 2004, unpublished document, 18.

³⁹³ "Çocukla, tarlayla uğraşan kadının dertlerine bir de kredileri mi ekledik diye düşündük." Ibid., 16.

unlikely to be found in the poor.³⁹⁴ Second, as Adaman and Bulut's study shows, the poor mostly spend the credits for their urgent needs which results in increase debt burdens on the poor with high interest rates. Finally as with other workfare programs, microcredit programs do not take into consideration category of "working poor." As discussed broadly in the third chapter on the labor market situation in Turkey, in 2003 values the poverty rate among the self-employment is 24 percent. The ratio is raised to 32 percent for women (see Table 6). It is clear that microcredit programs do not provide alternatives to poverty since the borrowers have difficulty in finding markets for their products. However despite these disadvantages, microcredit programs will continue to be presented as a "miracle solution" for the poverty issue in the context of neo-liberalism where the poor are encouraged to depend on themselves for survival.

Local Governments in Poverty Alleviation Programs: The Case of the Artistic and Vocational Training Courses of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Sanat ve Meslek Eğitimi Kursları- ISMEK*)

In this section the workfare attempts of local governments will be evaluated. Local governments have begun to play important roles in poverty alleviation programs. Their roles especially in providing social services such as social assistance, and food and health assistance for the poor have increased. Besides this kind of social assistances, local governments have initiated employability training programs to provide employment opportunities for the poor. Although the trainee profile of ISMEK indicates diversity ranging from the poor to the middle-class

³⁹⁴ Ayşe Buğra, "Yoksullukla Mücadele Yöntemi Olarak Mikro kredi: Acıklı Bir Hikaye," 3.

housewives, ISMEK has been chosen as an example of the workfare attempts of the local governments since its programs include the most diverse employability training programs, attract more participants and extend to almost every district of Istanbul among other such employability training programs of local governments.³⁹⁵

The Artistic and Vocational Training Courses of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (*İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Sanat ve Meslek Eğitimi Kursları-İSMEK*) was established as an adult education organization in 1996 with an initial offering of three courses in three branches and 141 participants. In the 2006-2007 academic year, it grew to 198 course centers in 97 branches and 155,000 trainees in 30 districts of Istanbul. These numbers reflect its significance as a local actor providing employability training courses.³⁹⁶ It carries out its duties in partnership with the Vocational and Arts Directorate of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality's Human Resources and Education Department, and its budget is fully funded by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and so no fees are required from the trainees.³⁹⁷

ISMEK is based on the model of Neighborhood Houses (*Semt Konakları*), which were formed by the former social democrat municipality administration of İstanbul, together with the Vocational Training Programs of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (*Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Meslek Edindirme Kursları-BELMEK*). Neighborhood Houses was established in 1989 in a few districts of İstanbul. Today these institutions have extended to other districts such as Tuzla, Eyup, Pendik and Kasımpaşa where the rates of poverty are high. They provide employability training programs and hobby activities mostly for women. Moreover,

³⁹⁵ For a brief introduction of employability training programs of other municipalities, see Yusuf Alpaydın, *Contributions of Municipalities to Adult Education: ISMEK Case* (MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, 2006), 23-28.

³⁹⁶ ISMEK, *ISMEK Kursiyer Veri Tabanı* (İstanbul: İSMEK, 2007).

³⁹⁷ Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/kurumsal.asp>>.

volunteers tutor courses for poor children to help with their school lessons and to prepare them to the general examinations (like university or high school entry examinations).³⁹⁸ On the other hand, BELMEK was established in 1994 to encourage women to enter the labor market or create their own jobs, and contribute to their household incomes. During 1994-2004, 50,000 women attended these courses in 90 course centers in 22 different districts of Ankara. The training programs mostly included handicrafts courses on subjects such as machine and hand-embroidery (*makine ve el nakışı*), needlework (*iğne işi*), knitting (*örme*) and lacework (*dantel*).³⁹⁹ In 1999, the Municipality of Ankara made an agreement with Gazi University to initiate employability training programs for men as well. The trainees of these courses include workers, high school students, the unemployed youth and retired people. The composition of the training programs varies from computers, electronics, printing and pressing, furniture decoration to metal foundry (*metal döküm*).⁴⁰⁰ While mostly men are attending these courses, women concentrate on handicrafts.

The main purposes of ISMEK is stated as “making people aware of urban culture and life in metropolitan, training people for professional and technical fields and contribute to solve the problem unemployment and poverty, keeping traditional art and handcraft alive by supporting cultural, urban and social developments.”⁴⁰¹

As it indicates, its purposes mainly concentrate on two areas: integrating the people to urban life and struggling against poverty. For the fulfillment of these aims,

³⁹⁸ Yusuf Alpaydın, *Contributions of Municipalities to Adult Education: ISMEK Case*, 29.

