

A CRITIQUE OF LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE APPROACH
TO POVERTY IN TURKEY:
THE CASES OF DENİZ FENERİ ASSOCIATION AND
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY GENERAL DIRECTORATE

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ABSTRACT

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20th century witnessed fundamental changes in capital accumulation regime and mode of regulation. The whole set of advanced capitalist countries and developing countries witnessed these changes in different forms depending on their historical-cultural background. These fundamental changes also brought about transformations of the welfare regime of countries which constitutes the important fundamental component of a mode of regulation. This study developed a criticism of rising liberal-conservative approach to poverty in post-1980s by adopting as a structural and historical background the concerning fundamental changes in capital accumulation regime with its imposed constraints and opportunities on welfare regimes of countries. This study intends to make this criticism of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in the context of Turkey by selecting Deniz Feneri Association and Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate as case studies.

Building upon the information acquired from interviews carried out by Deniz Feneri Association and Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate, this study identifies the liberal-conservative approach to poverty as the dominant approach to poverty in Turkey after 1980s. Furthermore, depending on the analysis of

interviews depoliticization of poverty, rising moral language in poverty, and denial of social rights perspective which are identified to be the major foundational components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty are also identified to a great extent be in a reproduction relation with respect to the requirements of new capital accumulation regimes.

Keywords: Liberal-Conservative Approach to Poverty, Capitalist Accumulation Regime, Welfare Regime, Deniz Feneri Association, Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE LİBERAL-MUHAFAZAKAR YOKSULLUK
YAKLAŞIMININ BİR ELEŞTİRİSİ:
DENİZ FENERİ DERNEĞİ VE
SOSYAL YARDIMLAŞMA VE DAYANIŞMA GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
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20.yy tarihi sermaye birikim rejimi ve düzenleme tarzında önemli değişikliklere sahne olmuştur. Bütün ileri kapitalist ve geç kapitalistleşen ülkeler bu değişikliklere farklı biçimlerde tanıklık etmiştir. Bu değişiklikler ülkelerin düzenleme tarzlarının önemli bir bileşenini oluşturan refah rejimlerinde de çok önemli değişimleri beraberinde getirmiştir. Çalışmamız tarihsel ve yapısal düzeyde gerçekleşen sermaye birikim rejimi ve bunun koyduğu sınırlar ve olanaklara bağlı refah rejimi dönüşümlerini arka plana alarak 1980 sonrasında yükselen liberal-muhafazakar yoksulluk yaklaşımının eleştirisini yapmaktadır. Bu eleştiriye Türkiye bağlamında Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Destekleme Genel Müdürlüğü ve Deniz Feneri Derneği örneklerini seçerek gerçekleştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Derinlemesine mülakatlardan elde edilen bilgilere dayanarak bu çalışmada Türkiye’de yoksulluğa hakim yaklaşımın liberal-muhafazakar yoksulluk yaklaşımı olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu mülakatlardan yola çıkarak yoksulluk sorununun

depolitizasyona uğratılmasına, yoksulluğun ahlaki bir söylemin sınırlarına hapsedilmesine ve sosyal hak yaklaşımının reddedilmesine dayanan liberal-muhafazakar yoksulluk yaklaşımının hakim sermaye birikim rejiminin gereklilikleriyle büyük ölçüde yeniden üretim ilişkisi içinde bulunduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Liberal-Muhafazakar Yoksulluk Yaklaşımı, Kapitalist Birikim Rejimi, Refah Rejimi, Deniz Feneri Derneği, Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the hierarchy of capitalist societies the relations between upper, middle and lower classes are critical in terms of reproducing the secure conditions of capitalist system. The relations between these classes and within the same class include many ideological strategies to sustain the given hierarchical structure of capitalist system. In particular, lower classes are under the ideological and repressive imposition of the upper classes and upper-middle classes through various apparatuses of state and civil institutions. By means of these impositions the consent of the lower classes and large segments of lower-middle classes are continuously manufactured in the sphere of state institutions and civil society. In the contemporary era, one of the most important fields that the capitalist system should employ effective ideological discourses and practices to manufacture the consent of people from the lower classes and large segments of the lower-middle classes is the field of poverty. In order to persuade people from lower classes and large segments of middle-classes to give their compliance with the impoverished conditions of their lives well-developed ideologies and institutional practices should be manufactured in the poverty field. The interest of this study is in fact originated from such a general outlook. The field of poverty gives the opportunity to this researcher to analyse a particular well-developed ideology and institutional practices in this field which functions in favour of the capitalist system and the perpetuity of its hierarchical structures.

In the light of these determinations, this study includes both a descriptive and a critical dimension. In terms of the descriptive dimension, this study intends to find and describe the principles of dominant approach to poverty in Turkey. The search for clarifying an *approach* (or paradigm) to poverty entails theoretically to utilize certain fields of inquiry which distinguishes one approach from another.

Thus, three fields of inquiry that distinguishes a certain approach from others with respect to its given answers are utilized in this study. These fields of inquiry are subsequently ‘the causes of poverty’, ‘characteristic attributes of people in poor conditions’ and ‘the state-society relation in poverty alleviation’. In the most general sense the first field of inquiry refers to whether the ‘causes of poverty’ are related to the sphere of individual responsibilities or structural dimensions of society. The second subsequent field of inquiry refers to whether there exists an unchanging cultural attributes specific to poor people that fixes them to their conditions. In this context, although the causes of poverty are mainly related with the structural dimensions of society, are there specific attributes of poors that determines in the last instance their struggle with or passive submission to the conditions of poverty. The third subsequent field of inquiry is specifically important in terms of the political administrative nature of the problem. Overall, these fields of inquiry which are utilized in this study to clarify the major dimensions of liberal-conservative approach to poverty are functional criteria to differentiate a certain approach from others. In this context, when the liberal-conservative approach to poverty is concerned, the sub-questions of this study emerge in relation to the fields of inquiry.

- Does liberal-conservative approach to poverty attribute the causes of poverty to individuals and thereby blame the victims of poverty?
- Does liberal-conservative approach to poverty display discriminatory moral language against people living in poor conditions?
- How does liberal-conservative approach to poverty deals with the political administrative nature of poverty?
- How does the liberal-conservative approach to poverty evaluate the social rights discourse?

On the other hand, to seek for the answers to the question of an approach to poverty which is the ‘*dominant*’ one in Turkey; it is important to select representative cases. In this context, Deniz Feneri Association and Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM) are selected in this study. The relevance of these institutions in terms of searching for the dominant

approaches to poverty in Turkey is that both SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association can be treated as the representative actors from the sphere of state institution and civil associations in poverty alleviation respectively. Concerning the representativeness of SYDGM, State Planning Organization envisages a project called “Integrated Social Relief Supports” in 2006-2010 Action Plan. This project aims to establish an infrastructure of an institutionalized social relief system. SYDGM is given the responsibility to carry out this project as the central actor. In the light of this, SYDGM can be treated as having a strong representative place in the institutionalization of the dominant approach to poverty in Turkey. Concerning the representativeness of Deniz Feneri Association from the sphere of civil society, this association has an improved network system in social relief covering a wide section of Turkey with its Regional Representative offices. Moreover, the publicity of Deniz Feneri association through TV media programmes is also supporting its representative power in civil society.

Besides the descriptive dimension, this study has a critical dimension. The critical dimension of this study is referring to the Marxian theoretical-critical problematic of this study. What is understood from a Marxian theoretical-critical problematic is not to negate the existence of the object of criticism but to understand the structural conditions of the formation of an object and the reciprocal effects of this object on the structures from which it emerges. In the light of this determination, the critical-theoretical problematic of this study can be articulated as the critique of the logical-foundational components of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty and its institutional practices by taking into account its reciprocal interaction with the structures of the capitalist production relations. This theoretical problematic shapes the architecture of the study in the sense that this study sees necessary to explain the structural transformation of capitalist production relations through the conceptual categories of *capital accumulation regimes* and thereby to clarify the constraints/possibilities imposed by this structural transformation on the institutional discourses and practices of poverty alleviation. On the other hand, it is necessary to clarify the content of the reproduction/transformation effect of the institutional practices of poverty

alleviation on the structure of the capitalist production relations and capital accumulation. In the light of this architecture, theoretical criticism of this study is constructed with respect to the reproduction/transformation effects of the logical-foundational components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty, which is materialized in the institutional practices of Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM, on the capitalist accumulation process by satisfying its functional requirements.

This theoretical architecture also implies the major theoretical hypothesis of this study. A structural transformation of the capitalist production relations which is expressed through the changes in accumulation regimes imposes the necessity of restructuring of *welfare regimes* of countries. This restructuring of welfare regimes directly imposes its impact on the poverty alleviation strategies. Within the new framework of the capitalist accumulation regime, the new framework of the welfare regime is restructured and thereby the limitations of poverty alleviation strategies are determined. As a result of these determinations, the theoretical hypothesis of this study can be articulated as the new capitalist accumulation regime - discussed in the regulation school chapter of this study - restructures the welfare regime of societies and thereby the general framework of the poverty alleviation strategies – discussed in the welfare regime chapter of this study.

The logical-foundational components of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty are deductively formed out of the critique of the conceptualization of poverty which is extensively discussed in the chapter on poverty. As a matter of fact, the discussion in chapter on poverty is organized with the aim of identifying the logical-foundational components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty from the criticism directed against the conceptualization of poverty. Negative culturalist approaches, philanthropic arguments, moral apprehension of poverty, depoliticized administrative vision from above are among the most important conceptual frames in which both the conceptual themes of the analysis of Deniz

Feneri and SYDGM are deductively developed and the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty find their logical-foundational sense.

The final point to mention is about the theoretical relevance of this study. The important dimension of this study is related with the issue of criticism based on a relational, integral and historical framework provided by the category of capitalist production relations rather than on particular political-ideological normative principles. More specifically, it can be asserted that the logic of marxian criticism employed in this study is depending on a relational, historical and integral category of capitalist production relation and its derivative concepts such as accumulation regime rather than depending on some normative principles such as social and political rights. Although the “denial of social rights” is identified as an important principle of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in the course of analysis, the critical dimension is related to the identification of the relation between “denying the social rights” in poverty alleviation and the requirements of the capitalist accumulation regime. The clarification of this relation is what this study attempts to achieve in theoretical level. In the light of this very important determination, it is necessary to refer to another thesis prepared by Arda Aksular (2008) on faith-based organization in the struggle against poverty. He chose Deniz Feneri Association as a case study. In his study, Aksular’s conclusions are in essence very similar to the conclusions of this study. Furthermore, he links the development of faith-based organization in the field of poverty alleviation with the neo-liberal economic system. However, in linking these facts, in our opinion he uses rather blurred concepts such as economic globalization which might cause to hide the underlying class dynamics and the requirements of accumulation regimes. In another part of his conclusions, he uses the term of “modernized organization” when he is referring to the professional managerial style of Deniz Feneri Association. Instead of using this term, we prefer to use “firm logic” with which we refer to the development of a perspective that cares about the efficient use of resources and budgetary constraints in poverty alleviation. Hence, this development has a very close affinity with the capitalist understanding of managing a company. In another study prepared by Mustafa Özgür Çakır (2003)

on “New Poverty in Turkey and Deniz Feneri Association”, a very similar findings related to the conformity of liberal-conservatism with the neo-liberal agenda (2003, 116-7) were presented. But in both of these studies, there exists no indication related with the potential tension between conservative understanding and the neo-liberal accumulation regime. This potential tension might generate a transformative force rather than merely reproducing the sustainability of capitalist system. In this study, this tension is identified in the discourse of some of the Deniz Feneri staff and it is briefly noted.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH

In this chapter, methodology and research method used in this study are explained. In the first part, the methodological framework of this study which is formed by the contours of critical realist perspective is introduced. In this context, the major components of critical realism as a philosophy of science are briefly explicated in its relation with human sciences. In the second part, the ontological assumptions of critical realism are introduced. Within this part, firstly, distinctive characteristic of the ontology of social and the ontology of nature is briefly explained. Secondly, concerning the ontology of the social, the stratified character of social reality is emphasized. That is to say, the existence of structural dynamics and generative mechanisms underlying the empirical sphere of existence is explained. In the third part, the problematic of structure-agency is discussed within the framework of critical realism. In this context, the weaknesses of major sociological doctrines and the propositions of critical realism as a response to these weaknesses is explained.

Building upon these theoretical explanations, in the fourth part, significance of critical realism for this study is discussed in several dimensions. In this context, the insights derived from the ontological assumptions of critical realism for the purpose of this study is explained. More importantly, how certain theoretical-conceptual categories developed by the critical realist perspective for structure-agency problematic operationalized for the purpose of this study is explained. In the final part, research process of this study is explained. In this context, data collection method, sampling method and data analysis process are clarified through explaining the field process and theoretical process of this study.

2.1 Critical Realist Methodology: Ontological Assumptions and Structure Agency Dichotomy

The methodological framework of this study is formed by the contours of critical realist perspective. Critical realism essentially refers to several schools of thought. However, contemporary critical realism is mostly associated with Roy Bhaskar's work on the philosophy of science in general and social science in particular. In this study, the theoretical analysis and derivations of Roy Bhaskar's critical realist perspective is adopted as a methodological framework. This methodological framework is adopted due to its integral perspective in explaining the ontology of social in which both the structural dynamics *and* the intentional actions of the actor are analysed in their dialectical relations. Bhaskar's philosophical arguments about critical realist perspective, thus, provide an important framework for the analysis of the major theoretical problem of the discipline of sociology that is the structure and agency problem.

The term "critical realism" is formed by the combination of "transcendental realism" as a general philosophy of science and "critical naturalism" as special philosophy of human sciences both of which are developed by Bhaskar. Bhaskar's transcendental realism refers to the ontological primacy of his critical realist perspective. Thus, he asks for "the structure of the *world* that makes its scientific knowledge be possible rather than the structure of the *knowledge* that makes the world be intelligible" (Harvey 2002, 165). It is accordingly claimed that "the categories of scientific knowledge must conform to the obdurate structures of the world" (ibid.). On the other hand, critical naturalism asks whether it is possible to speak of "laws of society and of human behaviour" in the same way one talks about the "laws of nature" (ibid., 166). Thus, Bhaskar likewise asks the question of "what properties do societies and people possess that might make them possible objects of knowledge?" (Bhaskar 1989, quoted in Harvey, ibid.). As before, this question indicates the ontological primacy of Bhaskar's critical realist perspective in the sense that Bhaskar attempts to define the properties of social reality and individual actors prior to the inquiry of the structure of knowledge that makes the social reality and individual behaviour be intelligible. The distinctive

characteristics of the ontology of the social and individual compared to the ontology of the natural life adopted in Bhaskar's critical realist perspective give rise to a peculiar analytical framework to analyze the interaction between social structures and individual agent's intentional behaviour. He develops this framework in his Transformational Model of Social Activity (TMSA) which is going to be explained later in this section.

Ontological Assumptions of Critical Realism

The primary ontological assumption of critical realist perspective is the existence of a structured world independent of our thoughts, perceptions and conceptions. This also means that the ultimate object of scientific knowledge exists independently of the scientist and scientific practice (Ercan 1997, 24). This realist philosophical argument is claimed to be true for both natural and social life. This study shares this realist philosophical argument in the sense that society is *sui generis* real. However, this postulated claim requires a further analysis and a more subtle framework as regards the ontology of the social and the dialectical interaction between social reality *and* the activities and conceptions of actors living in this social reality. Although Bhaskar is committed to the assumption that the existence of social is *sui generis real*, he lists three distinctive properties that necessitate a different scientific approach in dealing with social reality. This approach is presented in the proceeding parts of this section where the analysis of the dialectical relation between social structures and actors' intentions and conceptions are analysed. Bhaskar expresses these three distinctive properties in below:

First, social structures, unlike natural structures do not exist independently of the activities they govern. Second, social structures, unlike natural structures, do not exist independently of the agents' conceptions of what they are doing in their activity. And thirdly, social structures, unlike natural structures, may be only relatively enduring (so that the tendencies they ground may not be universal in the sense of space-time invariant) (Bhaskar 1989, 38).

Critical realist ontological position claims that social reality is comprised of certain spheres of existence. These are mainly *phenomenal* and *real spheres* (Ozan 2001, 11-2). *Phenomenal sphere* is related with the experiential sphere of social life (ibid.). Within this sphere the claims of reality are limited with the actions and conceptions of actors. Underlying the phenomenal sphere of social reality, there exists *a real sphere* which comprises the structures, mechanisms and processes that generate the enabling and constraining conditions of the events of the phenomenal sphere (ibid.).

This vision of a stratified social reality indicates that actions and conceptions of actors in the phenomenal sphere cannot directly present the real mechanisms and structures of social reality. The knowledge referring merely to the actions and conceptions of actors is overlooking the knowledge of the structural dynamics and generative mechanisms underlying the emergence of these actions and conceptions. This deficiency might give rise to a subjectivist orientation and is criticized by critical realist perspective. This orientation also lacks a radical-critical perspective in the sense that it overlooks the question of the specific relations of the conceptions and actions of the actor with the power relations embedded in structural mechanisms and processes.

Reconciliation of Structure-Agency Dichotomy

In critical realist methodology, the relationship between the social structures, mechanisms *and* the activities and conceptions of actors is a controversial issue. Theoretical arguments with respect to the structure-agency problematic are decisive referential points to determine the differentiation of major sociological doctrines. In the light of this, two major sociological doctrines can be identified as exemplifying a differentiation with respect to the structure-agency problematic. One is rooted in the Durkheimian assertion that “society creates man” which is criticized by the argument of “a reification of social facts” (Harvey 2002, 168). The other is rooted in the Weberian assertion of the “Man creates society” which is criticized by the argument of an overstatement of agency against the social structures (ibid.). In fact, both approaches represent the “half-truths of the social

reality” (ibid.). When the social structures are unilaterally overemphasized in determination of the actors’ life through socialization processes, they became reified and externalized to actors’ intentions and activities. The weakness of this approach might arise when it is confronted with the inquiry of the origins of these social structures. On the other hand, when the agency is unilaterally overemphasized in the determination of social structures through the reproductive or transformative actions, the question of how these agents gather the resources to reproduce or transform social structures can be asked. What can be suggested as an alternative against these contradictory and reductionist approaches? Bhaskar’s critical realist perspective intensely deals with this problem. Harvey interprets Bhaskar’s effort in these following lines:

If, following Durkheim, one regards society as providing the material causes of human action, and following Weber, one refuses to *reify* it, it is easy to see that both society and human praxis possess *a dual character*. Society is both *the ever-present condition* and the continually *reproduced outcome* of human agency. Agency is both, that is conscious production, and (normally unconscious) reproduction of the conditions of production, that is society (ibid., 169).



Figure 1: The critical realist conception of the social structure/agency relationship in Bhaskar’s Transformational Model of Social Activity (TMSA) (Harvey 2002, 167)

The dual character of structure and agency conceptualized by Bhaskar’s critical realist perspective refers to a dialectical understanding of the relation between

structure and agency through mediation processes. Furthermore, the dual processes of structure and agency and the mediation processes enable the researcher to avoid from a reductionist approach to structure-agency problem.

Overall, Harvey articulates a more developed approach derived from TMSA by taking into account the contributions of Bhaskar's critical realist understanding of human science which is effectively utilized in structure-agency problematic..

Social structure, by dint of supplying the material and cultural wherewithals through which agency is formed, not only lays the foundation for its own orderly reproduction, but delimits the range of alternative strategies and actions by which human agency can reproduce and transform social structure itself. Conversely, agency, in that it ultimately reproduces social structure and material foundations of the social, also reproduces the field of possible social configurations which constrain and enable its own future projects of self-transformation (ibid., 174).

2.1.1 Significance of Critical Realism for the Study

Building upon these methodological concerns, it is now necessary to explain how these concerns are operationalized within the framework of this study. As previously stated in introduction, the specific theoretical problematic of this study can be defined as the critique of liberal-conservative approach to poverty from a Marxist perspective based on capitalist production relations. This critique, thus, necessitates a more than emphatic understanding of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty. Instead, it necessitates an *integral perspective* in which a liberal-conservative approach to poverty and its related institutional practices should be analyzed in dialectical relation with the structural dynamics of capitalist production and capitalist accumulation. In the light of this basic necessity, critical realist methodology is asserted to be functional to provide certain theoretical-conceptual tools to criticize the liberal-conservative approach to poverty in its relation with the capitalist system. These unique theoretical-conceptual tools provided by critical realist perspective is the mediation categories illustrated above in Transformational Model of Social Activity figure.

In the light of these categories, liberal-conservative approach to poverty can be criticized with respect to its dialectical relation with the structural dynamics of capitalist production relations. More specifically, liberal-conservative approach to poverty is criticized in the sense that certain institutional practices under the influence of this ideology *reproduce* the secure conditions of capital accumulation. On the other side of this dialectical relation, a particular regime of capital accumulation is explained to show that it *enables* certain strategies of poverty alleviation and puts certain *constraints* on different possible strategies that might endanger the secure conditions of its reproduction.

2.2 Research Process and Method

In this section some important aspects of the research process is briefly explained. In relation to these explanations sampling and method of analysis of this research is also briefly presented.

One of the important aspects that deserve to be mentioned is that, in the beginning the subject of this study was related to conservatism and poverty alleviation strategies. In this general context, an extensive literature review was carried out on conservative ideology. On the other hand, as a case of this study which focused on conservatism and poverty alleviation strategies, Deniz Feneri Association was selected to be studied. The interviews with Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch had already been completed in February 2008. However, during these times we are confronted with a serious problem in which it is identified that another graduate student prepared a thesis on the same topic and case. Furthermore, he was more close to finish his thesis study on religious conservatism and Deniz Feneri Association in poverty alleviation field. This brought us to change the main subject of our study and thereby the cases and important part of the theoretical framework. On the basis of such a crisis the subject of this study was reformed and reformulated. From this point on, the main question of this study becomes the search and develop a critique of the dominant approach to poverty in Turkey. To answer this question two main institutions in social assistance field from the state sphere and civil sphere are selected. Besides Deniz Feneri Association which had

already been the subject of the previous study, SYDGM is selected from the sphere of state institutions. The representative power of these institutions is briefly mentioned with respect to the sampling logic of this study.