³⁹⁹ Available (online) at: <www.ankara-bld.gov.tr/birimalt.asp?birimkategori=019>.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ “Kültürel, kentsel ve sosyal gelişimlerine katkıda bulunarak kent kültürü ve metropolde yaşama konusunda bilinçlendirmek, mesleki ve teknik alanda ara eleman yetiştirmek ve bu yolla yoksulluk ve işsizlik probleminin çözümüne katkıda bulunmak, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik alanda üretime katkıda bulunmak, unutulmaya yüz tutmuş geleneksel sanatlar ve el sanatların yaşatılmasını sağlamak.” Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/kurumsal.asp>>.

employability training programs are considered as effective means. Thus through these programs it is believed to reach people inhabiting the periphery areas of the municipality to integrate them into urban life and struggle against poverty through workfare programs which integrate them people into production and help them contribute the income of the household. These two aims are clearly expressed by the mayor of Istanbul. He claims that “Many people in İstanbul live in rural areas and in a sense they are far from the real life of Istanbul. By enrolling in İSMEK, these people are helped; as a result, they participate in social life.”⁴⁰² Special seminars are arranged for both trainees and people in general on subjects such as personal development, socio-psychological codes of conduct and earthquakes with the aim at integrating the people into urban life. Furthermore he also states “Unemployment is a problem for all countries. People should win their bread themselves. We should eliminate the status of the people as being only passive consumers but turn them into active producers and meet the demands of the qualified labor force for the labor market.”⁴⁰³

The main target group of ISMEK is people who are out of compulsory education age, who until now have had no opportunity for employability training programs, who seek new jobs or new hobbies, and want to develop themselves to progress in their vocations and who want to integrate into urban life.⁴⁰⁴ Moreover, the workfare programs of ISMEK target “disadvantaged groups” such as the disabled, street children and inmates. Although there are such different target groups

⁴⁰² “*Pek çok İstanbullu şehirde köy hayatı yaşamakta ve bir anlamda yaşamdan uzak kalmaktadır. İşte başta bu insanlar olmak üzere ISMEK’e katılarak tedavi olmakta, toplumsal hayata katılmaktadırlar.*” Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/baskandan.asp>>.

⁴⁰³ “*İşsizlik bütün ülkeler için problem haline gelmiştir. İnsanlar kendi ekmek paralarını kendileri kazanmalıdır. İnsanları passive tüketici konumdan çıkarıp aktif üretici hale getirip emek piyasasının kalifiye eleman ihtiyacını karşılamalıyız.*” Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/baskandan.asp>>.

⁴⁰⁴ Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/kurumsal.asp>>.

addressed by the workfare programs, the main target group seems to be housewives. As the mayor of Istanbul states: “All of us know that our people are productive, our women even more productive. Homes have turned into workshops in Japan. We are also trying to turn houses the workshops to encourage people to support the household incomes. ISMEK is a place where the labor transforms into the employment”.⁴⁰⁵ The research conducted on the participants of ISMEK also confirms that eighty-eight percent of the participants of the employability training programs are housewives.⁴⁰⁶

The composition of the training programs is diverse in response to the demands and needs of the trainees. The main branch groups of the employability training programs are vocational and technical education, computer technologies, language education, Turkish-Islamic handicrafts, music education, and sports education.⁴⁰⁷ The number of trainees is higher in the handicraft, foreign language education, computer education and vocational and technical education courses. Among them, computer and computer training programs are the courses in highest demand.⁴⁰⁸ The training programs on computer and foreign languages have also been popular in recent years. Most participants in these two training programs are men. While in the initial periods of ISMEK nearly all of the trainees were women, with the training programs on computer and language education, it began to draw the attention of men as well.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁵ “*Hepimiz biliyoruz ki bizm insanımız üretkendir. Kadınlarımız daha da üretkendir. Evler Japonya’da atölyeye dönüşmüştür. Biz de insanların hane gelirine destek olmalarını teşvik etmek için evleri atölyeye dönüştürmeyi istiyoruz. İSMEK, emeğin işe dönüştüğü yerdir.*” Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/baskandan.asp>>.

⁴⁰⁶ İSMEK, *İSMEK Kursiyerleri Veri Tabanı*, 51.

⁴⁰⁷ İSMEK, *2006-2007 Eğitim Dönemi Branş Rehberi* (İstanbul: İSMEK, 2007).