Concerning the sampling method, the scope which the purposive (or judgmental sampling) provides is assessed to be consistent for an explanation of the logic of the sampling for this research. As Neuman puts it:

Purposive sampling is an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgment of an expert in selecting cases or it select cases with a specific purpose in mind. A researcher uses this method to select unique cases that are especially informative (Neuman 1999, 198).

Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM are important institutions in the field of poverty alleviation in Turkey since 2000s. For instance, SYDGM is promoted as a central coordinator institution in the institutionalization process of social assistance infrastructure of Turkey in 2006-2010 Activity plan of Turkey. This institutionalization process is named as “Integrated Social Assistance Services Project” (SYDGM-1). On the other hand, Deniz Feneri Association is known as the most organized and systematic form of civil association in social assistance among similar non-governmental institutions. The wide national network system of this association which is introduced in more detail in the analysis chapter of this study is also bringing this institution as a unique representative candidate from the civil sphere. This association might be said to play a role model for newly emerging non-governmental social assistance activities. These factors which combine with the purposes of this study made these institutions most preferable candidates for analysis.

The administrative center of Deniz Feneri Association is located in İstanbul. When the time limitations and other kinds of resource limitations were taken into account, the most suitable way to conduct the interviews with Deniz Feneri Association was decided to limit them with the previously made interviews with the Ankara Branch of this association instead of extending them to İstanbul center. On the other hand, a poverty research center of Deniz Feneri Association

(DEYAM-Deniz Feneri Yoksulluk Arařtırma Merkezi) located in İstanbul might be thought to provide valuable resources that could be benefited for the analysis of the approaches of Deniz Feneri Association. But, the analysis of this center and the materials which are provided in this center was excluded from the research process of this study due to the previously emphasized time limitations. In addition to this limitation, the researcher of this study is advised not to interfere into the analysis of these text materials provided by the center because of the fact that the analysis of these texts can itself be the subject of a single study so that they bring about unbearable burden for this study. Another similar point is that, it was thought to be valuable to organize an interview with the media team of Deniz Feneri Association which provides the major resource of the publicity of this association. In order to do this, during the interviews conducted by Ankara Branch of the association we tried to find ways to make contact with this media team by using the branch manager of Ankara association as an intermediary. However, he excused for not being an intermediary for our plans. We were told that to make contact and organize interview with them was so difficult that even they themselves could not arrange a rendezvous with this team in İstanbul.

Before arranging the interviews with Deniz Feneri Association, we supposed that we could meet with serious obstacles. We, therefore, supposed that we might need a gatekeeper which can ease our relation with the association during the research process. In order to find a gatekeeper, we searched for several Deniz Feneri groups in Facebook and subscribed to the group called “Deniz Feneri Corporate Communication”. It was an open group for free membership of outsiders in those times (2008-February), however it is now closed for them which entails to be confirmed by the group administration. In particular, we made a contact with Sümeyye Esenyel in this group who is responsible for the volunteers of İstanbul Association and presented the intentions of our study. In the end, we wanted from her to be an intermediary for us in order to make contact with Ankara Association. She advised us to make direct contact with the director of Ankara volunteers of

Deniz Feneri Association- D4¹. She stated that they will welcome you. Ultimately, we decided on to make a direct contact with D4. D4 invited us to the meeting in which the association was oriented to the new volunteer candidates. She thought that we can gather the general information about the association through this meeting. Furthermore, in the same and the next day she makes an arrangement of our interviews with the Ankara branch manager of the association- D2 and the director of Ankara region in Social Assistance Activities- D1. As a result of this direct contact with D4, the research process in Deniz Feneri Association began through the meeting of an institutional orientation for the new candidates organized in February-2008.

After the video and power-point presentation session of the meeting, all the volunteers were oriented to a small tour inside the association to introduce them certain office units and large logistic center where the materials are prepared for their trips. We also participated to this small tour and experienced this technical division of work to increase the efficiency of the services. In the same day, the interview with D2 -a retired mathematic teacher and Ankara branch manager of the association- started after the lunch and it took approximately one and a half hour. The interview was carried out in a tense atmosphere. The reason for this tension was the defensive attitude of D2 which was also exemplified in his caution against us in the beginning of the interview that he did not answer any kind of “political-sociological and ideological” questions. He further stated that the information I will give to you is no more than the concrete projects and statistics presented in our activity report. In the next day, the interview with D1 -a programme presenter in Denge Radio and the director of social assistance for Ankara region- was carried out. This interview was conducted in a very sincere atmosphere compared to the one we experienced with the branch manager and it took approximately three. During the interview process with D1 we are also witnessing some important dialogues between some volunteers and D1. Volunteers occasionally entered inside the room to show D1 the social

¹ In this study, the real names of the interviewees are denoted by symbols due to ethical reasons which take into account the security of interviewees. The letter ‘D’ denotes interviewees from the Deniz Feneri Association while the letter ‘S’ denotes interviewees from SYDGM.

examination reports (sosyal inceleme raporu) which they filled in during their visits to poor households. Some important notes were extracted from these special dialogues about these reports. Furthermore, one of the volunteers in this room invited us to participate to his visits to poor households in the following days. We welcome his invitation.

Our participation to the needs-assessment process of the poor households which are carried out by the visits of volunteers to poor households gave important insights about the interaction of the volunteers with the poor people in their houses. We experienced doubtful and authoritarian attitudes of a volunteer against the poors as a response of certain strategies of poor people such as hiding furniture to the closed room of their houses. These attitudes of a volunteer were not to be evaluated as an exceptional case when we also listened to other volunteers' similar prejudices against the poor households in a meeting organized for training volunteers how to make social examination. We participated this meeting in the following week of the same month-February 2008. In this meeting, D3 -a volunteer and at the same time an expert consultant of the association in social examination training process- is making a presentation on how to make an "objective" social examination. The importance of D3's presentation is lying in its ideological content inherent in certain historical references and evaluations about the characteristics of poors. After the presentation he shares his one hour to our questions related with his perspective on poverty. In this one hour, he mostly restated his approaches to poverty expressed in his presentation.

Before the arrangement of the interviews carried out with SYDGM, the most relevant departments related with our topic was chosen. These were "the social relief department" and "the cooperation with voluntary institutions and foreign department". The interviews with these departments were carried out in April 2008. In these interviews, topics related with the approach of this institution to the causes of poverty and characteristics of poors, the role of this institution in poverty alleviation, the social relief activities and the organizational structure of the institution are discussed. The staffs of relevant departments were in a positive

mood towards us. Our thesis advisor's call and reference might contribute to their expression of positive moods towards us. The department directors and one expert from each of these departments were interviewed and these interviews took approximately one and a half hour. The interviews were made during working hours. This factor can be accounted for the relatively less amount of time they shared with us. Especially, the interviews with directors of the department were frequently interrupted by other staffs that entered the room to take a confirming sign for various documents.

During the interviews in SYDGM, we were advised to visit Keçiören Social Assistance and Solidarity Association. The visit to Keçiören Association was not present in the previous plan of our interviews. However, the interviewees in SYDGM stated that "the ideal form of the operation of this institution is crystallized in the activities of Keçiören Association, therefore you should visit this association and make interview with S3 who was the director of this association". We took into account these advices and one week after the interviews in SYDGM we made contact with S3 -the director of Keçiören Association.

Keçiören Association is located in Keçiören neighbourhood. One of the important properties of this neighbourhood is that considerable amount of migrants from Inner Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia region are concentrated in Keçiören. In addition to this, important amounts of immigrants from Afghanistan and Pakhistan are also living in this neighbourhood. These factors might contribute in shaping the poverty profile of this neighbourhood and make social assistance important in this neighbourhood. Keçiören Association rented a special two-storeyed place in the basement floor of an apartment. The internal design of the association resembles to a banking system in which there are counters and a queing system for the ones who wait in the waiting place. Having such a private place and an internal design for Keçiören Association is important in itself because most of the associations under SYDGM are generally located in the district governors's building. These properties of the association compared to

others might be interpreted as an indication of its effectiveness and relative autonomy from the governors of its district.

In this association, we made interview with S3 who was the director of the Keçiören Association. Following his advises, we also made interview with an expert from this association. S3 was a management graduate and working in private sector in his previous job career. This background has influenced his management perspective in the sense that he manages the association as if it is a private firm which continuously attempts to differentiate its services to its customers by designing various projects. The interview we made with S3 was a very fruitful one and it took for approximately three and a half hours. In the next day, we made our last interview with one expert from the association following the advises of S3. She was in her last year in social services junior technical college (sosyal hizmetler meslek yüksek okulu) and she completed her internship in this association. She had gained a considerable experience in the association by participating to many visits to poor households to make social examination in Keçiören neighbourhood. Therefore she mostly talked about her interactive experiences with the families living in poor conditions. The fieldwork of this study finished with this interview.

We carried out these interviews with a set of questions that are presented in the appendix section of this study. These questions can be grouped under three problematic points which are ultimately determining the paradigmatic position of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association with respect to their approaches to poverty. These problematic points are subsequently the question of “the causes of poverty”, the question of “the characteristics of the poor if there exist specifically”, and the question of “the mode of struggling with poverty in terms of the roles of civil and state institutions”. The answers to the questions in appendix which are derived from these three concerning problematics are providing whether there exists the liberal-conservative approach to poverty in the discourse of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association.

Finally, qualitative content analysis is used to analyze the interview data. But, in order to make the analysis of data in this study, certain conceptual themes are developed deductively from the literature readings in poverty and welfare regime. These conceptual themes are depoliticization of poverty, denial of social rights, and moralizing the poverty. More importantly, these conceptual themes at the same time constitute the logical foundational components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which is under the critical focus of this study. Therefore the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which are going to be identified in the poverty chapter are in fact encompassed by these conceptual themes. In the ultimate analysis process, certain forms of appearance of these conceptual themes within the discourse of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association are identified.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the general contours of regulation school are introduced. In the first part, the main problematic of regulation school is defined. In the light of this problematic, the major conceptual categories which are developed in this school and their theoretical relations are explained. By this way, theoretical configuration of regulation school will have been displayed. In the second part, fordist and post-fordist regimes of accumulation and their corresponding modes of regulation is analysed to explain the dynamics of capitalist social formations in advanced capitalist societies. In this context, firstly, major characteristics of fordist regime of accumulation and mode of regulation are presented. In relation to this, the particular roles of state, capital and organized labor in fordist accumulation is discussed. Secondly, the formation of the new roles of state, capital and organized labour as a response to the crisis of fordism in 1970s is discussed. In relation with this, basic features of the post-fordist mode of regulation which reflects the new balance of class forces is presented. As a final point, major characteristics of post-fordist regime of accumulation are discussed by referring to David Harvey's determinations. Building upon these explanations, a general structural framework will have been obtained for the purpose of analysing and criticising the liberal-conservative approach to poverty. That is to say, main components of liberal-conservative ideology in general and its approach to poverty in particular are gaining a sense within the identified features of the post-fordist mode of regulation. In relation to this, the articulation of the liberal-conservative ideology in general and its approach to poverty in particular with the structural requirements of capital accumulation will have been understood by analysing the transformations of accumulation regime and modes of regulation.

3.1 Regulation School: Problematic and Conceptual Apparatus

Regulation school, as Jessop suggests, can be assessed as an “open research programme” (Jessop 1990, 154) that covers wide range of research topics about the contradictory dynamics of capitalist accumulation, and institutional forms of social, political and cultural relations that sustains this accumulation process as a relatively stable system of social reproduction. The reason why regulation theory is adopted in this study as a ground theoretical framework is related with both its substantive and methodological dimensions. The findings of this study can be grounded firmly so long as it takes into account the transformation of the political economy of capitalism and the anatomy of bourgeoisie society. In consistent with this, concerning the substantive dimension “the regulation school derives from the general Marxist traditions of historical materialism with its interest in the political economy of capitalism and the anatomy of bourgeoisie society” (ibid.). On the other hand, concerning its methodological dimension, “regulation school typically works with scientific realist ontology” (ibid.) which reflects a high degree affinity with Roy Bhaskar’s critical realist perspective adopted in this study. Throughout this section of this study, regulation theory is going to be discussed in its most general sense and mostly Bob Jessop and David Harvey’s review attempts of regulation theory are going to be made use of so as to reflect the contemporary state of regulation school as much as possible.

Problematic of Regulation School and its Conceptual Apparatus

The main problematic of regulation theory can be articulated in a simple common-sense question: How can a capitalist economy which carries inherent contradictions in its process of development sustain itself for a considerably longer period of time? In the light of this problematic, two major sets of conceptual categories are provided by regulation school that constitute the main pillars of this research program as well. These conceptual categories are “regimes of accumulation” and “modes of regulation”. What a certain regime of accumulation refers to is explained by David Harvey in below:

*A regime of accumulation describes the stabilization over a long period of the allocation of the net product between consumption and accumulation; it implies some *correspondence* between the transformation of both the conditions of production and the conditions of the reproduction of wage earners. A particular system of accumulation can exist because “its schema of reproduction is coherent” (Harvey 1989, 121) (emphasis added).*

A regime of accumulation in a capitalist mode of production is described by Harvey as a relatively stable configuration of which the transformation of both the conditions of production and the conditions of the reproduction of wage earners can achieve a relative coherence. This relative coherence of the conditions of the reproduction of wage earners with the conditions of production implies the integration of this class of wage-earners to the requirements of a particular regime of capital accumulation. From another perspective, a prominent French regulationist Michel Aglietta describes a regime of accumulation by using the particular terminology of political economy. Within this terminology, the terms Department I and Department II indicate the main branches of production that produces the means of production and means of consumption respectively. While the final products of Department II are directed to individual consumption, the final products of Department I are used either as the raw material or an instrument of production in the production of consumer products. Aglietta, then, states that

Accumulation can only be sustained if a harmonious relationship can be maintained between Department I and Department II. However this relationship is subject to two constraints. On the one hand consumption has to grow sufficiently rapidly to absorb the growing product of Department II. On the other hand the rising consumption is the product of rising wages which can only be reconciled with stable profits if productivity rises sufficiently to absorb rising costs (Clarke 1989, 63-4).

The fact that the integration of wage earners to the requirements of a particular regime of accumulation or the maintenance of the proportionality between Department I and Department II entails a mode of regulation of these dynamic and conflictual relations resulting in a relative stability of capital accumulation process. This entailment is matched by the next major conceptual category of the regulation school, which is the “mode of regulation”. Harvey describes what the concept of a mode of regulation refers to in below:

The problem is to bring the behaviours of all kinds of individuals-capitalists, workers, state employees, financiers, and all manner of other political-economic agents- into some kind of configuration that will keep the regime of accumulation *functioning*. There must exist, therefore, “a materialization of the regime of accumulation taking the form of norms, habits, laws, regulating networks and so on that ensure the unity of the process. This body of interiorized rules and social processes is called the mode of regulation (Harvey 1989, 121-22).

Erol Taymaz identifies a mode of regulation in which several compulsory aspects have to be institutionalized within it to provide secure and stable conditions for a particular regime of capital accumulation. These aspects are money and credit system, capital-labour relations, forms of industrial competition, form of state intervention to economy, form of welfare provision, form of articulation to international economy (Taymaz 1993, 18-9). There are also cultural and psychological aspects such as “the need to acquire self-respect, the search for security and collective identity”(Harvey 1989, 123) that need to be reshaped by a particular mode of regulation to make individual subjects compatible with a particular regime of capital accumulation.

3.1.1 Fordist and Post-Fordist Accumulation Regimes

In regulation school two historically subsequent regimes of accumulation and corresponding modes of regulation are analysed to explain the dynamics of capitalist social formations throughout 20th century in advanced capitalist societies. These are called fordist and post-fordist regimes of accumulation.

Fordist Accumulation Regimes

The concept of fordism is simultaneously used to refer to different dimensions of a capitalist social formation. It is used to refer either to a specific form of the organization of labour process or to specific industrial sectors in which fordist principles prevail. In addition to these usages of the term, fordism is also used to designate a particular regime of accumulation. The last usage of fordism is a comprehensive one in the sense that it is used to signify a combination of a

particular regime of accumulation and a particular mode of regulation (Taymaz 1993, 28). In this study, unless stated otherwise the concept of fordism is used to signify a combination of a particular regime of accumulation and a mode of regulation. The mature form of fordism is experienced between 1950s and 1970s in advanced capitalist societies. The crisis of fordism during 1970s gives rise to the gradual steps towards the formation of a new regime of accumulation called post-fordism.

Among the fundamental economic and technological conditions for the maintenance of a regime of accumulation are the organization of labour process in its relationship with the means of production, the form of re-distribution of the net product to portions of wages, profits and taxes, the changes in the volume and composition of effective demand in response to the changes in production capacity (Boyer, 1988 Aglietta, 1987 quoted in Taymaz 1993, 18-9). These conditions constitute descriptive criteria for a regime of capital accumulation. In the light of this, fordist accumulation regime is generally described in terms of the organization of labor process as

a production system that rested so heavily upon the socialization of the worker to long hours of purely routinized labour, demanding little in the way of traditional craft skills, and conceding almost negligible control to the worker over the design, pace and scheduling of the production process (Harvey 1989, 128).

The corresponding mode of regulation to Fordist accumulation regime is identified as “a monopolistic regulation” which also responds to the conditions of the form of redistribution of the net product and demand management. Among the fundamental aspects of the monopolistic regulation are

Collective bargaining agreement, social insurance and unemployment insurance developed by welfare state, effective demand regulation methods by Keynesian economic policies, oligopolistic competition that limits price competition, money and credit system regulated according to the requirements of accumulation (Taymaz 1993, 21).

It is necessary to mention that although these aspects of a monopolistic regulation can be regarded as functional to the requirements of fordist capital accumulation;

these aspects can not be regarded as a direct outcome of an inherent logic of capitalist accumulation. Rather “the development of these institutional forms... is determined by the social and political struggles unleashed by the contradictory tendencies of capital accumulation” (Clarke 1989, 84-5). On the other hand the institutionalization of the class conflicts depends on the control of class struggles so that a certain balance of class forces is achieved that secures the process of capital accumulation in given social conditions. The role of the state, corporate capital and organized labour in this institutional sphere of monopolistic regulation is briefly touched upon in the proceeding parts of this section.

Corporate capital, organized labour and state take particular roles in terms of a certain balance of class forces maintained by the institutional forms of a monopolistic mode of regulation. For organized labour Harvey points that,

bureaucratized trade-union organizations were increasingly corraled (sometimes through the exercise of repressive state power) into the corner of swapping real wage gains for cooperation in disciplining workers to the fordist production system and corporations grudgingly accepted union power, particularly when the unions undertook to control their membership and collaborate with management plans to raise productivity in return for wage gains that stimulated effective demand (Harvey 1989, 134).

Repressive state power and anti-propaganda against communism is widespread during post-war years in advanced capitalist countries. In particular, repressive power of state is used to make socialist-communist oriented trade unions ineffective in their class politics. On the other hand, concerning the position of corporate capital in this monopolistic mode of regulation

Large corporate power was deployed to assure steady growth in investments that enhanced productivity, guaranteed growth, and raised living standards while ensuring a stable basis for gaining profits. This implied a corporate commitment to steady but powerful processes of technological change, mass fixed capital investment, growth of managerial expertise in both production and marketing, and the mobilization of economies of scale through standardization of product (ibid.).

Mass fixed capital investments of corporate capital requires stable, long-term market conditions to realize the investments with a secure profitability. State

policies satisfies this requirement by directing itself towards those areas of public investment- in sectors like transportation, public utilities- that were vital to the growth of both mass production and mass consumption, and which would also guarantee relatively full employment (ibid.). In addition to this, governments moved to provide a strong underpinning to the social wage through expenditures covering social security, health care, education, housing and the like. In addition, state power was deployed, either directly or indirectly, to affect wage agreements and the rights of workers in production (ibid.).

Post-Fordist Accumulation Regime

Before dealing with the properties of rising post-fordist regime of accumulation, it is necessary to explain the changing forms of the relations between state, organized labour, and corporate capital confronting with the crisis of fordism and its related consequences. Harvey explains the situation in below:

Since it had always been part of the fordist political consensus that redistributions should be funded out of growth, slackening growth inevitably meant trouble for the welfare state and the social wage...The gradual withdrawal of support for the welfare state, and the attack upon the real wage and organized union power, that began as an economic necessity in the crisis of 1973-5, were simply turned by the neo-conservatives into a governmental virtue (Harvey 1989, 167-8).

In addition to this, heightened international competition under conditions of flagging growth forced all states to become more entrepreneurial and concerned with maintaining a favourable business climate, so the power of organized labour and of other social movements had to be curbed (ibid.). The withdrawal of support for the welfare state gives rise to various resistances of the working-class parties and trade unions. But these resistances were either strongly counteracted by political and ideological propaganda of rising neo-conservatives or defeated by the repressive apparatuses of the state power. The general scene of the advanced nation-states in global world displays that the state is penetrated and restructured by the political representatives of the leading capitalist classes of the new era to subordinate it for their material interests in expense of the erosion of the class compromise of the previous era. Thus, concerning the role of state

it is called upon to regulate the activities of corporate capital in the national interest at the same time as it is forced, also in the national interest, to create a good business climate to act as an inducement to trans-national and global finance capital to deter capital flight to greener and more profitable pastures (ibid. 170).

The internationalization of competition and consequent aggressiveness of capitalist classes in cooperation with their political and ideological partners evokes a highly unstable social formation. This necessitates particular institutional and ideological forms to secure and stabilize the system of capital accumulation and class conflicts. However, the institutionalization of class conflict which leaves behind the class compromise of fordist regimes is highly problematic. In the light of this, Joachim Hirsch identifies several basic features of post-fordist mode of regulation that reflects the general framework in which the institutionalization of class-conflicts is relatively achieved. It is necessary to give a long quotation from Hirsch to understand the main pillars of the post-fordist mode of regulation

- There is a steady decomposition of the Fordist pattern of integrating, encompassing and corporatively structured material interests into the political apparatus. This is accompanied by a growing heterogenization, individualization and privatization of interests
- It is generally associated with the development of *decentralized corporative structures* which involve tight links between the state and the capital. It fails to integrate unions at all or do so only on condition that interest representation is restricted to privileged groups of workers.
- It proves to be much more *particularistic, decentralized and complex* than the Fordist mode. Compared with Fordism, this is *less based on centralized bureaucratic processes* and instead *reorganizes the relation between administration and market, state and society*.
- It will be characterized by a structural lability due to heightened inner-societal conflict potential, hegemonial instability of the world market, and the increased dependence of national politics on global economic processes
- *Nationalist syndromes* are reactivated under the slogan that everyone, even wage-earners, depend first and last on the capitalist investment in 'their' locality and must, therefore, in the face of growing international competition, conduct themselves aggressively towards those 'outside', whilst being ready to concessions at home (Hirsch 1991, 77-8) (emphasis added).

These features which are identified by Hirsch as an institutionalization of class relations in post-fordist state reflects an ideological assault against class-politics and a reorganization of the scale of governing towards more particularistic and decentralized institutional structures that broke mass working class into manageable pieces without making considerable concessions.

It can be inferred from Hirsch's arguments that both rising nationalist syndromes and a growing heterogenization, individualization, privatization of interests introduce a form of depoliticization in the sense that the politics which is based on collective interests and conflicts of social classes is rejected. In this new form of depoliticization, a particular form of political-administrative vision is developed which is more decentralized and less based on bureaucratic processes. More particular outlooks are valued. In the light of these changes, the fact that the liberal-conservative approach to poverty reflects a depoliticized approach is partly constituted by the enabling conditions of post-fordist mode of regulation which are identified by Hirsch. Within the framework of this study, SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association which reflects a liberal-conservative approach to poverty can be regarded as the institutional embodiments of the principles of post-fordist mode of regulation and its consequence of depoliticization. The issue of depoliticization and its other related problems with respect to liberal-conservative approach to poverty is analysed in detail from the interviews organized by Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM.

Post-fordist regimes are designated with the attribute of flexibility compared to the rigidities of fordist regimes. Concerning the flexibility of labour markets there has been an apparent move away from regular employment towards increasing reliance upon part-time, temporary, sub-contracted work arrangements (Harvey 1989, 150). Another salient feature of the post-Fordist regimes is the rise of financial sectors throughout the world. According to Harvey

There has been a dual movement, on the one hand towards the formation of financial conglomerates and brokers of extraordinary global power, and, on the other hand, a rapid proliferation and decentralization of financial

activities and flows through the creation of entirely new financial instruments and markets (ibid., 160-1).

The increasing power of financial sector is emerging to some degree at the expense of the power of the nation state to control capital flow and hence its own fiscal and monetary policy (ibid., 164). This is previously stated as the difficulty of post-fordist regulation mechanisms to simultaneously satisfy the national interests expressed in the long-term interests of corporate capitalist class and that of transnational capital which are the strongest financial conglomerates of global capital.

Another point to mention about the properties of post-fordist regimes is related with the norms, habits, political and cultural attitudes that emerge with the pervasive influence of flexible accumulation. Harvey expresses with regard to the several commentators' claim that

Under the pressure of unsatisfactory economic indicators, the political success of liberal-conservatism can only be attributed to a general shift from the collective norms and values towards a much more *competitive individualism* as the central value in an entrepreneurial culture that has penetrated into many walks of life. *Entrepreneurialism* now characterizes not only business action, but realms of life as diverse as urban governance, the growth of informal sector production, labour market organization (ibid. 171) (emphasis added).

The rise of competitive individualism might also generate moral evaluations for the ones who are not competitive enough to struggle with the challenges of life. This moralizing discourse is highly dominant in poverty field. The model of competitive individual is taken as a reference model to judge the "idleness, irresponsibility, passivity, lacking self-confidence" of poor people. Within the framework of this study, liberal-conservative approach to poverty prevalent in SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association is partly analysed with respect to the rising moral language exemplified with the blaming of poors for their passivity and idleness compared to the promotion of competitive individualism.

Thus far in this chapter, the main problematic of regulation school have been discussed. Afterwards, the main characteristics of fordist and post-fordist regimes

of accumulation and mode of regulation have been explained. On the basis of these explanations, the general structural process of flexible capital accumulation and post-fordist institutional framework which are in fact providing the background of the main principles of the rising liberal-conservative ideology and its approach to poverty in particular have been clarified. By this way the critique of liberal-conservative approach to poverty will have been justified by the structural requirements of flexible capital accumulation and post-fordist mode of regulation.

As the form of welfare provision and actors is an integral part of a particular mode of regulation, the changing regimes of accumulation with its corresponding mode of regulation directly affects the form and role of actors in the field of welfare provision. Although the transformations of the regimes of accumulation and modes of regulation are global processes and set similar structural constraints on the welfare regimes of different groups of countries in global setting, particular historical conditions of these groups experienced these changes in different forms. To understand these qualitative differences, it is necessary to deal with the specific conceptualization of the welfare state as such instead of merely articulating it as an integral part of particular mode of regulation. In this context, different welfare regime types will be introduced in the next section by emphasizing their qualitative differences to follow the particular influences of the global process of change on the welfare regimes of different groups of countries.

3.2 Welfare State: Conceptualization, Typologies and Crisis

The conceptual framework of the regulation school explained in the previous chapter is strong enough to identify the underlying reasons of the formation of the welfare state. Accordingly, the welfare state is evaluated as a constituent part of a political mode of regulation corresponding to a particular regime of accumulation. Furthermore, the changing forms of welfare states in contemporary era is explained merely on the basis of its relation with the changing forms of accumulation regimes and corresponding mode of regulation structures when confronted with an unhampered structural crisis of capitalist production.

In the general framework of this chapter, conceptualization, typologies and crisis tendencies of welfare states are more specifically discussed. In the first part, the relationship between social policy and the development of capitalism is briefly mentioned. In this context, the discussion on the importance of the distinctive definition of capitalism in terms of understanding the fundamental conflicts of welfare state, capitalism and social policy is explained. In the second part, Esping-Andersen's attempts of the theoretical specification of welfare states are discussed. In the light of this, his suggested criteria for the theoretical specification of welfare states are explained. These criteria enable not only to assert the historical specificity of welfare state but also to construct typologies which reflect the qualitative differentiation of advanced national welfare states. In the third part, several important criticisms directed against Esping-Andersen's typology are discussed. The most important object of these criticisms is related with the limited coverage of Esping-Andersen's typology to explain different types of welfare systems. In the light of this criticism, the conceptualization of southern welfare regime is discussed. Furthermore, characteristic features of southern welfare regimes and the underlying social, economic and political dynamics which makes them a distinct cluster of welfare regime is thoroughly explained. In the final part, the approaches to the crisis of the welfare state are explained. In this context, Claus Offe's arguments about the crisis of welfare state are briefly mentioned. His arguments are strengthened by referring to the approaches of regulation school to explain the crisis tendencies of welfare state. Finally, in the light of regulation approach, some emerging limitations of fordist welfare regimes under the pressure of changing industrial structure and conditions of global economy are presented.

Before the welfare state took stage in the history of capitalism, social reformers of early capitalist countries have implemented various kinds of social help and assistance programs to overcome the several problems of life such as poverty, illness, and education. However, the socialization of the apparently individual problems of social life within the framework of mature institutional structures of welfare state is a highly complex and a special historical phenomenon. What

constitutes the main subjects with respect to the problems of social life which are socialized and politicized within the framework of welfare states is determined through the complex historical struggles of class forces of capitalist countries. In the light of this, scholars of social policy determine for 20th century capitalism four main subject areas to struggle against. These are

Poverty and social exclusion, general education, social security systems that supports individuals in case of illness, ageing and unemployment, and regulation of labour market and working conditions (Buğra and Keyder 2006, 9).

The relationship of social policy with the development of capitalism is not a contingent phenomenon. The underlying reason of this relationship is rooted in the subordination of economic and social relations to market requirements via commodification, and thereby the dissolution of the existing traditional social structures which results in a risky environment of the way people obtain their means of subsistence. So long as the result of this process of widespread commodification is characterized by uncertainty, insecurity, and poverty, this is also reshaping the main subject areas of social policy with respect to the alleviation of the harmful impacts of commodification on people's life (ibid., 10). Concerning the alleviation efforts of social policy against the harmful impacts of commodification on people's life, the relationship of social policy with capitalism reflects two dimensions.

The first one is that the social policy might serve to sustain capitalism as a social order by alleviating its harmful impacts on individuals and society. The second one is that it forces capitalism to reshape itself by limiting the commodification and commercialization process of which capitalism has no limiting principle unless it is forced to stop (ibid.).

The latter dimension which Buğra and Keyder emphasize actually depends on their preferred definition of capitalism. They prefer the commodification and commercialization as descriptive aspects of capitalism to the private possession of the means of production and private appropriation of the products of socialized labour process. They rightly claim that if the former aspect is not seriously taken into consideration in capitalism, then, the transformative effects of social policy on capitalism cannot be properly assessed. Their approaches, further, makes

possible to orient social policy towards an anti-capitalist perspective inasmuch that it can suggest communist-like solidarity model by pushing de commodification to a point where it *contradicts* the requirements of the production relations of capitalism and its limitless need of ever more capital accumulation. As a matter of fact, it is important to be aware of the ever existence of uncompromising contradiction unless the total socialization of the production relations is guaranteed. Buğra and Keyder refer to Thomas Humphrey Marshall's optimistic view in relation to the future of capitalism. For them, Marshall thinks that

economic inequalities will increasingly lose its severity and the tensions within the welfare state will gradually disappear as the social policy precautions free individuals from the discipline of market by guaranteeing the basic needs and services (ibid., 12).

Marshall is right in his claim of the declining severity of economic inequalities. However, his prospects about the gradual disappearance of the economic tensions within the welfare state is not qualified to be true in the sense that the contradictory nature of capital accumulation regimes can never be totally annihilated but only relatively stabilized by a specific mode of regulation. As a matter of fact, Marshall also sees within the compromise achieved in welfare state an unresolved tension that could reemerge at any time. He presciently remarks that this compromise will not continue indefinitely. However, he does not specify precisely the sources of conflicts that might cause to the destruction of this compromise (Breiner 2006, 17-8). The reason for this might lie in the determination of the definitional parameters of capitalism to understand the fundamental tension of welfare state and capitalism. In the light of this, it is proposed within the framework of this study that the objective dynamic mechanism of capital is limitless accumulation and hence always endeavours to commodify certain things to create markets for itself. If this dynamic mechanism of capital's limitless pursuit of exchange-value hunting which is derived from the structure of the capitalist production relations is neglected as distinctive definition of capitalism, this might deprive you of the necessary analytical tools to identify the fundamental and objective nature of contradictions between social policy, welfare state and capitalism.

3.2.1 Conceptualization of Welfare-State: Esping-Andersen's Typologies

The conceptualization of welfare state as a historically specific phenomenon requires to be identified by several criteria. Esping-Andersen expresses the need to develop such criteria by indicating a major weakness of the literature on welfare state.

A remarkable attribute of the entire literature is its lack of much genuine interest in the welfare state as such. Welfare state studies have been motivated by theoretical concerns with other phenomena such as power, industrialization, or capitalist contradictions; the welfare state itself has received scant conceptual attention (Esping-Andersen 1990, 18).

It can be recalled from the theoretical framework of the regulation school introduced in the previous section that the welfare state merely takes place as an important constituent part of a particular mode of regulation which is articulated with a particular regime of accumulation. This might hinder focusing on the welfare state itself with its particular characteristics that make it historically specific phenomenon.

As a matter of fact, methodological approach and conceptual apparatus suggested by Esping-Andersen is the outcome of his intention to describe the welfare state as a historically particular phenomenon and to focus on the major determinants of welfare regime types which makes possible to develop a qualitatively differentiated typologies of advanced welfare states. So the historically particular nature of welfare state itself and a search for the qualitative differences of different typologies of national welfare states constitute the research agenda of Esping-Andersen.

Building upon the criticism of existing literature on welfare state, Esping-Andersen suggests three important criteria for the theoretical specification of the welfare state. Firstly, welfare state should be examined with respect to its decommodification efforts and granting of social rights and social citizenship statuses. Secondly, welfare state services are simultaneously referring to a

particular kind of social stratification and solidarity model. What kinds of a solidarity model are being provided by the welfare state services for societies divided by class and status is an important criteria for the theoretical specification of welfare state. Thirdly, it is important to analyse welfare state in terms of how state activities are interlocked with the market and family's role in welfare provision (ibid., 21).

Concerning the first criteria, Esping-Andersen expresses these statements

the welfare state is a peculiar historical construction that began to unfold between the 1930s and 1960s. Its promise was not merely social policy to alleviate social ills and redistribute basic risks, but an effort to rewrite *the social contract between government and citizenry* (Esping-Andersen 2000, 33) (emphasis added).

Social contract between welfare-state government and citizens refers to a set of legal rights and statute named under the “social rights citizenship”. This extensively modifies the relationships between state and society which is previously shaped by the legal framework of the competitive market economy. As can be inferred from Esping-Andersen, social rights and citizenship is a political and juridical contract between state and society. Thus, it charges the state with a certain juridical responsibility for the social well-being of its citizens in order to legitimate its political authority. As will be illustrated in the liberal-conservative approach of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association in the analysis section, it will be inquired whether the understanding of social rights are replaced by the philanthropic understanding which also inherently reflects an authoritarian tendencies that prevents the poor from calling the state to account for the amount and quality of social assistance within its juridical social responsibility and thereby the legitimacy of state political authority.

Social rights are also referring to the de-commodification processes.. 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 (Esping-Andersen 1990, 21-2). De-commodification might weaken the role of the market but it might not be necessarily intended to encourage individual independence.

For instance de-commodification was also supported by conservative political forces. The reason for this is that

To conservatives, it was mainly hierarchy and state authority that was under siege...A conservative 'politics against the market' is a struggle to reproduce pre-capitalist institutions in a commodified world; to harmonize wage work with traditional ideals of social integration and mutualism; to combat the penetration of the cash nexus into the realm of human need and family (Esping-Andersen 2000, 44).

The above mentioned aspects related with conservatism is important in the sense that this also points to the possible tensions of the liberal-conservative ideology that is analysed and criticized in this study. That is to say, liberalism and conservatism are reflecting considerable tensions in their approaches to market-state-society relations. This problem is further exemplified in the interviews done by Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM in terms of the rapid transformation of society and the dissolution of precapitalist institutions which provides an ideal of social integration.

As previously stated, Esping-Andersen focuses on the qualitative differentiation of the welfare regime types. Then, he presents the appearance of the criteria that is specified above in each of the welfare regime types. Concerning the first criteria which involve de-commodification, social rights and citizenship aspects of the welfare state, these rights are differentially developed in contemporary welfare states.

In social assistance dominated welfare states rights are not so much attached to work performance as to demonstrable need. Needs-tests and typically meagre benefits serve to curtail the de-commodifying effect, since all but those who fail in the market will be encouraged to contract private sector welfare. A second dominant model of corporatist social insurance provides fairly strong entitlements. Yet, this might not automatically secure substantial de-commodification, since this hinges very much on the fabric of eligibility and benefit rules which depends almost entirely on contributions and thus employment status. The third dominant model offers a basic, equal benefit to all irrespective of prior earnings, contributions or performance. However, it may not necessarily de-commodifying since such schemes have only rarely been able to offer benefits of such a standard that they provide recipients with a genuine option to that of working (Esping-Andersen 1990, 22-3).

It can be noticed in this long quotation that even the most generous regime type that offers benefits irrespective of the work performance can hardly de-commodify the individual's life. On the other hand, as long as the equal welfare benefits are offered to every citizen of a society as part of their universal social right, the problems of stigmatization due to dependence on welfare services and thereby encouraging the private work ethic of capitalism which is exemplified in the social-assistance model is highly eliminated and surmounted. This aspect brings us to the second important criteria of the welfare state.

Concerning the second criteria, Esping-Andersen's insightful analysis points out that the welfare state is not just a mechanism that intervenes in, and possibly corrects, the structure of inequality; it is, in its own right, a system of stratification. "It is an active force in the ordering of social relations" (ibid., 23). The analysis of different welfare regime types can exemplify alternative systems of stratification embedded in welfare states. Among these welfare regime types, one is intending to achieve high degree egalitarian society, but the others are for several reasons encouraging a specific structure of inequality which either depends on market-based differentials or status-based differentials and thus seem to value inequality either for creating incentives for individual performances and creativities or to sustain value-based hierarchical differences, respectively.

The poor-relief tradition, and its contemporary means-tested social assistance offshoot, was consciously designed for purposes of stratification. By punishing and stigmatizing recipients, it promotes severe social dualisms, especially within the ranks of the working classes. Corporatist social insurance model, *likewise*, sought to consolidate divisions among wage-earners by legislating distinct programs for different class and status groups designed to accentuate the individual's appropriate station in life. It also sought to tie the loyalties of the individual directly to the central state authority. In contrast to previous models, universalistic system promotes status equality, and endowed all citizens with similar rights irrespective of class or market position. This system is meant to cultivate cross-class solidarity, a solidarity of the nation (ibid., 24) (*emphasis added*).

The third important criterion of the welfare state is related with the interactive relations of welfare state with the family responsibilities and market operations in

welfare provision. Esping-Andersen replaces the term of welfare state with the term of welfare regime of which the state-market-family triad constitutes the complementary parts. A welfare regime, thus, can be defined as the combined, interdependent ways in which welfare is produced and allocated between state, market and family (Esping-Andersen 2000, 36). The qualitative differences between welfare regime types imply differential arrangements of state-market-family triad in terms of the welfare provision. Esping-Andersen describes these arrangements with respect to the different clusters of welfare regime types in below,

Liberal welfare-state in which means-tested assistance and modest universal transfers predominate caters mainly to a clientele of low-income, usually working class, state dependents. The state encourages the market either passively by guaranteeing only a minimum, or actively by subsidizing private welfare schemes. On the contrary, the liberal obsession with market efficiency and commodification was never pre-eminent in corporatist welfare states. What predominated was the preservation of status differentials. These regimes are also highly influenced by a strong commitment to the preservation of a traditional family pattern...Day care and similar family services are consciously underdeveloped, and the state will only interfere when the family's capacity to service its members is exhausted. The social democrats pursued a welfare state that would promote an equality of the highest standards, rather than the equality of the minimal needs as pursued elsewhere. Social democratic regime's policy of emancipation addresses both the market and the traditional family. The ideal is not to maximize dependence on the family, but capacities for individual independence (Esping-Andersen 1990, 26-7).

As seen in above parts, Esping-Andersen's attempt of conceptualizing the welfare state is productive in terms of clarifying the qualitative differentiations among the advanced welfare states. However, his methodology and consequent typology is taking a fundamental criticism with respect to its limited coverage. In the next section, this fundamental criticism along with the others is discussed.

3.2.2 Criticism of Esping-Andersen's Model and Southern Welfare Regime

Esping-Andersen is criticised on three important grounds. First one is related with the misspecification of the Mediterranean welfare states. Second one is related

with the labelling of Antipodean welfare states as belonging to liberal welfare state regime. And third one is related with the neglect of the gender dimension in social policy (Arts and Gelissen 2002, 142). Concerning the last criticism, Esping-Andersen accepts his neglect and incorporates the gender dimension in his recent studies.

As the notion of a second demographic revolution indicates, and as all statistics demonstrate, the changing role of women and evolving new household forms are an intrinsic -possibly leading- part of the socio-economic transformation around us (Esping-Andersen 2000, 12).

The second criticism is not important to mention for the purpose of this study. But the first criticism is important for the purpose of this study. Because, firstly, Mediterranean welfare regimes are asserted by several scholars with respect to their qualitatively different characteristics which Esping-Andersen's typology and later explanations are inadequate to cover. Secondly, for some scholars the welfare regime of Turkey is also associated with the basic characteristics of Mediterranean welfare regime type. Hence, the importance of this criticism is also related with understanding Turkey's position in welfare state typologies.

For some scholars Esping-Andersen's position is still highly adequate in terms of its analytical concepts and tools to understand the welfare state, because they believe that southern welfare states can better be classified as the "more-or-less" of the developed welfare capitalist societies in the same linear scale not by their particular characteristics that lead to a new type of cluster. For instance, Katrougalos (1996) supports Esping-Andersen's position by arguing that:

The Mediterranean countries do not form a distinct group but rather a subcategory, a variant of the Continental model. They are merely underdeveloped species of the Continental model, welfare states in their infancy, with the main common characteristics being the immaturity of the social protection systems and some similar social and family structures (Arts and Gelissen 2002, 142).

On the other hand, according to some commentators (Leibfried 1992; Ferrera 1996; Bonoli 1997; Trifiletti 1999) it seems logical to see the South European countries as a separate cluster (*ibid.*, 145).

The general controversy on southern welfare regimes are revolving around the existence of the differences between the Southern welfare regimes and specifically Continental types. Approaches proposed to understand the differences of these welfare regimes are either emphasizing the difference of a degree framed within the same developmental scale or emphasizing the difference of particular characteristics of political-institutional and organizational structure that leads to a formation of distinct welfare regime type. In fact both approaches have contributed to understand the several differences between these regimes, but the latter one is considerably effective on its own where even the disparities in terms of socio-economic development is negligible between some regions of southern regimes and continental countries, there still exists considerable differences between these regimes. As Rhodes points to the fact that:

While the differences between the southern and continental systems can be ascribed in part to under-development, the socio-political organization of these societies has ensured that when and where development has occurred it has been seriously distorted in favour of certain privileged groups, creating a specifically southern welfare “syndrome” (Rhodes 1997, 5).

Ferrera specifies the principal characteristics of this syndrome. The first noticeable aspect is the existence of a highly fragmented and “corporatist” income maintenance system characterized by dualism and polarization in terms of income maintenance and pensions (ibid., 5-6). The duality of income maintenance system displays the particular characteristic of Southern Welfare regime because

there exists a serious disparity between the generous protection programs of the formal labour market participants such as public employees, white-collar workers, blue-collar workers in big companies working under the regular contracts and the very rare and weak income maintenance programs for the employees working in irregular jobs of the informal sector which entails the considerable portion of the industrial structure (Ferrera 2006, 198-9).