⁴⁰⁸ İSMEK, *İSMEK Kursiyer Veri Tabanı*, 17.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

In addition to the courses on computer-based accounting, computer business administration (*bilgisayar işletmeciliği*), web design and printing, the employability training programs also provide courses on motherhood education, caring for the sick and the elderly, ready-wear, knitwear, cookery, making inexpensive jewellery, cinema-television, diction, radio broadcasting (*radyo programcılığı*) and hairdressing. When analyzed these courses on the basis of their branches, some training programs seem to direct their trainees to enter into personal service sector. The programs also attempt to provide job opportunities in the growing sector of radio-television in the big cities, especially for youth. There are also employability training programs for the business service sector. Training programs such as hairdressing encourage self-employment on the other hand.

Besides providing employability training programs, ISMEK also engages in finding market for the sale of the products of the participants. The most convenient way to sell them products is at exhibitions. Local exhibitions are organized during May-June by the ISMEK administration. After the completion of the local exhibitions there is a general exhibition at the end of the training programs. In 2005-2006, a general exhibition was hold in İstanbul, and nearly 200,000 people visited it.⁴¹⁰ In addition to the exhibitions, ISMEK established a Sales and Marketing Department to contribute to the earnings of the participants of the employability training programs. Through the attempts of this department, the products of the trainees have been sold in Galata Sale and Exhibition Center since 2003. Two sale markets were opened in Pendik and Esenler. Moreover, a workshop was opened in 2005 for selling items produced both in the workshop and during employability

⁴¹⁰ Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/sergiler.asp>>.

training programs.⁴¹¹ As is clear, ISMEK works to increase its efforts to contribute to the income of the trainees via exhibitions, sale markets and workshop.

ISMEK also provides employability training programs for “disadvantaged groups” such as the disabled and inmates. With this aim employability training programs are provided in Bayrampaşa Juvenile Detention (*Çocuk Tutuk ve Islah Evi*), Üsküdar Paşkapısı Jail, an the Kartal and Umraniye Prisons in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice for inmates who can contribute to the production to enable them to find employment when they are evacuated. During 2005-2006, 504 inmates attended ISMEK’s courses. Employability training programs to inmates consist of twelve branches including instrument employability training programs, folk-dance, computer, sewing, computer, English, clothing, reading and writing, barber.⁴¹² For the disabled, ISMEK initiated employability training programs in 2002-2003 in cooperation with another social institution of the municipality, the Center for Disabled People (*İstanbul Özürlüler Merkezi-İSÖM*). In 2005-2006, the Center for Education of the Disabled opened branches in Fatih and Gaziosmanpaşa. 179 participants benefited from the training programs conducted in the centers of İSÖM, including courses for computer education for the hearing-impaired and visually-impaired, and computer-based accounting and English courses for the orthopedic handicapped.⁴¹³

ISMEK engages in poverty alleviation programs through its employability training programs so it adapts itself to the workfare conditions. It conducts its programs especially in the peripheries of Istanbul like Pendik, Bağcılar, and Gaziosmanpaşa. The location of the training centers determines both the profile of

⁴¹¹ İSMEK, *İSMEK Kursiyer Bilgi Veri Tabanı*, 33-35.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 29.

the participants and composition of the programs. Alpaydın in his study on the Gültepe and Dikilitaş's centers of ISMEK shows us that the participants of the Dikilitaş are women who are, working or retired, relatively well-educated, middle-aged and hobby-oriented. On the other hand, in Gültepe, the participants are generally women who are less educated than the participants of the Dikilitaş, and young. Education and economic expectations are stronger for attending ISMEK in Gültepe than the expectations of the participants of Dikilitaş.⁴¹⁴ Therefore passing free time is an important motive for participating in the employability training programs in the centers of the district while the economic expectations and skill formation become more significant for attending training programs in the peripheries of the city. This is also clear when it is analyzed the composition of the training programs at each center. The employability training programs mostly are allocated to the peripheries of the cities such as Sultanbeyli, Bağcılar and Fikirtepe. The employability training programs are located in the centers of districts, as are the music training programs and sport centers.⁴¹⁵ Through these distinctions between the center and periphery of the city in terms of the composition of the courses and activities, the municipality re-defines the needs of the citizens according to their location on the assumption that the citizens in the peripheries need to increase their employability to work and the citizens in the center of the districts need to enjoy themselves via such activities as sport and music.

To sum up, ISMEK contributes to the workfare programs through employability training programs. Like other programs, ISMEK's training programs attempt to integrate the poor into the market through the service sector and self-

⁴¹⁴ Yusuf Alpaydın, *Contributions of Municipalities to Adult Education: ISMEK Case*, 46.