The non-existence of the social protection schemes for a wide section of employees working in informal sector can in part be explained by the low level of economic development of these countries. But an extremely generous income maintenance program especially in pensions for the privileged sections of society

is the other side of the coin to be explained. This indicates the necessity for the analysis of the particular institutional-political structures and preferences of these countries (ibid., 204).

The second noticeable aspect of southern welfare regime is a departure from corporatist traditions typical of the conservative, continental model in health care and the establishment of national health services (Rhodes 1997, 6). Although the health care system of these countries is historically similar to the corporatist model in income maintenance programs, in the last two decades these countries attempt to reform their health care systems in the way of functioning henceforth on the basis of tax-financing system and standardized rules and organizational frameworks, open and free to all citizens. However, Ferrera also notices the fact that:

None of these countries can yet achieve the target of tax-financing system of health-care due to the occupational differentiations dominant in access of health care services, territorial disparities and complex difficulties of financing structure (Ferrera 2006, 207-8).

The third noticeable aspect of southern welfare regime is the existence of a distinctive welfare mix comprising state, family, church and charity (Ferrera 1996 quoted in Rhodes 1997, 6). In his study of Portugal, Jose Pereirinha indicates two limits to the application of Esping-Andersen's regime approach to the Southern Europe.

First one is related with Esping-Andersen's neglect of the informal sector that is mentioned above as a distinctive indicator of the dualistic system of income maintenance programs in southern welfare regimes. But the second one is related with the "civil society" aspect of a welfare system. Esping-Andersen fails explicitly to incorporate the solidaristic mechanisms of southern civil society, the informal institutions on which these systems rely so heavily to combat poverty and social exclusion (ibid., 4-5).

In fact in one of his important articles Esping-Andersen responds to this criticism of missing civil society aspect of the welfare triad. He tells that:

Some insist that the triad should rightfully be presented as a diamond, with a fourth leg reserved for the third sector such as charity, cooperatives and

voluntary associations. In principle, I would have no objections. In practice, it may make little empirical difference. Because it is subsidized by the state its role is more than peripheral-semi-public delivery agency (Esping-Andersen 2000, 36).

However, several commentators studying the southern welfare regimes specifically emphasize the autonomous character of such religious or non-religious institutions from the governments in welfare provision. In fact, the issue of whether being autonomous from the state or not for these civil institutions is important with respect to their adopted possible role to be a pressure group against state or to merely adopt a technical and ideological partnership with the state in poverty alleviation. Concerning the Deniz Feneri Association in this study, it will be inquired how this institution envisions its role vis.a.vis state. It will be inquired whether it adopts to be a pressure group that forces the state to take responsibility in poverty alleviation or to take the state as merely a technical and ideological partner in poverty alleviation.

The familial character of the southern welfare regimes is also very distinctive in terms of their welfare mix of southern welfare regimes.

It basically depends on the male breadwinner family model and forces its limit by high pension levels. Generous pension policy is functional to support the core members of families and close relatives...More importantly, familialistic system in southern welfare regimes has demographic consequences such as decreasing rates of fertility, and late marriages. Because generous family based income and the absence of individual income supports for youth individuals can impel the elderly children to live with their families for relatively long periods of time till their marriages (Mingione 2006, 274-5).

Fourth noticeable aspect of the southern welfare regime is the low degree of state penetration to the welfare sphere reflected in still low levels of welfare spending in these countries apart from Italy, and extensive clientelism and “patronage machines” which distribute cash subsidies to political client groups (Ferrera 1996, quoted in Rhodes 1997, 6). Southern welfare regimes are bearing problems in terms of the state officers’ degree of autonomy in decision making and application

processes from non-governmental actors. Thus, public institutions are generally open to the partisan pressures and manipulations. Ferrera points that

Southern informal labour markets which is characterized by a structural shortage of labour demand and thus irregular and informal employment relations is providing a favourable circumstances to generate a “clientelistic market” in which state supports are exchanged via trade unions with the political clientele groups by personal interest relations (Ferrera 2006, 209-10).

Indeed, it is a usual practice of southern regimes to create employment opportunities in public institutions in order to overcome the chronic shortages of labour demand especially in underdeveloped regions of society (ibid., 205).

To understand the reasons for the formation of the particular characteristics of southern welfare regimes, scholars suggest two competing but in some respect complementary approaches. When confronted with the different characteristics of southern welfare regimes, one typical approach emphasizes the difference of the degree of development which includes social-economic and social-cultural aspects, whereas the other approach emphasizes the particular characteristics of the political-institutional state structure. From the determinations of the former perspective, Ferrera indicates several socio-economic and political-cultural aspects that can explain the state of southern welfare regimes:

Lasting effects of under-development, sectoral and regional dualities, moral family bonds, narrowly defined local collective identities, strong Catholic Church, and depressed and traditionally distanced Left from the government in long-lasting authoritarianism period are those factors. The existence of a strong Catholic Church and flexibility of corporatist tradition replace the weak existence of State in welfare sphere. And also, extremely fragmented labour market and family-centered social structure contributes to the quite irregular development of income maintenance system.(ibid., 218)

On the other hand Rhodes points to the particular characteristics of the class structure of southern regime:

a late and territorially unequal form of modernization has produced a much more heterogeneous social structure than exists in Northern Europe, marked by a large petty-bourgeoisie which ... has gained in significance as small

traders and self-employed in personal services, have constituted the growing proportion of the population (Rhodes 1997, 7).

Thus, economic sphere is witnessing a weak proletarianization (Mingione 2006, 272). These factors overall constitute the social, cultural and economic grounds of the southern-welfare regime.

As already suggested above, characteristic features of southern welfare regimes can also be explained by referring to the political-institutional state structures of these regimes. In the light of this perspective, Ferrera determines three specific political-institutional factors:

- The weakness of state institutions in terms of bureaucratic autonomy and professionalization, and the failure to endow these countries with a 'rational-Weberian' civil service prior to the mass expansion of welfare programmes
- The prominence of parties as the main aggregators of social interests
- Ideological polarization (and, in particular, the presence of a radical-maximalist and divided left) (Ferrera 1996, quoted in Rhodes 1997, 6).

In the final section of this chapter, the approaches to crisis of the welfare state will be discussed.

3.2.3 Crisis of the Welfare State

The criticisms against welfare state have intensified since 1970s. The source of these criticisms is ranging from neo-Marxist circles to new-right conservatives. Mark Kleinman notices two ideologically opponent paths of criticism. Yet, their arguments are highly converging each other with respect to the main diagnosis which is the fact that "the welfare state is in crisis". One path is characterized by neo-marxist, feminist and anti-racist tendencies and thus can be called left-oriented criticisms. The other path is related with the rising new right ideological circles. Although differentiated in terminology, their arguments are in fact similar:

According to neo-marxists there exists a contradiction between the role of state in sustaining capital accumulation and in ensuring political legitimacy. On the other hand, new-right ideologues assert that productive activities are

crowded out by unproductive activities, and this process leads to a threat to capitalist welfare unless it is controlled (Kleinman 2006, 168).

In the era of emerging criticisms against welfare state, a prominent scholar Claus Offe determines specific sources of crisis tendency associated with the welfare state. According to Offe,

The most important one is the crisis of legitimacy in the sense that the evolution of capitalism requires an expansion of state activities, and this expansion encourages growing citizen expectations. But the capacity of the state to meet those expectations is limited by the dependence of the state on the private economy that is, by the fact that it draws its revenues from that economy, and that its policies may undercut the discipline of the market necessary to the healthy functioning of the economy (Offe 1984, quoted in Cohen 1988, 437).

The other crisis tendencies of the welfare state can be evaluated as derivative forms of the legitimacy crisis of the welfare state. That is, the administrative crises is indicating the undermining capacity of the state for consistent and coherent policy-making by “the substantive, temporal, and social expansion of administrative action” and the fiscal crisis is indicating the diminishing capacity of the state to increase its revenue due to its negative effects on the private economy (ibid.). In his book review, Joshua Cohen points to an important weakness of Offe’s general framework. He thinks that Offe evaluates the current crisis of the welfare state by abstracting it from the effects of the evolution of international economy on the functioning of particular national systems. As a result of this weakness, there exists an overemphasis on the political dimension of the crisis within the limits of national welfare states (ibid., 437).

The crisis of the welfare state can also be approached by focusing on the changing forms of accumulation regimes which signifies the newly arising needs of capital accumulation. This approach is suggested not to directly oppose Claus Offe but to emphasize the international dimension of the crisis. Because the changing forms of accumulation regime have a determining consequences in international scale, and therefore, it affects every particular system of welfare state by forcing them to restructure their existing regulatory institutions. In this context, Jessop determines several aspects of the crisis of the welfare state

The economic crisis of the welfare state is rooted in the growing discrepancy between its activities and the needs of capital accumulation. Tasks which benefited capital during the Fordist upswing acquired their own institutional inertia even though the needs of capital changed. Thus resolving the economic crisis required reorganization as well as retrenchment (Jessop 1991, 91).

The discrepancy between the needs of capital accumulation and welfare state regulations expresses its effects on the revenue side too. Thus, Jessop continues that

The crisis of fordism reduces the tax base for social security payments in so far as these were tied to wage earner and pay-roll taxes. Capitals' contribution to state revenues also decreased because of the decline in gross profits. Furthermore, the crisis increases demands for expenditure on income maintenance (unemployment, early retirement, family benefit payments) and, via social repercussions of unemployment and recession, on other welfare services such as housing, health and family policies (ibid.).

In fordist accumulation regime which is characterized with mass production and mass consumption, the regulatory institutions that maintain the balance of supply and demand and the welfare state provisions operate in a relative harmony. Social insurance systems based on the premiums of working-classes provide an effective protection system for the social risks in an environment where full-employment, regular and full-time jobs are widespread (Buğra and Keyder 2006, 13-4). But as also stated in the previous chapter, the transition to post-fordism increases the weight of part-time, temporary, discontinuous employment patterns. In turn this means that new patterns of taxation and welfare entitlements will need to be introduced (Gretschman 1986 and Standing 1986 quoted in Jessop 1991, 90-1). Moreover, the changing industrial structure towards the enlargement of service sector and computerized financial sectors makes it more difficult to absorb vast amount of less-skilled, inexperienced workers. These changes makes social assistance ever more important than before due to the income-job connection is seriously blurred (Buğra and Keyder 2006, 16-7). Esping-Andersen also refers to the determinants of the crisis of the welfare in international scale and indicates the changing forms of the global economy that imposes nation states to undercut the discretionary use of fiscal and monetary policy. These constraints create a

dilemma especially for advanced welfare capitalism to maintain both the full-employment commitment and social equality standards. For Esping-Andersen,

the new global economy necessitates greater employment and wage flexibility, and especially the less skilled will be condemned to unemployment unless wages and social benefits reduce. Hence, this will inevitably bring more poverty and inequality (Esping Andersen 2000, 3).

Building upon the transforming effects of the crisis of Fordism, Buğra identifies what is becoming realistic and unrealistic to suggest for social policy environment and, accordingly derives what is becoming more important in the following decades within social policy discussions.

The relationship between income and employment is losing its central importance due to increasing uncertainty to find full-time, regular jobs in the following decades. In parallel to this fact, social insurance system seems unable to resolve health care and retirement expenditures. Moreover, corporatist and liberal welfare systems that are based on regular job status and market provisions respectively seem increasingly problematic with their emphasis on job of work to deserve adequate welfare. For this reason, social help and assistance mechanisms that provide resources for the ones who can not earn their life by working are gaining a considerable importance. In particular, the issues of whether social help policies are providing generous or tight resources, and whether they involve needs assessment or not are gaining considerable importance (Buğra and Keyder 2006, 16-7).

Some points are needed to be mentioned in the final passage of this chapter. As articulated above from various scholars, it is expected that the phenomenon of working-poor and the long structural unemployment becomes a usual case in the new conditions of flexible accumulation regime. These increasing social problems are generated by the new requirements of the capital accumulation in global economy. This new requirement manifests itself either by the requirement of skilled workers adaptable to the newly formed industrial-organizational structures or by the depression of real-wages in order to increase the surplus-value for the capitalists in global capitalist competition. For either case, in the given conditions transnational capitalist class forces the state to decrease the level of social spending and to take new roles in social policy in order to alleviate its previously loaded social responsibilities. Given the requirements of capitalist class from the

state, liberal-conservative ideology is becoming functional to legitimize the requirements of capitalist class. To understand how this legitimization could become possible given the rising unemployment level and impoverished working-classes, it is necessary to analyze the performance of liberal-conservative ideology in the particular field of poverty. This is the problem of the next section

3.3 Logical Foundational Components of Liberal-Conservative Approach to Poverty

In this chapter, several approaches to poverty are criticized from Marxist perspective of social class. The course of these criticisms from a Marxist social class perspective provides the researcher the logical foundational components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty. The crystallization of these logical components in the body of the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach is presented in the last section of this chapter. In the first part of this chapter, the relationship between Marxist perspective and poverty is explained. In this general context, firstly, the class identity of the poor segments of society is theoretically discussed. Secondly, the important consequences of the differences in class conceptualization in determining the association of class and poverty is presented. In this sense, it is asserted that sociological conceptualization of class position generates certain culturalist approaches to poverty. Within the framework of a culturalist perspective, negative culturalist perspective of neo-classical paradigm is asserted to be one of the main building-blocks of liberal-conservative approach to poverty. Thirdly, the necessity of approaching to poverty as a process rather than a situation is emphasized. Based on a historical understanding of the capitalist production relations, descriptive approaches to poverty which widely use a-historic indicators is criticized in terms of their general weaknesses in explaining the dynamic causes of poverty. In the second part of this chapter, the role of philanthropism and the social scientific discourse in depoliticizing the political demands of poor working-classes is criticized. In the light of this, it is asserted that the attempts to neutralize the political nature of rising demands of poor classes are reflecting a parallelism with a certain administrative vision of the poor from above. In relation to this, it is asserted that philanthropism and social

scientific discourse constitutes the other logical foundational component of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty by providing it a certain imagination of state-society relations. Overall, these criticisms give theoretical insights to understand the spirit of liberal-conservative ideology in general.

In the final part of this chapter, the problematic and the principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty is presented as the crystallization of the previous and following additional criticisms in the body of its own substantive principles.

3.3.1 Marxist Perspective and the Conceptualization of Poverty

In this section, major rival approaches to poverty are going to be discussed. The framework of this discussion is generated from the interaction of two schematic models of approaches to poverty. These schematic models are Serdal Bahçe's and Ahmet Haşim Köse's (2009) dual classification of the views on the impoverishment in capitalism and the typology of poverty paradigms proposed by David Harvey and Michael Reed. The former classification is becoming central to the discussion due to its dual composition of Marxist and non-marxist approaches to impoverishment in capitalism. Hence, this is consistent with the general orientation of this study which depends on the general Marxian orientation of the impossibility of isolating the phenomenon of poverty from the dynamics of capitalist accumulation processes and the class structure of capitalist social formation. In this context, Aynur Özüğurlu rightfully asserts that poverty can only be discussed as the subject of two "classic" levels of analysis.

First one is the restructuring of the capitalist relations of production according to the global processes of capitalist accumulation and the second one is the process of the subordination of the reproduction sphere to the market (Özüğurlu 2005, 122).

This Marxist critical approach also provides the researcher a systematic framework to criticize the approaches in circulation which attempt to identify "who and why the poor are poor?" and their political implications in the given hegemonic poverty literature.

Optimistic View	Pessimistic View
Mostly Stochastic	Mostly Deterministic
Ephemeral/Temporal Factors	Structural/permanent factors
Curable	Incurable
Non-relativistic	Relativistic
Culturalism	Beyond culture
Geographism	Trans-geographism
Sociologism	Economism
Inaccessability	Dispossession

Figure 2: Impoverishment in Capitalism: Two views (Köse and Bahçe 2009a)

As presented in the table prepared by Köse and Bahçe, they construct two clustered views of the impoverishment in capitalism designated by optimistic and pessimistic views. These attributes of pessimism and optimism are referring to whether the structural aspects of capitalism are problematized to overcome the problem of poverty or not, respectively.

Pessimism refers to the fact that poverty cannot be radically curable unless capitalism is overthrown. According to the pessimistic view, poverty is not an identity; it is, rather, the self reflection of falling into the lower echelons of the class structure of a capitalist society. On the other hand, optimistic view claims that poverty is an identity which transcends all structural/social divisions (ibid.).

Accordingly, optimistic view inclines to develop a culturalist perspective in dealing with poverty. In the light of this general perspective, some of the important properties of optimistic and pessimistic views are discussed in the following parts of this section.

In capitalist societies, the identification of poor people is primarily under the influence of the determining forces of capitalist structures. The confrontation of individuals' life with the conditions of poverty are not *randomly shaped* but *objectively determined* by the *structural factors* of capitalism. The structural nature of capitalist accumulation generates its *relatively permanent effects* on

creating poverty. Therefore, Köse and Bahçe rightfully assert that when it is asked who the poor people are in capitalism, it can be unhesitatingly responded by focusing on the class identities of these people.

Proletariat who earn their life by selling their labour-power, reserve army of unemployed labor crowding around urban slums, rural proletariat, unpropertied peasants, namely, the ones who gain lesser than they create and masses of people who are excluded from being even a proletariat. These concerning masses are *determined* throughout the history of capitalist societies by being subordinated to the capitalist production relations. As a result of the formation of these masses by certain determinations, social identities of them can no longer be defined as poor but by their class belongingness. What aggregates them under a common poverty position though the variety of social positions they take up in society are either the appropriation of the portion of values they create through direct or indirect mechanisms by the classes of the owners of the means of production or being excluded from the value-creation process (Köse and Bahçe 2009b, 392).

As it is asserted above by Haşim and Bahçe, the identification of these concerning groups as poor is in fact determined by their class position and this class position is objectively determined by the collective *dispossession* of the large masses of people from the means of production and their ultimate products. The classical antagonism of capitalist classes and collective labour with respect to the private ownership of the means of production involves not only the dispossession of working classes from the productive wealth of society but also the deprivation of the capacity to reproduce themselves on several grounds. In other words, it is not sufficient to dispossess the working classes from the means of production, but also the traditional public spaces should be commodified and taken from the hands of collective labour (Özuğurlu 2005, 179-80). The fact that the dispossession of the means of production is forming the class identity of “poor” segments of society, several forms of *inaccessibility* of poor people to market opportunities is in fact determined first and foremost by the structurally unequal distribution of the means of production among the classes of capitalist production.

In above explanation, the term class position might cause misinterpretations in the sense that because this term is merely describing a “place” within the hierarchical

structure of capitalist society, social class might be misleadingly understood as a non-relational position within the hierarchical structure of capitalist society. On the contrary, in the light of Marxist perspective social class should be understood in a relational perspective which is determined within the contradictory relations of capitalist production. But the former point needs to be discussed by relating it with a more general tendency of *sociologism* in poverty literature. This general tendency is also internally related with the generation of certain market-based and culturalist poverty approaches. What is referred by the term sociologism in poverty conceptualization and its related consequences is explained in Özüğurlu's statements:

Sociology works through typologies and every typology, by its nature, is based on a principle of differentiation. Poverty as a typology, in this respect, can only describe a hierarchical differentiation according to a relatively strict criteria such as being deprived of material resources that enables one to take part within the society, or according to a relatively broad criteria such as being partially or totally left out of the economical, political, social and cultural systems that make up the social integration. Consequently, in both of the manners of the conceptualisation, poverty points out a place within or outside of the class; although it is always those at the 'bottom'. It is clear that poverty as a 'location' is related with grasping the class as a location (ibid., 128-9).

As stated above, sociological manner of conceptualization results an inherent relationship between the understanding of poverty as a location within the hierarchical structure of capitalism and that of grasping the class as a location. Accordingly, Özüğurlu rejects the understanding of class as a definition of a place within the society and urges that the class has to be understood within the contradictory nature of capitalist production relations (ibid.). Unless her rightful suggestion is adopted as a framework in poverty studies, a large field is opened for several ideological attempts to determine the place of the poor by either taking the poor out of the class relationship or revise the definition of class (ibid.). For the purpose of this study only the former ideological attempt- "taking the poor out of the class relationship"- is explained. In this case,

the best of possibilities is to turn poor people into "unfortunates" who could not deal with the never questioned results of capitalism because of the lack

of social capital, and as such they constitute a typology worth investigating [...] by their manners of interpretation, ways of living and cultural norms. However, *regardless of these culturalistic findings* they are always called for *submitting the discipline of paid-labour* (ibid.) (*emphasis added*)

At this point, it is necessary to give more information about the culturalistic approaches in poverty literature. For this to be done, Harvey and Reed’s typology is used. Their model of “paradigms of poverty” is constructed according to the answers they give to two questions: a) is poverty an economic-based phenomenon? b) is there a culture of poverty? As a result, there appear nine paradigms in the typology.

	THERE IS A NEGATIVE SUBCULTURE OF POVERTY	THERE IS NO SUBCULTURE OF POVERTY	THERE IS A POSITIVE SUBCULTURE OF POVERTY
POVERTY IS A PRODUCTIN-BASED PHENOMENON	A. MALTHUSIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: THE PARADIGM OF PREVENTIVE CHECKS ON POPULATION	B. CLASSICAL MARXISM: INDUSTRIAL RESERVE ARMY PARADIGM OF THE CAPITALIST MODE PRODUCTION	C. CRITICAL MARXIST PAADIGM: POVERTY & ITS CULTURES AS INTEGRAL ELEMENTS OF CAPITAL’S REPRODUCTIVE APPARATUS
POVERTY IS A MARKET-BASED PHENOMENON	D. NEO-CLASSICAL ECONOMICS: MARGINAL PRODUCTIVITY OF UNSKILLED LABOR PARADIGM	E. SECULAR MALTHUSIAN PARADIGM: HISTORICIST PARADIGM OF MARGINAL PRODUCTIVITY OF LAND, LABOR AND CAPITAL	F. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARADIGM: DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR’S TOTAL PRODUCT AS SOURCE OF POVERTY
POVERTY IS A NON-ECONOMIC PHENOMENON	G. SOCIAL DARWINIST PARADIGM: CULTURAL ETHOS & BEHAVIORAL MODIFICATIONS PARADIGMS OF POVERTY	H. REDUCTIONIST PARADIGMS OF POVERTY: BIOLOGICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL OR PURELY DEMOGRAPHIC MODELS	I. PROGRAMMATIC OR VOLUNTARISTIC POVERTY PARADIGM

Figure 3: Paradigms of Poverty. Source: Harvey and Reed 1992, 274

From this typology, two important paradigms are selected in terms of their common formal claims that there exists a particular culture of poverty. However their value attributions to this culture opposes with each other in the sense that

critical marxist paradigm attributes positive value to the culture of poverty compared to the negative attributions of neo-classical paradigm.

Culturalistic Approaches: Critical Marxist Paradigm and Neo-Classical Paradigm

According to the cultural viewpoint of neo-classical paradigm,

much of the problem the poor have in selling their labour, aside from its marginal productivity, resides in their chosen lifestyle and value preferences. They suggest that the culture of the poor impedes their efforts to secure economic and social autonomy. Consequently, the poor must not only be re-skilled, they must also be resocialized in terms of the way they think, value and act (Harvey and Reed 1992, 280).

On both economic and cultural grounds the victims of poverty are blamed for their own poverty by pointing to their weak productivity and less-skilled status or their way of life that impedes their chances of social mobility and stable job-holding (ibid.). Concerning the state welfare provisions, this approach proposes a very selective method that can determine who “deserves” to be identified as poor. The “deserving” poor referred here are “those individuals and communities that are positively identified as poor” (Alcock 1984 quoted in Bademci 2007, 47) not the ones who have a negative culture of poverty. In relation to this, Charles Murray argues that

Generous welfare policies have the effects of creating incentives for people to act irresponsibly and to engage in strategies which perpetuate their poverty. According to Murray, the solution is to eliminate virtually all welfare programs and thereby making the poor “begin to work hard and act responsibly” and thus “raise themselves out of poverty” (Wright 1994, 37).

On the other hand, it can be stated that culturalist approaches need not always refer to a negative value attribution as exemplified by neo-classical paradigm. For instance, critical marxist paradigm in Harvey-Reed typology is the example of a marxian approach that also argues for the existence of a particular culture of poverty and attributes a positive value to it. This paradigm is generally known as the culture of poverty thesis and identified with the works of Oscar Lewis. Its originality lies in the treatment of culture as a relatively autonomous sphere from the capitalist economic structures. This relative autonomy of culture implies the

reproduction of poverty as a culture even the economic impoverishment disappears. Thus, this “reproductive paradigm of poverty” emphasizes the process of poverty’s social reproduction and distinguishes between the objective, economic origins of poverty, and the role which the poor play in culturally reproducing poverty’s everyday contours (Harvey and Reed 1992. 277-8). But there is also a reproductive dialectical relation between the capitalist social relations and the culture of poverty. Thus, Harvey and Reed states that

This paradigm emphasizes the survival enhancing immediacies which the culture of poverty has for everyday life, while, at the same time, acknowledging the role which such a culture plays in reproducing the overall structure of capitalist social relations (ibid.).

Lewis’s approach receives serious criticism with respect to the representative power of his sampling techniques. He is criticized for focusing on behavioral extremes rather than average representative persons living in the culture of poverty (Harvey and Reed 1996, 482). But for Harvey and Reed these criticisms cannot grasp the aesthetic enterprise of Oscar Lewis in the sense that Lewis sought to grasp not the average parameters of poverty, but its expressive essence (ibid.). That is to say, Lewis’s emphasis on the creative coping strategies of poors creates the impression of a hopeful prospect with regards to the ability of poors in managing their social and economic affairs in future revolutionary stages of history (ibid.). Lewis attributed the following five traits to the subculture of poverty and they are worth quoting at length:

- It is historically specific to the capitalist mode of production and usually occurs wherever capitalism has destroyed a traditional community, or used imperialist mechanisms to make inroads into the self-sufficiency of traditional cultures.
- It is not the immediate cause of poverty, but a response to poverty. The culture of poverty’s various traits are the result of a *creative coping* on the part of the poor as they manufacture their survival in hostile circumstances.
- It reproduces itself in each generation as families pass on their accumulated class-specific wisdom to their children.
- It is not synonymous with economic impoverishment. One can be poor without living in a culture of poverty. Thus culturally intact, preliterate societies, though “materially disadvantaged,” would not necessarily have a culture of poverty, nor would ethnically or religiously marginal peoples who, though poverty stricken, sustain a coherent cultural orientation.

- Finally, because of its relative autonomy, the culture of poverty can be modified without having the objective basis of poverty removed. In societies taken over by revolutionary or nationalistic movements, for example, many of the key traits of the culture of poverty can be altered ideologically, if not eliminated altogether (Harvey and Reed 1992, 278).

Lewis exemplified a positive culturalist approach to poverty. In general sense, the ideological standpoint is determinant on the evaluation of the same certain behaviour of poors as a negative cultural attribute or positive one. As will be illustrated in the analysis section of this study, certain behaviours which can be evaluated as the survival strategies of poors from a marxian standpoint can easily become the instrument of moral blaming of poors from a liberal-conservative standpoint. In the light of this, negative culturalist approach to poverty as exemplified by neo-classical paradigm specifically constitutes one of the main building-block of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty. The moral language directed against poors adopted in neo-classical paradigm constitutes the inquiry of the moral significance of actions of the poors which is prevalent in liberal-conservative discourse in poverty alleviation. In the last section of this chapter, the substantive principle of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which is partly constituted from the negative culturalist poverty approach is presented. Before this, in the following section on philanthropism the other main building-block of liberal-conservative approach to poverty will be identified and criticized to complete the logical foundations of liberal-conservative approach to poverty.

Poverty as a “Process” Rather Than a “Situation”: Critique of Descriptive Analysis

Concerning the correct conceptual relation of hierarchical class structure of capitalism and poverty, Özügürü points to the fact that an analysis which starts from the relations of production enables us foremost to think of poverty as a 'process' rather than a “situation” (Özügürü 2005, 130). She continues,

if such a historical perspective is absent in poverty analysis, then, analysis turns into a mere descriptive endeavor to list certain indicators of deprivations or insufficiency of poor people which are proposed as a-historical categories (ibid.).

Building upon this suggestion Özüğurlu warns about the related consequences of approaching poverty with a-historical perspective

...Since each one of the indicators is a-historic category, a causal explanation, the lack of social capital or capability for example, is searched. In both cases the description is made of the structural obstacles in front of the effective participation within the markets, depicted as a realm of opportunities. The solution, for the recent years is the 'empowerment of the poor' by market oriented coordination between state, markets and the nongovernmental organizations (ibid.) (emphasis added).

Moreover, these kinds of descriptive analysis which are structurally blind to the historical nature of the contradictions of capitalist production generates multitudinous attempts to make “situational descriptions” of the structural obstacles in front of effective participation to the markets depicted as a realm of opportunities. This tendency is exemplified in four approaches which are identified by Roger Riddell in his efforts to make identification and measurement of poverty. But only three of them are explained in below for the purpose of the discussion in this section:

These four approaches are monetary, capability, social exclusion and participatory approaches, but these are not claimed to be embracing all the approaches to identification and measurement of poverty but rather embracing main current approaches that are widely adopted (Bademci 2007, 65).

Within the capability paradigm, poverty is defined as the failure to achieve certain minimal or basic capabilities, where basic capabilities include the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functioning up to certain minimally adequate levels (Laderchi et al., 14 quoted in Riddell 2004). He also presents one of the most developed attempts to articulate what the capabilities approach means in practice. This has been carried out by Nussbaum (1993 and 2000), who lists the following as essential for a full human life:

Life: normal length of life. Health: good health, adequate nutrition and shelter. Bodily integrity: movement, choice in reproduction. Senses: imagination and thought, informed by education. Emotions: attachments. Practical reason: critical reflection and planning life. Affiliation: social

interaction, protection against discrimination. Other species: respect for and living with other species. Play: Control over ones environment, politically (choice) and materially (property) (Riddell 2004, 6).

However, Riddell points to a very important weakness of this approach which is in line with the above-mentioned criticism of structural blindness in terms of the historical and intrinsic nature of the labour-capital contradiction which is dominant in poverty studies. He states that:

this approach cannot capture fundamental causes or dynamics of poverty. And, he adds that they both describe the situation at a point in time, providing data for, but not themselves directly involving, fundamental analysis of the causes of poverty (ibid., 7).

The other approach is known as participatory approach which attempts to involve poor people and groups in articulating what poverty means for them, and how they should respond. Laderchi et al further point that:

Participatory approaches potentially embrace social, economic, cultural, and political and security issues and thus provide a multi-dimensional view of poverty. Like capability approaches, participatory approaches focus on ways to empower poor people to enable them better to make and influence decisions which affect their well-being (ibid., 8).

However, Riddell directs an important criticism to participatory approaches.

Participatory studies can be objectively “biased” as a result of limited information and social conditioning. Because even if people do accurately convey their own views and perspectives, their wants and a hierarchy of their needs, this does not constitute the whole picture. People’s own assessments of their own condition can be partial and narrow because it risks not seeing, and being able to see, the “whole picture” (ibid.).

The third and the last approach is social exclusion approach which differs from the previous approaches by focusing on poverty as a process rather than viewing it statically at one point in time. Hence, this approach:

Firstly, it is able to encompass the fact that people and households can move “in and out” of poverty over time; secondly and relatedly, it is well placed to examine the different reasons why some people move in and out of poverty and others appear to be poor more permanently. Moreover, this approach differs from capability approaches in putting the social perspective in the

centre-stage, and, because exclusion is assessed in relation to the “norm”, SE is very much a relative approach to poverty (ibid., 7).

Although this approach treats poverty as a process rather than a situation, it has a major obstacle to understand the fundamental dynamics and causes of poverty. This weakness of this approach is rooted in its general focus on distributional issues instead of problematizing capitalist production relations. It suggests that the situation of those deprived relative to the norm generally cannot improve without some redistribution of opportunities and outcomes (ibid.). The question of what the fundamental reason of this unequal distribution of opportunities might not seem to be in the problematic of this approach.

So far, the conceptual relation between the historical and relational class contradictions of capitalist production and the category of the poor are discussed. In the light of this discussion, the underlying logic of a negative culturalist approach to poverty and a situational descriptive approach in the identification and measurement of poverty are presented and criticized. In the next section, the role of philanthropism and early social scientific discourse which constitutes the other major building-block of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty will be presented and criticized.

3.3.2 Philanthropism and Social Scientific Discourse: Administrative Vision of Poverty

Several contemporary ideological paradigms of poverty are making their justifications on the basis of social scientific categories which are developed by early social theoreticians such as Auguste Comte or Emile Durkheim. In this respect, the status of early social scientific discourse is also needed to be analysed in its relation to poverty. Giovanni Procacci argues that:

Historically as well as theoretically the formation of social science was intimately related to the formation of a new point of view for administering poverty within a society of expanding wealth. The social crisis opened anew with the Revolution of 1848 offers a crucial view of such a relation, for political problems and social solutions were to influence each other directly (Procacci 1989, 166).

It can be derived from above statements that the development of a “new point of view” to the political problems of 1848 insurrection is a response to the “administrative defects” of the established system when it is confronted with the emerging new political demands of poor labour classes. Hence, the most significant point is that the concerning “new point of view” suggests a new “administrative vision” of poverty. Procacci identifies the new point of view as a “social point of view” and relates the concerning administrative defects to two major areas of the established system

The development of a “social point of view” was shaped by the need to counteract unsolved problems raised by the individualistic premises of the juridical rationality concerning political relations, and the market rationality concerning economic relations (ibid., 165).

In these years juridical rationality and economic rationality are based on civil rights and free individual interests respectively and these prevalent rationalities envision a society where a harmony of equality and freedom prevails. It is understood that the social problems of these years which are generated by working class political movements against the system cannot be smoothly resolved by either incorporating new rights into juridical system and thereby charging the state with new social responsibilities or intervening to the market system in expense to the violation of the free-private individualistic premises of this system. The reason is surely the existence of ideological barriers. However, several middle-road perspectives have already developed in response to the inherited problems of French Revolution in the early decades of 19th century to find a solution within the framework of a non-juridical and non-economic way of dealing with poor labour-class problem (ibid., 166). In this respect, Procacci introduces philanthropic views neatly prescribed by the members of “social economy” school during these years:

Philanthropy provided [...] set of principles for intervening in society. Without denying the individual’s interest as the basis of the economic system, all philanthropic techniques elaborated a pragmatic reference to some kind of collective interest. But such collective interest did not lead to any social debt toward the poor, since philanthropy pointed in a moral

community the rationale for interpreting poverty as a concern for the whole of society (ibid., 169).

Besides the rationale of “collective interest”, Procacci also saw in philanthropist arguments the rationale functioning indirectly for the favor of capitalist market economy. He states by referring to the philanthropist solution that

Philanthropy thus served to separate the problem of poverty from labor, which the economic system wanted freed from any kind of protection. Labor became therefore just one among other means of moralizing and pedagogic intervention, which a philanthropic perspective and not an economic pattern were to organize. *The need to reform the economic system was directed toward a noneconomic field, the social one, since the reform was not to modify the industrial system, but rather to promote those practices of citizenship that fit into it* (ibid.) (emphasis added).

The last statement of this quotation has a critical importance within the framework of this study. The language in this last statement can be reformulated with the language of this study that the social policies inspired by philanthropic ideas within the political regulatory institutions is aiming to manufacture a citizenship that can fit for the requirements of capital accumulation. Early social scientific ideas and notions arise under the influence of such philanthropic doctrines and also in response to the relative ineffectiveness of these philanthropic practices. Early social science develops its arguments to deal specifically with the association of labour and poverty and claims that:

Poverty was an effect of *unchangeable* laws of economic development. It was then utterly economic, yet not industrial: on the contrary, the industrial system was slowly but surely reducing poverty. *There was also another sort of poverty: a moral one, which it was possible to treat socially.* Such poverty had no natural justification: it originated in the gap between the economic improvement of the lower classes, and their moral progress. In this defective sociability lay the cause of the moral poverty: *idleness, improvidence, irresponsibility affecting the popular classes.* Against this poverty, no remedies would be effective other than improved means of *socialization* (ibid., 180) (emphasis added).

As it is seen above, optimism towards industrial system, moral poverty of popular working-classes expressed by their idleness, improvidence, irresponsibility, and improved means of socialization as a remedy against moral poverty are becoming

constitutive tendencies of newly arising social scientific discourse in the 19th century. The fact that the “defective sociability” of popular classes are expected to be remedied by improved means of socialization “opens the field of an unlimited pedagogy of the citizen” (ibid., 183). In relation with these remedy suggestions, a notion of moral duty is developed by early sociologists to promote social cohesion due to the incapacities of both individual interest-based market rationality and rights-based juridical rationality to provide a persuasive practical models for social cohesion. In this respect Auguste Comte’s position as a forerunner of sociology is critical. Amidst the revolutionary movements of 1848, he saw the state of the revolutionary moment as a disintegration of social cohesion. He therefore stressed the dominance of social sympathy over any other sentiment:

To the Positivist, the object of Morals is to make our sympathetic instincts preponderant as far as possible over the selfish instincts; social feelings over personal feelings. Since social sympathy is less spontaneous in the individual than is self-interest, the real problem is to raise social feeling by artificial effort to the position which, in the natural condition, is held by selfish feeling. The lack of social sentiment demanded to promote a sociability that it would be vain to expect simply from laws and rights. From the moral duty of society the way was then opened toward the social duties of its members, providing a nonjuridical content to their citizenship (ibid.179).

Thus the state would also find other means of government than just the legislative and the juridical ones. The total relation between the state and society would then no longer take place only within a juridical frame. The foundations for an administrative relation between state and society were eventually provided (ibid., 181).

Overall, social scientific discourse arises in response to the inadequacies of market rationality and juridical rationality as regards the governing of poor labouring-classes. It attributes poor labouring-classes a defective sociability that requires to be remedied by improved means of socialization to fit them to the requirements of capital accumulation. Building upon the philanthropic ideas of social reform, early social scientific discourse attempts to depoliticize the labour-capital contradiction by redefining the civil society on the basis of moral duties

which encourage social cohesion and thereby demanding state administrative mechanisms to encourage social solidarity not by reference to rights-based responsibilities but by moral responsibilities. This paradigmatic understanding constitutes the other building-block of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty in contemporary era. The substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach which will be presented in the next section are obtaining its logical foundations in state-society relations from the philanthropic paradigm. Empowerment of moral values and civil-social responsibility in poverty alleviation which is expected to maintain the unity of society is one of the most critical dimensions of liberal-conservative approach to poverty.

In his insightful criticism of the transformation of “social policy” subordinated to the neo-liberal agenda, Metin Özüğurlu focuses on the shifting of the meaning of the “social” in the expression of “social policy”. According to the traditional social policy vision, the meaning of “social” is referring both to a sphere of political-legal rights of citizens vis-a-vis state and to a sphere decommodification processes (Özüğurlu 2003, 71-2). However, he points to the fact that since

the liberal-conservative assault has dominated social policy agenda in general and poverty alleviation in particular, the meaning of “social” loses its political-legal statue and thereby its meaning of decommodification of the reproductive spheres of working-classes (ibid.).

He, therefore, points to the contradiction of simultaneously keeping the traditional social sense of social policy field and the considerable transformation of social policy practices towards neoliberal prescriptions. In relation with this argument, for Özüğurlu social policy’s subordination to neoliberal agenda could be acceptable at least for conceptual consistency if the meaning of “social” is asserted to gain a sociological sense rather than its traditional political-legal status in contemporary era. Presumably, he implies the conformity of the classical sociological paradigm with neoliberalism in the sense that the analytical concepts and the problematic of classical sociological paradigm can easily be utilized to “governing of the social” in general and the poor in particular to fit for the

requirements of capital accumulation as it can be justified by Procacci's above-analysis.

3.3.3 Liberal-Conservative Approach to Poverty

Liberal-conservative approach to poverty is a complex synthesis of certain approaches which were criticized in previous sections. It is constituted by certain substantive principles which are recruited from neo-classical paradigm, philanthropic social understanding and a certain social scientific discourse. Philanthropic perspective and social scientific discourse emphasize the importance of the issue of moral duty and collective responsibility of society to implement an effective administration of the social in general and the poor in particular. In the light of this, liberal-conservative approach to poverty is influenced by these perspectives with respect to the empowerment of traditional-civil institutions for their collective responsibilities in poverty alleviation to maintain organic solidarity without referring to a citizenship contract between state authorities and society in terms of social rights and freedoms. Hence, what makes conservative tone of liberal-conservative approach a distinct perspective, which is worth examining with respect to paradigms of poverty, is its "commitment to an organic model of society and a respect for responsibilities, rights and liberties grounded not in abstract notions of contract, but in the traditions and moralities embedded in established institutions" (Pinker 2004, 79 quoted in Bademci 2007, 48).

While liberal-conservatism inherits from the neo-classical paradigm a respect to private property and anti-sympathy towards state intervention to market by egalitarian aims, they share a common approach in explaining poverty which is loaded with a moral language that might also necessitate a state intervention but with certain limitations. Thus, liberal-conservative paradigm is close to the explanation of poverty as the by-product of social causes and this is sometimes called a casualty approach to poverty (Townsend 1984, as quoted in Alcock 1984, 45). As Alcock mentions "the poor are the casualties of the market and their symptoms of suffering must be relieved by the state":

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

In light of this perspective of “deserving-poor” which necessitates a precise targeting and selectivism, liberal-conservative advocate Philippe Beneton’s suggestions of changing the vocabulary of social policy field towards a moral one is needed to be mentioned. This suggestion can be evaluated as a supporting framework in constructing selective policies of poverty relief. He states that:

This implies modifications in our use of vocabulary and a return to terms which express the moral signification of actions: laziness, courage, cheating, dignity, corruption, commitment. Today, such a vocabulary is immediately denounced as ‘stigmatizing’ certain individuals. But this external attitude of non-discrimination is counter-productive: concern for the well-being of others does not mean indifference to evil (Beneton 1998, 193).

Before presenting the main principles of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty, it is necessary to express the ideological problematic of liberal conservatism. The ideological problematic of liberal-conservatism is to find ways to sustain the social unity and solidarity when confronted with the disintegrative effects of capital accumulation and thereby to secure the conditions of profitable capital accumulation. Conferring from a metaphoric language, liberal-conservatism is forming a relatively compatible spirit² of the economic body of society which is dominated by cold market rationality after 1980s (Eren 2008). In such a climate, conservative political values and pure principles of capitalist market economy are synthesized to manufacture the symbolic and institutional form of regulatory practices to reproduce the secure conditions of capitalist accumulation mechanism. The concerning synthesis is also necessary to determine in what content and form contemporary conservatism is made up of because as Jessop remarks that conservatism has no distinct historical definition. Rather its

² This spirit-body metaphor is taken from the interview carried out with Assist. Prof Dr İpek Eren who is an academician in METU Political Science and Public Administration Department. She offers a course related with the transformations of welfare regimes and ideologies. In this context, we intend to take her views on the conservatism and welfare regimes.

content and form is determined differently in different social formations and in different phases of capitalist accumulation (Jessop 2009). It is then necessary to refer to particular historical conditions. In the given conditions of the flexible accumulation regime, the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty are as follows (Buğra 2008):

- Rejecting the discourse of social rights
- Belief in the negative role of generous state welfare provisions to promote idleness
- Belief in the negative role of state welfare provision to weaken familial responsibilities and thereby weakening familial bonds
- State welfare weaken the moral bond between the rich and the poor, and confronting them against each other
- Encouraging the role of philanthropic sentiments of the rich and attributing an important role to charity-based “civil” associations in poverty alleviation
- Encouraging the social responsibility of average citizens of society in poverty alleviation
- Fear of the poor’s destructive and militant actions against the established system
- Value voluntaristic practices in poverty alleviation
- Disconfirming the role of state bureaucracy in social policy
- Encouraging people to participate in market by creating market-incentives.
- Strict distinctions between deserving-non-deserving poor and thereby moralizing the issue of poverty.