⁴¹⁵ For centers of the ISMEK and their compositions of the training programs, see Available (online) at: <<http://ismek.ibb.gov.tr/portal/kurs.asp?st=temiz>>.

employment. Its main target group is housewives who try to participate in production generally by working in their homes in order to contribute the household budget. ISMEK also enlarges its target group by including the disabled and inmates through cooperation with other organizations. As part of the present workfare circumstances, through such workfare programs, the disabled and inmates are also pushed to contribute to the production system.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

International organizations, the state, and voluntary organizations attempt to create a global market society by expanding the functioning of the market to “embed” whole non-economic/non-commodified social relations into the market. This expansion is reasoned through the assumption that the market is the main driving force of both economic growth and social justice. In this sense, efforts are made to organize society and all social relations around competitive free market as the central driving force of social interaction.

In this context, social policy also is re-defined to function to support the expansion process of the global market hegemony. Re-defining the social policy in such way is indeed a crucial departure from the idea of social policy as a social citizenship right, which constituted the main principle of social policy in the Keynesian welfare period. In the global market society, however, social policy is framed within the market to enhance greater participation in the market rather than providing protection against it. Therefore social policy advances the neo-liberal transformation by establishing market hegemony in the distribution of welfare.

This neo-liberal agenda of social policy entered Turkey through poverty alleviation programs introduced after the 1999 Marmara earthquake and the 2001 economic crisis. The projects supported by international organizations such as the World Bank, and the UNDP have determined the scope of the agenda on poverty and poverty alleviation strategies. While attempting to provide short-term solutions for the problem, their approaches in the long run have affected the understanding of social policy. With the attempts of international organizations, the Turkish welfare

regime has adapted to the neo-liberal social policy environment through poverty alleviation programs. Two strategies have mainly dominated these programs. While social assistance is offered to people unable to work such as children, the elderly, work-able poor are expected to participate in the labor market through workfare type social policies. During this thesis, the workfare programs carried out by the state institutions, voluntary organizations, and local governments as a form of struggle against poverty by placing Turkey in the context of that international neo-liberal social policy environment that is dominated by workfare programs was discussed.

Workfare programs became an alternative for welfare regimes in a historical context in which Keynesian-demand side policies became difficult to maintain due to a decline in public expenditures, and an increase in flexible employment practices. In this way, welfare programs have been re-structured by taking consideration neo-liberal economic policies. Under these conditions, the beneficiaries of welfare programs are enabled to participate in the market as far as possible through reducing the duration of benefits, and tightening the eligibility criteria for receiving social benefit. Workfare programs also came onto the agenda in “developing countries” through employability training programs and self-employment projects by evaluating the main reason for poverty as being unemployment. Thus integrating the poor into the market is offered as a way of struggling against poverty with the assumption that as long as the poor enters into market, they can stand on their own feet. However, the “working poor” resulting from flexible wages and unpleasant working conditions is omitted from the picture completely.

In Turkey, workfare programs mainly consist of employability training and self-employment programs. Employability training programs mostly offer job in

textile and service sectors. Efforts are made to integrate into the textile sector through employability training programs such as pressing, ready-wear workmanship, sewing machine operation, spinning yarn, lace dyeing, woven machine operation, and sewing. When gender issues are examined, the qualifications of the training programs of the men are seen to be higher than those for the women. The women are participating training programs offered jobs in textile sector which are mostly characterized with low-wage, non-skilled, hand-based occupations are commonly perceived as “traditional female jobs” whereas men attend trainings programs which propose jobs based on machine-use that provide skill and high-wage work.

In terms of the service sector, employability training programs are gathered mainly in the business service and the personal service sectors. While training programs for jobs such as computer operator, computer-based accountant, computer programmer, designer, and office management aim to improve the employability of the trainers to integrate them into the business service sector; training programs such as child and elder care, cleaning, and hairdressing are offered jobs in the personal service sector. Thus it can be said that training programs for business service sector go beyond the scope of workfare programs since they provide skilled jobs rather than low-wage, unskilled jobs. However, a gender dimension is also clear in the composition of the employability training programs related to the service sector. While men participate in the skilled business service sector courses, women attend training programs for personal services such as child and elder care. Therefore it can be concluded that some employability training programs go beyond the scope of workfare programs, especially those for men. Unlike the programs for men,

workfare programs do not provide alternatives for women position in the labor market; rather they consolidate the existing labor market conditions for women.