The ideological problematic of liberal-conservatism is stated above as finding ways to sustain the social unity and solidarity when confronted with the disintegrative effects of capital accumulation. This problematic reflects an administrative vision from above which intends to neutralize the political nature of the social movements of poor people. Moreover, within the framework of this problematic to find the rights modes of assistance to the poor is also becoming important to find ways for the “efficient” use of public resources in poverty alleviation to secure the conditions of capital accumulation and the unity of society. In relation to this, the liberal-conservative advocate Philippe Beneton’s suggestions about the “right” modes of assistance to poor people are needed to be mentioned:

In terms of assistance, the key objective is the following: various forms that poverty takes must be identified so as to adapt assistance to the actual needs (moral and material). It is impossible to accomplish this aim through administrative or impersonal means... Thus aid should be as decentralized as possible and make significant use of services offered by volunteer organizations whose flexibility offers advantages that could never be provided by regulated forms of assistance (Beneton 1998, 193).

The emphasis on the decentralization of aids and the role of voluntary associations in social assistance is typical suggestions of the liberal-conservative approach which has a tendency to bypass the bureaucratic processes in social assistance and which attempts to determine deserving poors in social assistance process. As will be illustrated in the analysis section of this study, decentralization tendencies in social assistance and the emphasis on flexibility compared to the 'bureaucratic cumbersome' is identified even in SYDGM as a state institution responsible for poverty alleviation.

CHAPTER 4

ECONOMY, POLITICS AND WELFARE REGIME IN TURKEY IN POST-1980

In the general framework of this chapter, the changing political-economy and welfare regime of Turkey in the era beginning with 1980 is discussed. 1980 is a breaking point in terms of the major transformations of the economic, social and political structures so that a suitable mode of regulation is constructed to the requirement of the new regime of accumulation. In the light of this, in the first part new economic regulations and the new roles of state with respect to classes are explained. While presenting these explanations, both the international dynamics and their particular manifestations in the national setting are emphasized. In the second part, conservative-democratic ideology of Justice and Development Party (AKP) is introduced. This ideology is referring to a certain synthesis of conservatism with the neo-liberal economic practices and values. In the light of this ideology, AKP's plan for the reform of public administration is discussed. In the third part of this chapter, the class dynamics of poverty and the welfare regime of Turkey is presented and discussed. Statistical information based on Marxist class-based approach to poverty are being presented to show the class bases of poverty in Turkey in 2000s. In the final section of this part, the traditional welfare regime of Turkey and the changing conditions which makes the main constituents of this welfare regime non-functioning is discussed.

4.1 Turkey's Regime of Capital Accumulation

Some general features about accumulation regimes and regulatory institutions were explained in "regulation school" chapter. However, this explanation was restricted within the dynamics of the developed capitalist countries. The reason for the internationalization of the fordist accumulation regimes in developed

countries and its relation with the developing countries like Turkey is a significant issue. Depending on Turkey's peculiar circumstances, how the fordist accumulation regime might take shape is a different story which needs to be undertaken later. In this respect, the advancing capital accumulation regime, various class dynamics, the state's regulatory role, and the structural crisis in economy have their own specific dynamics in Turkey. In this first part, fundamental reasons of the internationalization of the fordist accumulation regime and its relations to the capital accumulation regime in Turkey will be discussed. Relating with this matter, the formation of the industrial bourgeoisie and the Turkish working-classes that accelerated in the 1960's and the structural crisis that the accumulation regime experienced in the 1970's in Turkey will be touched on. Finally, essential features of the new capital accumulation regime that flourished along with the crisis, class dynamics and the new regulatory role of the state will be addressed.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the intensive accumulation of capital and the deterioration of the conditions of valorization of the over-accumulated capital by these countries were the fundamental cause of the internationalization of productive capitals (Ercan 2002a, 23). This implies the determining conflicts of capital accumulation that forces individual capitalists to valorize their over-accumulated capital by either deepening the domestic market or geographical expansion. Ercan remarks this conflict in below statements:

Vast volume and upward production in the mainstream capitalist countries were able to balance with the demand-sided economic policies. However the economy was not capable of amassing excess accumulated capital which took place due to intensive accumulation. From that point on, what is important at first, in the mainstream capitalist countries' point of view was the need for marketing (or pitching) this capital, which was in the devalorization process and over-accumulated in the wake of this accumulation regime. Its own creation of the revalorization conditions of the capital in developed capitalist countries and its struggle against the tendency of declining rate of profit, led to develop the capitalist production relations gradually expand to a more extensive area.

This internationalization of capital displays harmony with the inward-oriented accumulation strategies in underdeveloped countries (Bina and Yaghmanian 1990

quoted in Ercan 2002a, 23). The policies which are inherent in an inward-oriented accumulation strategy were not a strategy as generally thought to prevent big international capitalists from making investments. As Çağlar Keyder stated:

Protectionism for internationalized production processes -brought out a convenient environment which provided an opportunity for monopolization in the domestic market. So, if what is important is freedom of investment rather than commercing, then protectionism was not an obstacle, on the contrary it was an incentive policy (Keyder 1984 quoted in Ercan 2002b).

In this sense we can say that inward-oriented capital accumulation strategies form the first phase of the internationalization of the production in developing countries like Turkey (Yaghmanian, 1990 quoted in Ercan 2002b).

The specific class background of inward-oriented accumulation consists of newly flourishing industrial bourgeoisie and international productive capital. The medium that prepares the essential frame for this alliance is the State (ibid.). The State has a crucial role that subsidizes the developing of the industrial bourgeoisie and also runs the mechanisms for transferring economic resources and making regulations. As Ercan pointed out in this context:

The public sector undertook producing the necessary infrastructure for procuring consumer goods and essential inputs. The public sector largely became an instrument which was used for transferring the resources to the private sector, and in this sense focused on producing intermediary goods: more over when these intermediary goods were used as inputs in the production process of the private sector, prices were kept low (ibid.).

Besides, one of the most important tools that the state uses to subsidize industrial bourgeoisie is to provide cheap financial resources to enable the private sector to expand their new or existing investment activities. The state tried to fulfill this by controlling credit rates and deposit rates within certain limits (ibid.). The state had more autonomic power at the directing of fiscal and monetary policy in this term, comparing the term after the year of 1980. Whereas at the end of 1980's, liberalization of capital accounts and the deregulation process caused it to change dramatically and to weaken the regulation mechanisms of the State on rates. One of the most crucial functions that the State was in charge of in the inward oriented

industrialization strategy was to protect certain domestic sectors, which they decided to support against the international dynamics. Another instrument of protectionism in those years was not to let exchange rate to be determined in the free market and but to follow a fixed exchange rate (ibid.). In addition to this, some significant restrictions in foreign trade formed an important component of the state's regulative role. In the field of foreign trade, the state largely forestalled the trading of domestic goods which are decided to be produced inside with the "bans", "volume limitations", "customs and other taxes" (ibid.).

There is important statistical data which proves that industrial bourgeoisie has made progress rapidly in 1960s and 1970s. With this aim, Ercan takes into account the share of industrial production within the total production of the country. In Turkey, while the share of the industrial production was 30% of the total production in 1962, this share with a stable increase, added up to 48% in 1967 and later 49% in 1972 and 63% in 1978. Yet there is other data relating to the industrial growth rate. When it is looked at the average industrial growth rate between the years of 1960-70 and 1970-80, Turkey achieved 7.8% and 9.5% growth rates respectively compared with the 7.6% and 7.2% growth rates of 58 countries at middle-income level.

The fact that the inward-oriented capital accumulation has increased with considerably high speed enabled capitalists to bring up their common interests. This development allowed control capabilities of the capitalists to move forward, and it took place in two ways (ibid.). First the industrial capital has gradually organized as holding (Big Corporations) form. Realizing that the capacity of the surplus-value production is within the productive capital investment, the capitalists put industrial capital, banking and trade together to increase investment capacity (Tekeli et al. 1982, quoted in Ercan 2002b).

Secondly, TÜSİAD (TIABA in English* Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association) has emerged as an organization that defends common economic-political interests of the big industrial bourgeoisie. The big capital

which had gained strength dependent on the capital accumulation process, obtained a facility to intervene in the political process through TÜSİAD (ibid.). For instance, some solutions and certain fundamental advices offered by TUSİAD as a response to the crisis of capital accumulation in 1970s were important examples which prove their effective role in the general political and economic orientation of this country. This matter will be touched on shortly.

The inward-oriented capital accumulation process gave rise to the formation of organized working-class particularly in western Anatolia in which productive investments aggregated against the rising industrial bourgeoisie. Development of the working class from 1950's is in fact related with the flourishing of the domestic market that has an importance in terms of inward-oriented capital accumulation (ibid.). The aforementioned accumulation regime evaluated the labour power as a demand factor rather than a cost factor. Therefore, relatively recovering of the working class's life conditions was a pre-condition of increasing of the consumption in the domestic market. Indeed the consumption of the working-class in the domestic market provides a condition for the expanded reproduction of capital. Ercan indicates the relatively improving conditions of the workers as follows:

Wages in the sectors, which import-substituted industrialization continues, generally have been over average industrial wages. Because productive capitalists are monopolistic in this sectors. These sectors where workers got relatively higher wages were the sectors where the rate of the syndication was the highest (ibid.).

To Çağlar Keyder, this development seems to be an aspect of the inward-oriented accumulation strategy. According to this strategy, a certain level of the freedom of association of the working-class is rational in terms of both economic and political system. By this way, the condition of the possibility of the formation of "social alliances" and thereby the formation and flourishing of domestic market is also provided. (Keyder 1987 quoted in Ercan 2002b) But in terms of class-centered critique, the inward-oriented capital accumulation strategy does not mean that "a social alliance" exists between productive capitalists, workers and the state, because on a larger scale, effective class struggles of the Turkish working-classes

were realized within these very years in Turkey (ibid.). In fact in 1973, the increment on the number of the organized workers went from 2,600,000 up to 3,800,000 in 1977. The increment on the number of the strikes went from 7 strikes in 1963 up to 227 strikes in 1980. While the number of the participants to the strikes was 1367 people in 1963, it increased to 36 thousand people in 1980 (ibid.). Before discussing the particular crisis type that is called forth by the capital accumulation regime in Turkey, it is necessary to emphasize another aspect of the development, which is peculiar to Turkey. This is the problem of agriculture which has not been capitalized at a sufficient rate. Ercan expresses this as follows:

The agriculture sector has always been protected by the State. Let alone the realizing of agriculture reform, agricultural inputs have been subsidized by the State. Therefore, the position of agricultural goods against the industrial goods and the terms of the internal trade have continued to improve in favor of agriculture and the resource transfer from agriculture to industry has not developed (Ercan 2002b).

According to Ercan, this situation is barely understood provided that domestic class dynamics are taken into consideration. Namely, from the Turkish Liberation War (Kurtuluş Savaşı) on, the existence of big land owners (Aghas) who had dominance and influence over the economic and political structure has been a very explicative and historical example (ibid.).

The inward-oriented capital accumulation regime that had become the dominant form in the developing countries experienced crisis in the 1970's. The increment of stock of capital on the durable and intermediary goods caused the rate of return on capital in these sectors to decline dramatically. From the years of 1960's in which inward-oriented capital accumulation developed intensively while the increase in value added rate with producer prices in industry was about 10%, it was realized 9.3% in 1976, 7% in 1977, 0. % in 1978 and -4.3% in 1979 (ibid.) What is more important at this point is that this crisis has peculiar and different characteristics than the fordist crisis that the developed capitalist countries experienced. Ercan explains this peculiar case as follows:

As capital accumulation proceeds, the capitalists wish to produce more surplus-value rather than commercial profits. For developing countries, the limiting factor here is the insufficiency of capital accumulation, which manifests itself in the form of *a crisis of foreign exchange*. The main reason for this is that the level of surplus-value produced is insufficient. On the other hand, the move to capital intensive goods by productive capitals with the purpose of overcoming this insufficiency will only aggravate the need for foreign currency. This will in turn increase the dependency of productive capital on international capital (Ercan 2002a, 24) (emphasis added).

As it is understood, this crisis forced the advanced productive capital within the country to go international markets in order to continue their accumulation and expansion. Indeed in the case of Turkey, such a necessity displayed itself during the Third-Five-Year-Plan of 1973-77.

There were two major orientations that proved decisive in this plan. These were, first, the orientation toward intermediate and investment goods and secondly, the extension of activities earning foreign exchange for the economy (Eralp 1981, quoted in Ercan 2002b).

TÜSİAD, who defends common economic-political interests of the big bourgeoisie, pointed out that it was an obligation to make a few intervenes in the Turkish economy and society about the crisis in 1979. Ailments of the Turkish Economy are counted in a TÜSİAD's news commentary that titled "Realist Way for Recovering", which was published in certain newspapers as a remedy for saving Turkey from the crisis.

These can be listed as low export level, insufficient energy supply, lack of foreign exchange, unemployment and inflation. It was pointed out that the main reason for these ailments was almost always excess intervention by the State and also the lack of support for private entrepreneurship both causing the liberal democracy to get weaker (Ercan 2002b).

TÜSİAD's warnings were taken into consideration by the Turkish Army, and new regulations were put into effect under the shadows of their guns (ibid.). This intervention with guns was mainly aimed at oppressing the organized labour and its unions. When taking into account the strikes of organized labour that climaxed in 1979 and the level of participation in these resistance rallies, it could easily put forward that the biggest obstacle against TÜSİAD's suggestions to be carried out was the working-classes.

As remembered in the section of Regulation School, the most elementary feature that contributes a structural difference to the flexible accumulation regimes was financial capital's activity, which provides a power of integration on a global scale. The process of attaching to the international capital initiated in the 1980's in fact was a process in which international capital started to pull the wires. The transformation necessary for the internationalization of Turkey after 1980 was realized on the basis of a triple alliance. The major actors of the alliance were:

- large scale capital, which had reached a certain hegemonic position, the continuity of which was unsustainable on the basis of the available conditions
- the state and political structures, which experienced a crisis of political representation and lost ground to the social opposition movements
- and the World Bank and IMF, the actors of market oriented restructuring on the world scale (Ercan 2002a, 25).

The actors in this alliance tried to play the part of their incumbencies on them on a transitory process which will evolve into a capital accumulation regime process. While capitalist groups engaged in an intense effort to legitimize the necessity of internationalization, the state set in motion the monopoly of violence it wielded in order to prevent the existing social opposition to the order. The World Bank and IMF, for their part, proposed economic policies necessary for establishing the new regime of accumulation (ibid.).

This process of transformation to a new regime of accumulation is shaped according to the logic of the strong state and the free market. The military coup reshaped the state so as to organize a state that was strong in its dealings with labour and the social opposition. The January 24 decisions, on the other hand, were instrumental in implementing the economic measures appropriate to the new requirements of big capital (ibid.). In the secure environment provided by the military regime, the Stand-By Agreement with the IMF covering the period 1980-83 and the agreements with the World Bank on the Structural Adjustment Loans that spanned the period 1980-84 were implemented easily without any opposition (Şenses 1994, quoted in Ercan 2002a, 25).

Some significant changes in the economic organization of the State took place in compliance with the new accumulation regime. Privatization moves were leading the way. The transfer of resources owned by the state in its capacity of an economic actor under the designation of “privatization” is an important step with regards to changing roles of state in economic life. At another level, the State has effected changes aimed to augment the mobility of commodities and money in the international sphere. The most important measure implemented after the January 24 decisions was the liberation of interest rates repressed under the inwards-oriented capital accumulation regime. Another important form of intervention of the state relates to a series of arrangements concerning the foreign trade and foreign exchange regimes. On the basis of the January 24 decisions, an Export Promotion and Implementation Department was established. It was decided that an Export Promotion Certificate was to be given to exporters. An export promotion fund was set up to hand out export promotion credit (Ercan 2002a, 27).

Capital-labour relations took new shapes in the new outward-oriented capital accumulation regime. Inasmuch as international competition assumed growing importance for capital tending to become internationalized, the contradiction between the working class and capital was intensified (ibid.). Against the background of the weakening of the organized struggle of the working class by the 1980 military coup, one also observes a considerable shift in the forms of labour employment (ibid.).

- The promotion of measures designed to make workers in large scale production units work in a more intensive fashion.
- The multiplication and diversification of the forms of production based on sub-contracting that make the use of cheap and marginalized labor possible (ibid, 28).

Scholars showed us in some studies about mass production types, that two types of applications above could be put into effect at the same time (Erten, Ercan and Erendil 1999 quoted in Ercan 2002a, 28). On the other hand, parallel in particular to the growing salience of the real hegemony of capitalism, big capitalist groups started to make use to their own ends of small and medium enterprises on the

basis of market relations. Micro and small enterprises, which came to be reshaped in the process of integration with world capitalism, have been the source of the development of informal relations within the economy (Köse and Öncü 1998 quoted in Ercan 2002a, 28) The fact that the informal economy area had a fairly high rate in this countries was stated in the part of which Southern Europe welfare regimes were mentioned about. In addition to this, it has to be indicated that in fact there is an institutional relationship between a country's "formal" economy and its informal economy. Some relations that big firms established at the informal level in accordance with their strategies make living conditions of the working class harder and undermine their capacity for organizing. Moreover the process of informalization, leading to the diversification of the labour force into women's and child labour, implies cheap and unorganized labor for capital (ibid.).

4.2 Liberal-Conservatism and the Justice and Development Party (AKP)

The Justice and Development Party (AKP in Turkish) adopted a "conservative democrat" approach in whose center there is a neo-liberal market ideology. The first clue to the pro-radical market politics of AKP was exposed in the party program. The aim of establishing a market society was mentioned within its program. Indicating the target for market society, Ahmet İnsel discusses this concept. His definition of the concept goes as follows:

The market society means that the rules of activities exclusive to a market economy dominate every sphere of society and also means that to hand over all layers of human life to the logic and dynamics of the economy. In this context, the main axis of the AKP program is to create a market economy dynamic which leaves capital accumulation in Turkey out of State's hands and to weaken state patronage in Turkish economic life (İnsel 2004, 21).

.The AKP proclaims its political identity as "conservative democracy". This "conservative democracy" approach according to party ideologues separates itself with definite lines from "reactionary conservatism". For example Yalçın Akdoğan, one of the political advisors to the AKP introduces the conservative stance with these definitions by referring to the Islamic movement:

Political Islam can be defined as an apprehension which finds the solution in the state, seeks for the change in the power's ability and its effective instruments, and envisages an Islamization from the top to down. And its total tendencies based on a view of official religion are dominating. Whereas conservatism against this apprehension is the other approach which does not like rigid utopia, it thus can display historical differences (Akdoğan 2004, 92).

New-conservative apprehension is defined as a stance which is ready to renew itself (ibid.). This apprehension appropriates “democracy, free market economy and individual freedoms” (Akdoğan 2004, 30). However freedom and democracy are adopted within the borders of a liberal market economy. There is a close relationship between AKP's market society target and its conservative democrat apprehension. In the booklet titled *Conservative Democracy*, Yalçın Akdoğan after reminding us that conservatism does not have peculiar economy-politics of itself, indicates the intimate relationship between economic apprehensions of new conservatism and liberalism (İnsel 2004, 22).

Assuming that conservatism does have an economy-politic in an absolute sense is wrong. Conservatism requires a formation which can protect and reproduce certain values. Depending on how the conjuncture and social conditions predict an organizational model which binds the community together, the conservatism keeps standing close it. Therefore it has been observed that some conservatives favor a free market, some don't (Akdoğan 2004).

Notwithstanding, Yalçın Akdoğan emphasizes that new conservatism largely is on good terms with the values of market economy. As mentioned in the section on impoverishment, the imagination of the neo-liberal market principles and conservatism about state-society relations are always within a strained affair (Jessop 2009). In fact, this straining affair is expressed by AKP ideolog below

While new conservatism defends the free market and expanding the sphere of freedom in economic relations, it recommends restoring government authority in social life. However this restoration should not be done as to take in the social sphere in favor of public administration. The State's protective approach oriented to some segments and its mission for socialization should not impair the natural flow of social life and atmosphere of freedom of NGOs (Akdoğan 2004).

New conservatives take a position against the intervention by that State in economic and social fields with a public perspective. This position also sheds light upon the AKP's principles relating to the State's roles.

AKP advocates a state that is downsized to its essential functions while remaining effective. It is not a State which distributes annuities but a State which regulates, supervises, creates opportunity and guides is for a necessity in terms of the dominant understanding of the 21 Century. In an economy, the base role of the State is to provide the conditions for free competition and to remove the obstacles in front of entrepreneurs' power (Akdoğan 2004).

Some features of post-fordist regulation institutions were addressed above (Hirsch 1991, 77). A public administration understanding, which is much less dependent on central bureaucratic structures was one of these. Instead of this, a complex and decentralized collaborative model improved between the state-society and state-market relations. AKP's public administration reform is a reform attempt which bears these features. In this context, it is aimed at restructuring the state on the basis of constructing a democratic market society. Restructuring of the state has been attempted in the light of a new understanding of public administration under which certain cooperative relationships with civil society and the private sector were improved.

Privatizations must be accelerated by virtue of the downsized state. Whereas the effectiveness of the state in light of the productivity, transparency and principles of participation in public administration must be come true through restructuring. Thus, a new understanding of governance which is based on dialog and cooperation must be put into effect. The new understanding of governance must take shape on a trilogy consisting of *privatization, empowering civil society and localization* (Türk 2004, 75-6) (emphasis added).

Due to the widespread belief in the poor quality and low productivity of government services, services currently provided by the State must be handed over to the private sector. Some services with nontransferable characteristics must be planned to buy in the market. Fields left in Public hands must adopt flexibilization; certain approaches advanced in private sector must be applied in

the public sector too. In the context of the relations between the state and society, the target of restructuring is expressed in below:

This indicates a formation which respects the market, and spares wider field to NGOs who uses market instruments, based on “performance and quality focused” flat organization, and transfer of authority, competitive and perceives the citizen as target audience and the customer (Restructuring in Public administration 1, 2003:23-31) (ibid., 76).

State’s recent customer-citizen centered formation requires a massive localization program be adopted. Localization program may be a useful preference in order to enable State services to be provided more effectively. But, recalling the development of decentralized corporative structures (Hirsch 1991, 77) as a characteristic of the post-fordist mode of regulation, it might be asserted that pro-capital NGOs will be outweighed in the local participation process. Moreover customer-citizen centered formation takes public activities out of imagination of modern politics, transforming it into company politics. In this respect Ahmet İnel focuses on the stress of localization in the process of restructuring. AKP’s target of localization in the reform of public administration also targets to encourage local authorities who escaped from political-institutional stress and close inspection by the central bureaucracy (İnel 2004, 26).

As a final statement, it can be stressed that AKP’s public administration reform targets can be considered as the most systematic and convenient sample of a political mode of regulation which comply with flexible accumulation regimes in Turkey’s current conditions. As a matter of fact, in the analysis chapter of this study, certain features of the prevalent understanding of the aforementioned public administration reform will be analysed in the discourse of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association.

4.3 Welfare Regime and Approach to Poverty Alleviation

In the chapter on “poverty” of this study, a criticism of poverty conceptualizations based on capitalist production relations was presented to understand the logical foundations of the components of liberal-conservative approach to poverty.

Ahmet Haşim Köse and Serdal Bahçe undertake a class conceptualization in line with the previously presented Marxian theoretical perspective of capitalist production relations. Based on this, they create diagrams and charts which illustrate the class character of poverty in Turkey in 2000s. They use two criteria to reveal the class structure of a country developing in line with a Marxist perspective. These criteria are property ownership and agriculture/non-agriculture activities. The diagram below was created based on these criteria:

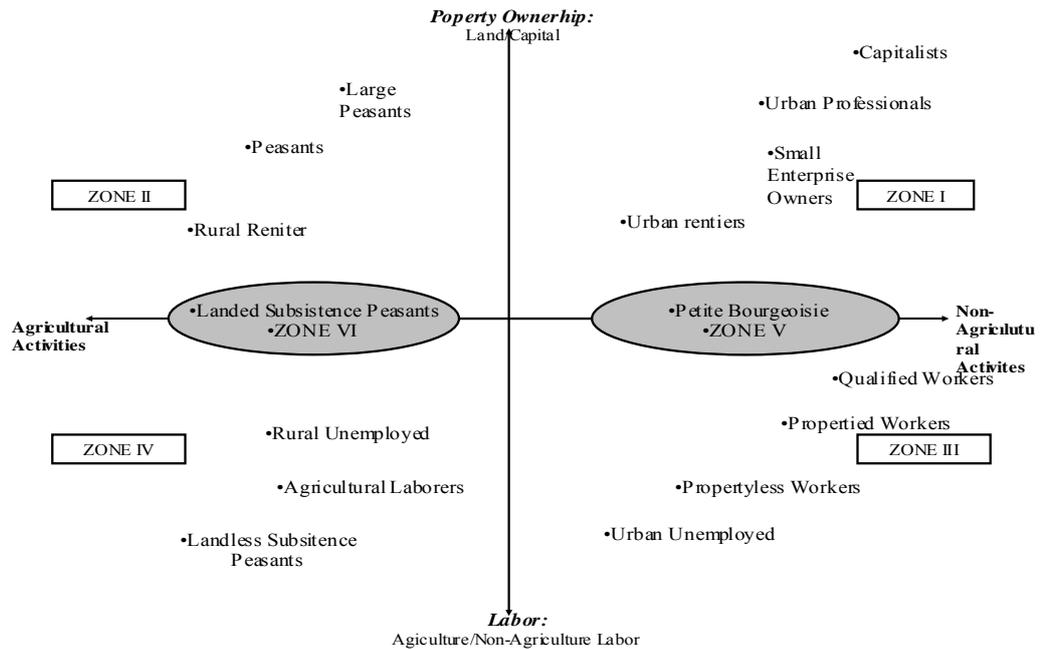


Figure 4: Class Structure of a Developing Capitalist Economy³
(Köse and Bahçe 2009a)

In the study made by Haşim and Köse, the findings of Household Budget Survey were related with classes and layers within classes mentioned in the diagram

³The most ideal one of the proletariat is, without doubt, *propertyless workers*. These are the ones who do not have anything but their labor to lead their lives. This ideal type of urban proletariat is followed by *propertied workers and qualified workers*. Urban propertied classes outside the paid labor consist of capitalists, those who get rental revenues from properties and unearned income, and small enterprise owners. Urban professionals like a doctor or an architect are included as well. The propertied classes in agriculture are divided into three categories: *large peasants, peasants and landed subsistence peasants*. The last category includes those agricultural households who work on their own land with their own labor but they can reproduce only themselves. The rural proletariat consists of agricultural labourers, landless peasants and rural unemployed. The groups including retired people, widows, orphans and unemployed people are categorized as the groups outside the labor process (Köse and Bahçe 2009b).

above. In this way, various charts were created in relation to the class character of poverty. Four of these charts are used in this thesis study. In Figure 3 below, top 20 % and bottom 20 % of household income segments are given. Then in what proportion the households from different layers of classes are located in these segments are displayed. As you can see, when you go from propertied classes to labouring classes, the income segments these classes are located in change asymmetrically (ibid.). The top 20 % of household income includes bourgeoisie, qualified labourers and urban professionals, who are located in the top segment of propertied classes.

Top 20 % and Bottom 20%, 2006

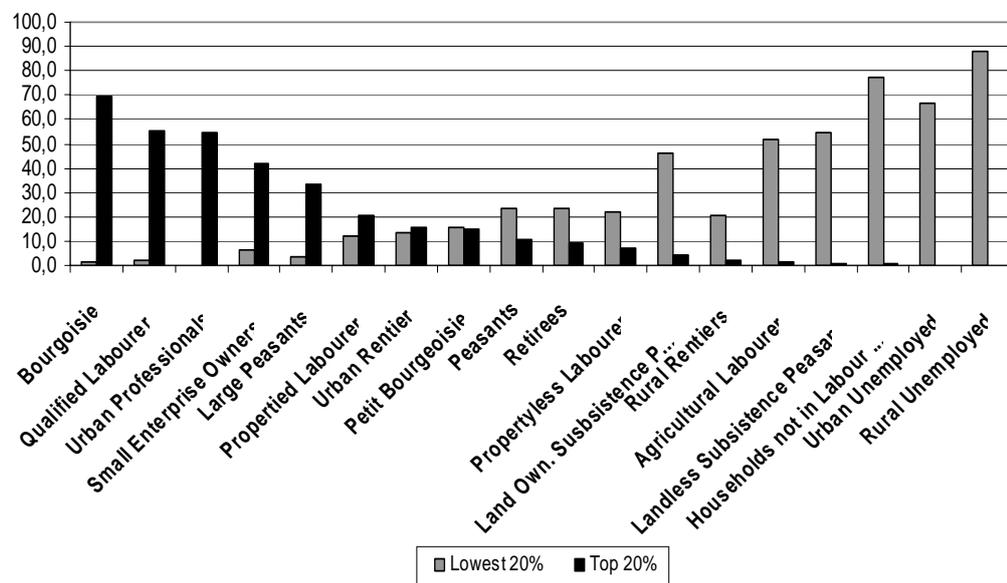


Figure 5: Top %20 and Bottom %20, 2006
(ibid.)

The bottom 20% of household income includes urban-rural unemployed and those outside the labour process such as widows, orphans and retired people. Also besides these, it includes landless rural workers and landless subsistence peasants. With this diagram, Haşim and Bahçe have displayed the systematic relations between the income segments representing social classes and disproportional

change of income. In this way, it is possible to see that poverty based on income has intensified in different stratum of working classes.

In the definitions by the World Bank, the poverty limit was set 2,15 \$/a day with purchasing power parity. There is a diagram below displaying the class character of income groups below poverty limit between 2002 and 2006. According to this diagram, the classes which have the highest rates of households living below poverty limit are rural workers and subsistence peasants. They are followed by urban workers. The percentage of those living below poverty limit in the group of rural workers changes between 25 % and 30 %. This percentage for urban workers is about 5 %. If it is looked carefully, the average percentage of 5 % for those living below absolute poverty limit in general is five or six times higher for propertyless rural workers and subsistence peasants.

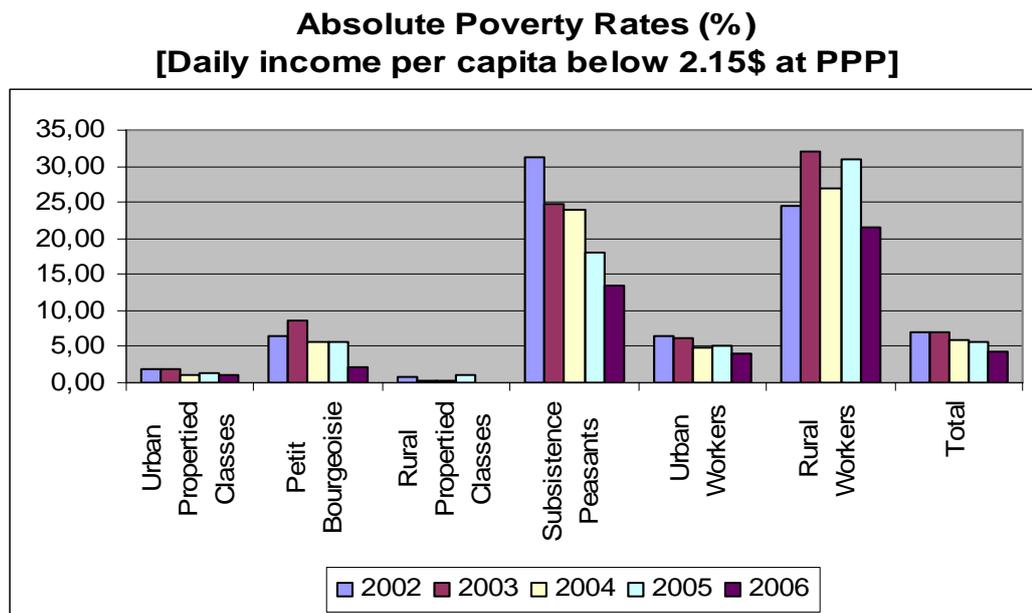


Figure 6: absolute poverty rates

(ibid.)

It is doubtless that the rates above will rise if they are reorganised according to relative definition of poverty. Ahmet Haşim Köse and Serdal Bahçe set the relative poverty scale as “daily income below %50 of median income”. As it is

expected, the relative poverty rate stated to be around 17-18 % in general reaches 50-60 % for rural workers and subsistence peasants. This rate reaches 20 % for urban workers.

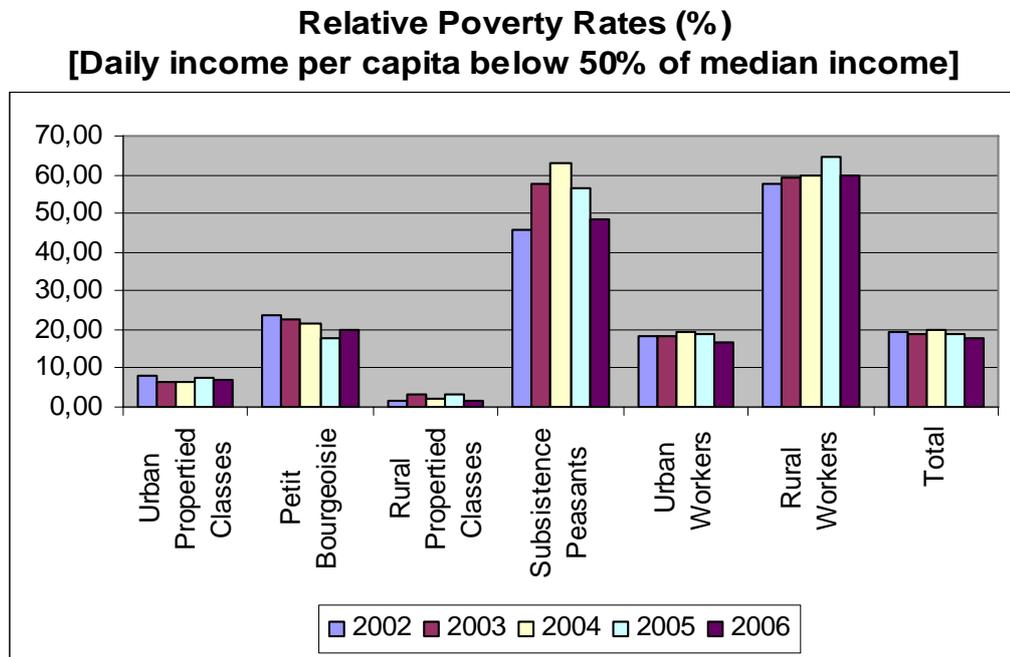


Figure 7: Relative Poverty Rates
 (ibid.)

The social meaning of poverty becomes more prominent when those living below hunger and poverty limits set as 1 \$ and 2, 15 \$ by the World Bank are distributed according to their class identity (Köse and Bahçe 2009b, 411). In other words, the question can be reformulated in this way: Which class stratum do the poor and hungry people living below the incomes of 1 \$ and 2, 15 \$ a day consists of? In the light of this question Köse and Bahçe presents the chart below.

This chart displays the class structure of poverty basing it on the average of 2002-2004 tendencies. A very high percentage like at least 85 % of the households living below hunger and poverty limits consists of Peasants, Urban-Rural Proletariat and Petty Bourgeoisie no matter if it is analysed according to “income per capital” or “expenditure per capital”.

	Income Per Capita		Expenditure Per Capita	
	1\$	2,15\$	1\$	2,15\$
Subsistence Peasants	28,8	30,1	16,1	27,3
Urban Prolateriat	38,5	39,0	26,6	33,2
Rural Prolateriat	25,7	18,0	39,7	18,7
Petty Bourgeoise	3,4	6,4	11,1	7,2
Toplam	96,4	93,5	93,5	86,4

Figure 8: Class Structure of Poverty, 2002-2004 Average Tendencies

93 % of those living below the hunger limit consist of urban-rural proletariat and subsistence peasants. This rate for poverty limit is 87 %. As it is seen, the contribution of petty bourgeoisie to these rates is very low. These indexes alone are an answer to the question of social identity of the poor. It is inferred from the chart that the social identity of the poor is their proletariat identity.

Poverty Dynamics and Turkey's Welfare Regime

After presenting the social class identity of poverty in turkey in the years of 2000s by making use of Haşim and Bahçe's statistical tables, it is now necessary to present the dynamics of poverty and welfare regime in turkey. In this context, this section is divided into three parts. The first part is a brief presentation of historical characteristics of Turkish welfare regime starting from the Ottoman period till the 1980s. To do this, Nadir Özbek's narration is extensively made use of. In the second part, Turkish welfare regime is discussed with reference to a southern welfare typology. More importantly, in this part transformations in the employment structure, urbanization dynamics and migration processes after 1980s is put under focus to explain the changing dynamics of welfare regime and poverty. In the last part, most recent developments and reform attempts of AKP in welfare regime structure is going to be discussed with respect to the certain features of liberal-conservative ideology.

In order to explain the transformation of the welfare regime in Ottoman-Turkish history, Nadir Özbek adopts a certain perspective in which the formation of the “nation state” and a “social sphere” to be governed by this state are seen as a historical construction. Furthermore, the intervention of state to the social sphere is viewed as a governing of the social by Özbek which includes not only positive dimensions but also some negative dimensions.

In the historical conditions when the capacity of the intervention of state to the social sphere is limited, solidarity mechanisms such as family/kinship relations, neighborhood, guild mechanisms are complementing the roles of the state. Besides these intermediary protective institutions, political elites in Ottoman state attempt to organize certain institutional mechanisms to protect poor people in the political centers of the Ottoman period. In the light of this argument, in the classical period of Ottoman empire certain political centers such as Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul and certain sacred cities such as Hicaz, Kudüs become the centers of protective associations which are generally supported by the revenues of charitable foundations (Vakıf) and established by the central and local political elites of the empire. Especially certain institutions such as imarethane and külliye are having a relative importance in the provision of certain health and education services (Özbek 2002, 10). On the other hand, researchers of Ottoman history indicate that the roles of these charitable foundations in social assistance are so exaggerated. In relation to this, Ömer Lütfi Barkan specifically analyses the accounting books of imarethane and found out that social assistance expenditures compared to the other expenditures of these institutions are so limited. As a result of these findings, Özbek concludes that family/kinship and neighbourhood solidarity are the dominant solidarity mechanisms in the classical period of Ottoman Empire (ibid.).

19th century Ottoman history witnessed the gradual formation of the social sphere and the necessity of state intervention to this sphere with a certain bureaucratic capacity. As previously discussed in poverty chapter with reference to Procacci, the formation of the social sphere and the problem of state intervention likewise

appeared in European history in the context of the rising working-class political movements in 1848 revolutions. However, in the ottoman scene this is not experienced through the rising capital-labor conflict but through the developments in commercial relations and thereby the certain degree of the articulation of ottoman production structure to international process of capital accumulation. As a result of this articulation, ottoman state gradually takes responsibility to increase the productive capacity of its population while it also opens itself to the cyclical crisis of capitalism which overall necessitates specific types of state intervention to the society. In this context, the reforms of the second Abdülhamit period (1876-1908) are taken to be a significant example. The reach of education facilities and institutions to the far cities and regions of Ottoman Empire and the opening of state hospitals in many cities are important initiatives of state towards the social sphere. But it is also noted that the welfare system in this period is not expressing a secular and rational-bureaucratic mode of operation but a paternalistic and monarchic one (ibid.16).

As it is stated above, the intervention of state does not only express a positive dimension. This intervention processes includes social disciplinary actions and moral repression and regulation elements as well. In the light of this, second constitutionalist period witnesses the enactment of some specific laws on “vagabondage”. Özbek points to the fact that parliamentary discussions on this issue display that “vagabondage” is treated not as a criminal issue but as a social problem which entails the cooperation of police organization and the courts to discipline these segments of society to fit for the needs of industrial working life (ibid.17-8).

In the republican period, the main ideology which characterizes the mode of government is corporatist solidarism developed by Ziya Gökalp -a prominent ideologue of the pre-republican period. This ideology has a dual expression in terms of state-society relations. That is to say, corporatist solidarity entails both the increasing positive contributions of state to the welfare system of society and the subordination of individual and the social sphere under the state’s moral

ideological apparatuses. Moreover, the ideological repression of corporatist solidarity understanding on the class politics in Turkey in the first phase of the Republican period deserves to be noted. Accordingly, in the single-party period the education, protection and refinement of children, the conservation of family values, and some health provisions come to the foreground rather than the social policies based on class related issues. Child Care Organization (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu)(ÇEK) and Red Crescent Institution (Kızılay) start to take important roles in social assistance in this period (ibid.19). However, as the urbanization and industrialization processes gain their momentum through 1930s and 1940s, class related issues take a forth step to determine the logic and agenda of state intervention to the social sphere. In the light of class related issues, welfare system in Turkey between 1945 and 1980 are increasingly shaped according to the class and working-life centered problems in contrast to the weaknesses of class debates under the corporatist ideology of first phases of republican period. In particular, the formation and development of social security system takes place through 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, the agricultural supports of state are significant for the large sections of society. Almost all kinds of state intervention to the social sphere in 1960s and 1970s are intending to control the social problems arising from the class conflicts in industrialization process (ibid.21).

In the period beginning with 1980s, the most noticeable aspect of the welfare system in turkey is the state's tendency to promote social solidarity and thereby to transfer its responsibility in social assistance to the society in general. But at the same time the state increases its social assistance expenditures through certain institutions such as SYDGM, Social Services and Child Care Organization (Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu)(SHÇEK) and the municipalities. In this same period, while the retrenchment of the state welfare expenditures in national scale takes place, there also exists an increase in expenditures on poverty. But Özbek identifies a significant qualitative point in the observable increase of the social assistance expenditures. He states that

The phenomenon of poverty is increasingly taken as if the problems of poors are particular case studies and disconnected from the systemic

problems. It should further be noted that state social expenditures on poverty and social assistance projects are increasingly becoming instruments of a certain administrative vision of the poverty problem (ibid.25).

Özbek is right to assert in a critical tone the administrative vision of poverty which will also be identified in this study and further analysed in the analysis section of this study.

Concerning the typology of Turkish welfare regime, it is usually evaluated within southern European welfare regime type. At the expense of restating, major characteristics of southern European welfare regime are cited from Buğra and Keyder

- A labour market structure in which employment provided by small employers, self employment, and unpaid family workers is very important;
- The large incidence of undocumented economic activity and unrecorded employment;
- A social security system with corporatist tendencies, constituting a fragmented system in which social rights are unequally distributed and universal health insurance is absent;
- The limited role of the state within the formal social security system; in contrast to this, the state playing a large role in the income opportunities of the individual through particularist mechanisms in which patronage relations play a large role;
- Almost complete absence of social policies aimed at combating poverty and exclusion (other than those linked to unemployment), related to this,
- The importance of the family, local government, and religious or non-religious institutions in promoting the welfare of individual and helping individuals to deal with risk situations (2003:13).

As indicated above as a characteristic of southern European welfare regime, the traditional welfare regime in Turkey as well is structured for the most part around family. The volume of family/kin transfers is larger than welfare state provisions and this is a significant dimension in the definition of poverty and the poor in Turkey (Kalaycıoğlu 2006, 227). In a study conducted by Helga Rittersberger and Sibel Kalaycıoğlu (2000) on the intergenerational solidarity networks within migrant families in Turkey, they arrive at important conclusions related with the importance of family in Turkish welfare system. A ‘family pool’ which is constituted from economic, social and cultural resources is identified to be highly

functional in the survival strategies of households. This fact also has a determining effect on the public welfare policies in the sense that “a certain kind of private insurance provided by intergenerational solidarity within families relieves pressure on the public welfare institutions” (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger 2000, 540). But a very important defect of this system is indicated by the same researchers in that “the solidarity that characterizes most families leaves only a little space for individuals to gain in self-reliance and to make independent personal decisions on economic, personal and cultural issues” (ibid.). In parallel with this, Kalaycıoğlu indicates that the dependence on such family networks is an indicator of relative poverty even though it protects the individual from falling into absolute poverty (Kalaycıoğlu 2006, 235). Another point related with family-centeredness of the welfare regime is the organizational principle of the social security system. That is to say, apart from other aspects social security system is organized around the family principle in the sense that a single member of a family who is covered by the social security system can provide for the other members of his family to benefit from this system as well. This is exemplifying the familialistic tendency of Turkish social security system which promotes a dependence on family rather than individual independence.