Self-employment programs are also encouraged to urge the poor to participate in the market in a context in which the economic growth does not create enough employment opportunities. In this context, self-employment programs have become highly “popular” as a means of struggling against poverty by integrating the poor into the market. Although the state organizations such as İŞ-KUR and ÇATOMs have provided self-employment programs for many years, encouraging self-employment programs came onto the agenda with the Social Risk Mitigation Project and microcredit programs. Self-employment programs as part of the Social Risk Mitigation Project have provided credits for especially animal husbandry and herbal production in rural areas. These credits do not demand interest; the beneficiaries are obliged to pay back only the principal capital. Microcredit programs based on the Grameen model, on the other hand, increase debt burdens on the poor with their high interest rates. When the composition of the jobs that are created via use of microcredit is examined, it is seen that they generally include such jobs as handicrafts, lacework, and tailoring carried out mostly in homes, which increase the burden on women.

As discussed in the thesis, workfare programs equate the poor with the unemployed and poverty with unemployment on the assumption that if the poor enter into the market, they can stand on their own feet. Yet, as demonstrated, work is not necessarily the “miracle” solution to poverty since there is a rising category of “working poor” who are still in poverty due to the low-wages and the absence of a social security system although they maintain employment. Rather than providing effective measures to eradicate poverty, workfare programs contribute to the

political and social environment dominated by a strong market mentality that attempts to make the market central in the lives of the poor.

Workfare programs are carried out by state institutions, voluntary organizations, and local governments in conformity with the neo-liberal international governance system that modifies diverse partnership between international organizations, the state, voluntary organizations and the private sector. In this system, the state's role is reduced to that of a facilitator, or coordinator among other actors rather than being the sole provider of social services with professionalized and centralized welfare regimes. The bureaucratic system of the welfare state is highly criticized on the grounds that welfare regime programs are implemented by spreading bureaucratic intervention into the daily lives of its potential and actual clients. For example, inspired by Foucault, Habermas discusses the contradictions of welfare state between its goals and its methods. He argues that its goal of "establishment of forms of life that are structured in an egalitarian way and that at the same time open up arenas for individual self-realization" can not be reached without strong bureaucracy.⁴¹⁶ Under capital aggression, the bureaucratic state withdraws from its main responsibilities. Other actors such as voluntary organizations and the private sector "supply" social services rather than the state by celebrating the retreat of the state from its social responsibilities. Yet the demise of welfare institutions does not bring any individual self-emancipation; it only divorces the state's responsibilities from effective public interventionism by removing its social responsibilities.

⁴¹⁶ Jurgen Habermas, "The New Obscurity: The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Exhaustion of Utopian Energies," in *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historian's Debate*, ed. Shierry Weber Nicholsen (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 59.

Habermas, in the same article, argues that the utopian idea of a society based on social labor has lost its power since that utopia has lost its point of reference to create structure and give form to society.⁴¹⁷ Bauman also reaches similar conclusions by comparing “heavy modernity” and “liquid modernity.” According to Bauman, “the ‘heavy modernity’ was indeed the time of engagement between capital and labor fortified by the mutuality of their dependency.”⁴¹⁸ In other words, capital and labor stay alive since each depends on the other. Workers depend on being hired for their livelihood; capital depends on hiring them for its reproduction and growth. For Bauman, this situation has changed in “liquid” modernity. He states that a main source of the profits of capital is “ideas” rather than “simple labor” which breaks off the mutual dependency between the capital and labor. According to him, capital is dependent on consumers for its competitiveness, effectiveness, and profitability rather than the presence of a labor force.⁴¹⁹

These arguments coincide with the “end of work” thesis that discussed during the thesis. The “end of work” thesis mainly argues that capitalism does not need “simple labor” due to technological developments where capitalism creates high-skill jobs based on knowledge rather than low-skill jobs based on “simple labor.” Nonetheless, as demonstrated, capitalism also creates low-skill jobs besides high-skilled ones. As Esping Andersen states, no country comes even close to achieving such high-skill labor-dominated capitalism.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 53.

⁴¹⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge, UK; Madlen, MA: Polity Press, 2001), 21.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 27.

Habermas offers a society based on self-organized communication that depends on autonomous public spheres rather than a society based on social labor.⁴²⁰ However in a context in which neo-liberal policies attempt to dissolve social acquirements and “proletarianization” has been encouraged through workfare programs aimed at integrating the poor into the market, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of right-based social policies more than we ever have.

⁴²⁰ Jurgen Habermas, “The New Obscurity: The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Exhaustion of Utopian Energies,” 67.

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