Fragmented and unequal structure of the social security system is another important aspect of the traditional welfare regime of Turkey (Bademci 2007, 79). The coexistence of institutions such as Emekli Sandığı (Retirement Fund for Civil Servants), SSK (Social Insurance Institution) covering the workers and Bağ-Kur (Social Security Institutions for Trades and Artisans and Other who work independently) covering the people who work independently shows the fragmented character of the security. With the social security reform made in the period of AKP all these institutions were united under one roof. However, this union of security institutions was not an attempt to remove the existent status-based differential system which is going to be discussed in the last part of this section. This system, which combines the management of both retirement and health insurance, leads to extreme inequalities whereby both pensions and access

to medical care reflect differences in job status (Buğra and Keyder 2003, 17). More importantly,

the structuring of social security system on the basis of working in formal sector rather than on the basis of citizenship has left a very wide segment of the society who are unemployed or incapable of selling their labour and who are employed in the informal sector out of the social security system in Turkey where the informal economy plays an important role with its share of economy approximately 40 percent (Bademci 2007, 79).

Another essential aspect of Turkey's traditional welfare regime is that the proportion of people who are self-employed or are unpaid family workers is higher than the proportion of people working on wages. The share of agriculture in the distribution of employment in Turkey exceeds 40 percent (Buğra 2006, 31). Thus, the dominance of family labour and small peasantry has kept to a minimum the already limited commodification of the labour in agriculture. In this sense, the prevalence of small-scale production and as a result of this the phenomenon of weak *proletarianization* in southern European welfare regimes can be seen to be valid for Turkey, as well. Related to the phenomenon of weak proletarianization, the relations maintained with their villages by the migrants from rural to urban are another important aspect of traditional welfare regime.

the large looming of agriculture has prevented the complete break-aways of the rural-to-urban migrants, and working in the villages in summer and the in-kind income supports coming from the villages have played important roles to overcome the poverty encountered in the cities. This situation can also be expressed as "having one foot in the village (ibid, 79-80).

While defining the traditional welfare regime of Turkey, it is necessary to mention about the phenomenon of squatter-houses as the last point. Building squatter houses is an issue which is internally related with the rural-to-urban migration beginning in the 1950s. The type of migration beginning in this period was characterized as a "chain-migration" for individual families. What is meant by this is explained by Kalaycıoğlu in the followings:

Decision to migrate used to be made within the family. Firstly, usually a male member of the family migrated to city and stayed temporarily in the houses of his/her relatives or village-mates in the outskirts of the city, and the first demand of migrants were for shelter. The need for shelter was met

in the same areas where the relatives or village-mates reside and informal squatter houses -gecekondu- were built cooperatively by the migrants themselves, and this kind of housing became very common in the outskirts of especially metropolitan cities (Kalaycıoğlu 2006, 228).

Intentionally overlooking the construction of squatter houses in the 1960s and 1970s, the state avoided the responsibility of social housing policy (Buğra 2008). The families who migrated to the city benefited from the mechanism of squatter houses considerably as way of abstaining from poverty.

The changes which are experienced after 1980s in the accumulation regime and political mode of regulation explained above led to significant effects on the area of social policy and traditional welfare regime of turkey. The structural adjustment programmes offered by the World Bank and IMF led to the increasing poverty of lower classes in real terms and a rise in social inequality in 1980s. However, extensive economic liberalization prescribed by these programmes causes a more than a quantitative change in the rising social inequality. The dynamics of poverty is gradually changing by the social and economic implications of these programmes on the traditional welfare regime of turkey. Keyder identifies several spheres in which serious structural transformation are experienced in 1990s which causes to a significant change both in poverty dynamics and traditional welfare regime of turkey.

These changes derive from the structural transformation of the market for labor, new pressures on and demands from the land market, and shifts in the patterns of migration and in the profile of the immigrants (Keyder 2005, 128).

Changing dynamics of poverty and changing traditional welfare regime can be explained by further analysis of these structural transformations which are going to be presented in the course of explanations.

Since 2000 there have been debates related to ‘new poverty’ in literature. The general problem inferred from these debates is expressed by Bademci in below:

“New poverty” has resulted from a process of transformation in which certain mechanisms in the welfare regime and coping strategies of the poor that enable them to integrate into urban community by rendering poverty a temporary, short-term circumstance started to dismantle. As a consequence, poverty began to take a new, long term, perhaps life-long, “non-transferable” character, which prevent the poor from integration into society (Bademci 2007, 81).

As recently stated above, it is necessary to explain the structural transformations of the labor market, urban land politics and the migration dynamics to understand the reasons behind the possibility of the emergence of new poverty. Concerning the structural transformation of the urban land politics, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu’s (2001) identifications are needed to be visited to understand the relationships between the changing urban land politics and power relations with dynamics of poverty. According to their analysis, the political economy of urban space is extensively changed beginning with the 1980s. This change is most clearly observed by the increasing interest of the big capital on the urban rents and thereby the deterioration of the traditional class compromise on the distribution of the urban rents among the social classes. As the urban rents become the source of value in new capital accumulation process, a struggle over the urban space is warming up (ibid., 36). Keyder calls this same process as the new commodification of land and he likewise points to the collapse of the traditional system of land occupation and housing construction which especially provides the poor migrants a mechanism of incorporation to the urban community (Keyder 2005, 130). What this process of new commodification meant for the lower-classes is that they are increasingly forced to struggle to seize their share from these urban rents in order to survive in the given conditions. In these conditions a particular survival strategy of lower classes which is described by the concept of “transferable poverty” is identified by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu. What they mean by transferable poverty is explained in below

Transferable poverty is a specific type of network relations in which early-comer migrant groups and some privileged segments of the urban city are prospering over the late-comer migrant groups and some unprivileged segments of the city. In other words these network relations give opportunities to the former groups to transfer their poverty to the latter groups. In this sense, transferable poverty refers to a specific type of *uneven*

power relations established within the informal segments of urban city dwellers which provides opportunities for propering over each other (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık 2001, 37).

According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, the phenomenon of ‘transferable poverty’ is identified as a particular mechanism that precludes the formation of ‘new poverty’ against the threat of new commodification of urban land after 1980s. However, building upon their empirical analysis in İstanbul they arrive at a significant conclusion for the future prospects of poverty depending on the fact that this particular mechanism of transferable poverty comes closer to its end in the beginning of 2000s. They assert that in order to keeps the transferable poverty process going on, the market for urban land should enlarge continuously. This process also entails the establishment of new network relations and new urban lands to be open for private appropriation. However, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu finds out that the rate of migration to big cities considerably fall down, and the new urban lands to be appropriated is closer to exhaust its limit. Thus, these factual findings open the way for the emergence of new poverty in the future prospect of İstanbul (ibid., 43).

Concerning the relation of the structural transformation of the labour market and the industrial structure with the new poverty dynamics, Keyder (2005) identifies important characteristics of the new era in turkey by focusing on İstanbul which is a candidate to become a global city. These characteristics are identified fundamentally as the relative decline of formal sector in the economy and the de-industrialization of the urban economy. These two fundamental processes are also internally related with each other. Concerning the former characteristics, the relative decline of formal economy is mainly related with the considerable decline of public investments which are regarded as the best option for the formal employment. Especially the fiscal discipline adopted by the governments to implement the neoliberal structural adjutment programs causes the decline in public investments and thereby the relative decline of the formal sector in the economy. Concerning the latter fundamental characteristic, the de-industrialization of the urban economy is bringing the enlargement of the service

sector and the expulsion of the manufacturing sector from the urban centers. In particular the enlargement of the service sector generates some important problems. One of them is related with the the low capacity of service sector to absorb the large unemployed population of the society. It is identified that the growth rates of service sector can not create a sufficient momentum to absorb the level of unemployment. In relation to this, it is identified that there is a structural mismatch between the kinds of employment created in some parts of the service sector in globalized cities as in İstanbul and the skills and cultural capitals of new immigrants. Moreover, service sector employment is mostly casual, short-term and contracted jobs which can not provide a regular employment for the new migrants of the cities. The unskilled labor is increasingly employed in volatile and low-wage sectors such as construction, textile and apparel industries. Furthermore, these industrial sectors are highly sensitive to the global competition and in particular textile sector can easily switch between factories, workshops, subcontracting and homework. Hence, it fulfills none of the requirements of stable, formal wage employment (ibid., 129). Overall, it can be stated that the scene of labor market and industrial structure becomes highly unfavourable for unemployed people in the last decades in the sense that it either forces lower classes to work in informal, unsecure jobs or obliged them to long-term structural unemployment.

In the light of Keyder's identifications, it is necessary to refer to a project conducted by Buğra and Keyder (2008) in which the employment structure and the income sources of the poorest segments of population is analysed. This project attempts to understand the mode of relations of the poors with the labour market, and thereby the structure of their income sources from either their labor-process or other kinds of transfers. İstanbul and eight cities (Erzurum, Lüleburgaz, Konya, Mersin, Muş, Salihli, Samsun, Zile) are selected as the field of this research which are determined according to certain quantitative and qualitative criteria. They arrive at important conclusions about the income sources and survival strategies of the poorest segments of these cities. They stress that the causes of poverty are rooted more in the features of the jobs poors are employed than the

unemployment. These jobs which deprive poors from any social security system are generally located in informal sector such as working in other's houses, working as an itinerant, working in agriculture even living in the city. Therefore, researchers conclude that policies targetting to struggle with poverty should focus on creating qualified, regular and secure jobs and training people to make them fit for these jobs instead of providing merely employment without taking into account its certain features (ibid., 27). Another important finding is that the transfer incomes are important constituents of the incomes of poor households. In this sense public tranfers have a considerable priority over the other sources of transfers coming from close relatives, land propey or rents. Furthermore, working conditions in informal sector which bring uncertainty and irregularity for poor households make impossible for them to accumulate savings for future times (ibid.). Women's position also deserves to note among the findings of this study. It is stressed by researchers that cultural conservatism is considerably strong that apart from economic and biological factors women are culturally prevented from participation into labour force especially in Konya, Erzurum, and Muş.

Concering the structural tranformation of the migration dynamics to understand the reasons behind the possibility of the emergence of new poverty, it is necessary to mention about the forced migration of the particular case of kurdish villagers. They are forced to leave their villages as a result of the clashes between the state and PKK in the 1990s. Compared to the migrations in the past, these are called "forced migration". The absence of mechanisms to make migrant kurdish families integrated with the system leads us to think that ethnic dimension of the new poverty is a serious issue. Likewise, Erder states in the following:

Forced migrated ones constituted the poorest group living in gecekondu areas in Istanbul. These aggrieved people due to migration had to stand alone in terms of community relations and the burden of the daily life (survival) were put on the shoulders of the children working at streets or at ateliers (Erder 2007 quoted in Bademci 2007, 84).

The identifications of Erder related with the kurdish poor migrants living in big cities provokes another question related with the possible existence of solidarity mechanisms established according to primordial identity. In this context, Mustafa

Şen evaluates the strength of the solidarity mechanisms based on primordial identity through the perceptions of certain communal groups in turkey. He specifically selects the poors of kurdish and alaouite⁴ identity for the interviews to analyse the perceptions of them about the solidaristic dynamics of their community (Şen 2007, 249). Şen stresses that the kurdish people which are interviewed about poverty and solidarity issues are living in the conditions of fierce poverty. In addition to this, most of these interviewees are the victims of the ‘forced migration’ in which they are experiencing an absolute dispossession of their income-generating properties during the migrations of 1990s. They are also deeply experiencing the economic crisis of 2000-2001. He found out that the common attitude prevalent among the poor kurdish people about the solidarity mechanisms based on ethnic identities is negative in the sense that none of them refers to an experience of being assisted by a solidaristic network relations based on kurdish identity. Moreover, being kurdish is finding a place in their statements in which they express a certain lack of confidence against it rather than a symbol of a solidaristic network. According to Şen the reason for these sentiments is originated from the extensive differentiation and alienation of these poorest kurdish groups from other early migrants and settled urban kurdish people (ibid., 278). Şen is confronted with similar sentiments among the poors of Alaouite (Alevi) identity. He stresses about the complains which are articulated among poor alaouite people about the lack of close, dense and hot relations within their community. Moreover, most of them refer to the negative consequences of neo-liberal ethos which is characterized by limitless ambition, selfish individualism and competition which causes to the deterioration of the altruistic feelings and rising mistrust within the alaoutie community (ibid., 261-62). Building upon these perceptions, Şen states that in a concluding statement

As a consequence of the neoliberal tranformation of society in the last two decades, we are henceforth faced with a state of a new poverty which can not be easily coped with the solidaristic mechanisms based on primordial-communal identities (ibid., 292).

⁴ Members of a religious sect that reveres to Caliph Ali

Together with the economic crisis in 2001, weakening traditional mechanisms of welfare regime point out the necessity of a new understating of social policy. In the period of AKP, besides the economic crisis there are also two issues to be handled in the light of state-market-society relations. The first issue is related to the Social Security Reform demanded by IMF. Through these reform initiatives, exclusive aspects of the old system are put on debate. The second issue is related to the Social Inclusion Report which must be prepared for Turkey-EU relations and adaptation process. The government, which has to reveal the size of poverty and state how to fight against it in this report, has to prepare a convincing social policy program (Buğra 2008, 220-21).

Ayşe Buğra underlines that a more clear opposition between the new social policy understanding and the old one has been witnessed in AKP government period. The old understanding of social policy supports the opinion that social assistance is not the state's business. However, the new understanding of social policy claims that besides economic policies and policies of employment now the state must take on a role in the area of social policy (ibid., 218). However, the more important issue is to decide on what kind of a political conception will shape this role in state-society relations. In this sense, it is identified that the concept of social citizenship rights is consciously kept in the background in this period. It is rather the concept of social solidarity that is furnished and brought in the foreground. This tendency signifies an administrative vision of poverty from above in the sense that poor segments of the society are being controlled by activating the volunteering and solidaristic sentiments of the society. Duygu Türk, further, signifies the (de)-politicized tendency of this approach explicated by the concept of social solidarity from a class perspective in below

The basis of "social solidarity" within the sphere of labour market is the integration of labour and capital, whose irreconcilable interests remained "in the past", in the "interests of the nation" with the aim of increasing competition. For those outside the labor market, it is the human capital investments made to increase competitive power (Türk 2004, 77).

According to the liberal-conservative ideologists of AKP, the interventions of the state and its protectionist policies towards certain disadvantaged groups must not

give any harm to the ‘natural flow’ of the social life and the ‘freedom sphere’ of civil institutions (Akdoğan 2004, 41). In the framework of liberal-conservative ideology, a reference to civil society in poverty alleviation calls forth the traditional and religious institutions due to their functionality in using certain religious oriented moral sentiments in poverty alleviation. For instance the philanthropist-moral responsibility which is discussed in the chapter on poverty can be said to have integrated with the religious discourse in liberal-conservatism today.

In the debates related to the state-market relations beginning in the mid-1990s at the international level, the idea that the state has to intervene to guarantee sustainable operation of the market mechanism begins to be accepted. Ayşe Buğra traces the reflections of this debate in the social policy field in Turkey

It was accepted that the state has responsibilities for the solution of poverty problem. Apart from this, a great emphasis was put on voluntaristic actions and non-governmental institutions in welfare provision. The importance of family and community-networks is appreciated. However, to minimize its social responsibilities the government must rest upon not only family institution and Islamic value of benevolence but also secular social consciousness of responsibility (Buğra 2008, 222).

From these evaluations, it can be said that in the AKP period the welfare regime in Turkey has evolved towards the model of cooperation between the state, non-governmental institutions and private sector. Among the several practices of the state there are some positive examples such as the free distribution of course books in primary schools, the green cards meeting the expenses of medicine, the coverage of the children below 18 by health insurance system, the union of social security institutions under one roof. Among these practices, Sinem Adar points to the importance of the social security reform in several dimensions

First, they put an end to the inegalitarian, corporatist character of the previous system with its highly fragmented structure, and make the Social Security Institution, under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS), responsible for the management of social security provisions. Second, with the new changes, the state will begin to contribute to the social security system along with the employers and employees. Third, the new SSGHI (Social Security and General Health Insurance)

legislation claims to embrace all social groups, including those not formally employed, and to assure universal access to health services on equal terms. Finally, those under the age of 18 will be covered by the health insurance scheme without having to pay premiums (Adar 2007, 167).

Although the organizational fragmentation of social security institutions are overcome by bringing all the past security institutions⁵ under the auspices of MoLSS, the status-based differentials of the previous system and the premium-based financing system is not overcome but is reproduced in different forms under the new system. In the light of this, when the structural transformations of the labor market and the industrial system in terms of the rising informal sector and structural unemployment are taken into account, the premium-based financing and status-based differential structure of the new system which are inherited from the previous one might not be feasible in the given conditions of the new era (Buğra 2008, 237). Furthermore, criticisms directed against the new reform initiatives identify that the new system overlooks the deeper and more structural problems of SSGHI in terms of its implications for the alleviation of poverty and the emergence of the phenomenon of ‘new poverty’. In particular, the third component of the social security reform legislation – the draft proposal on Social Assistance and Non-Contributory Payments (SANCP) – is not brought to the parliament (ibid. 168). The reason for impeding the insertion of SANCP into the parliamentary legislation process which otherwise leads to the inclusion of social assistance policies under the formal responsibility of MoLSS is related with the power struggles of certain institutions within the state apparatus with respect to gaining the control of the flexible use of vast amount of resources allocated for social assistance. But more importantly, Buğra points to the fact that the strength of liberal-conservative ideology has also a determining force in the concerning struggle over SANCP in the sense that the plans of MoLSS for the design of social assistance policies based on social rights citizenship is opposed by the liberal-conservative actors dominant in the state apparatuses and thereby impeding the inclusion of SANCP under the responsibility of MoLSS (Buğra

⁵ Three main institutions responsible for social security provision in the pre-reformed system were the Retirement Chest for civil servants, the Organization of Social Security for workers, and Bag-Kur for the selfemployed.

2008, 235). Adar points to another important reform initiative associated with the social security reforms in AKP period. This is the general health insurance (GHI) reform. In this regard Adar points to the two kinds of provisions of the new law

The new law has two kinds of provisions: those whose incomes are above a certain threshold – one-third of the official minimum wage – are expected to contribute to the health insurance fund in order to have access to the services provided. For those whose incomes fall below this threshold, there will be means-tested access to health care services with contributions paid by the government (Adar 2007, 168).

As stated in the case of the critique of the new social security system, same criticism can be directed to the GHI with respect to the adopted financing system of health care expenditures. In this regard, the premium-based financing system is identified to be infeasible for the given conditions (Buğra 2008, 237). Building upon these criticisms, the necessity of a tax-based financing of the SSGHI system and the provision of services on the basis of social rights citizenship are suggested by the progressive critics in the social policy sphere.

In contrast to the advices articulated above in the progressive critics and apart from SSGHI reform, liberal-conservative resistance of AKP are exemplified by some certain other projects in poverty alleviation. Both the competitive entrepreneurial individualism and philanthropic sentiments inherent in liberal conservative approach to poverty are materialized in these projects. Moreover, these projects are reflecting the decisive attitude of political authorities on the cooperative model of state and civil institutions in poverty alleviation

- Rainbow Project attempts at solving health, education and rehabilitation problems of 8.5 million disabled people cooperating with The Office of Disabled.
- In the project called 100 % Support for Education, the donations given to support education are free of charge.
- Gramean Bank Project gives the micro-credits to make the poor petty entrepreneurs (ibid. 244).

In poverty alleviation, the state-civil society cooperation may have technical advantages in terms of gaining flexibility in responding to the needs of poor in a faster and more effective way. However, this is just a technical management

problem. A more important issue about the state-civil society cooperation is related to the possibility if the poor people can call someone to account or if they can claim their rights. When social assistance remains outside the framework of a legal responsibility, there is no way to form channels for disadvantaged citizens to claim their rights. The social assistance outside the legal framework addresses the feelings of mercy and social responsibility of citizens living in good conditions through non-governmental institutions. However, the relations developed between ‘benevolent’ voluntary citizens and the poor people may feed authoritarian tendencies as well as the feeling of benevolence. When the public institutions fighting against poverty operate in the same way as the non-governmental institutions do, it becomes inevitable that the same tendencies appear there, too. The way these tendencies crystallized in SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association will be studied in the analysis chapter.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE APPROACH TO POVERTY

In this analysis section, liberal-conservative approach to poverty which is identified in the discourse of Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM) and Deniz Feneri Association is presented. Before presenting the analysis of the interviews done with SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association, it is necessary to give brief institutional biographies of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association. In the following two sections, these institutional biographies are presented. After these sections, the analyses of the interviews are presented.

5.1 Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate

The most comprehensive measure taken against the poverty in Turkey is the Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Law numbered 3294 which was put into force on 14th of June 1986 when the Motherland party (ANAP) is in the power.

Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund is established by 3294 of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Law on 14.06.1986. From the date of establishment until the date of 09.12.2004 fund was managed by Prime Ministry Secretariat General of Funds. On 01.12.2004 fund has organized as Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate dependent on Prime Ministry by the law numbered 5263, so that the fund management had gained an institutional structure. Moreover, those funds are being used through 973 Social Assistance and Solidarity Associations established in all provinces and districts headed by Governors and District Governors with the authorization given in the same law. Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate as State's most important social assistance and protection agency; fulfils states social responsibility throughout the country by helping citizens who do not have social security, orphaned and needy and also by supporting employment-oriented training and projects (SYDGM).

The reason why this fund was established is related to the issue of legitimacy of the political power. Namely, the structural adaptation programmes implemented in the beginning of the 1980s began to be criticised heavily by the public by reason of increasing social inequality in terms of income distribution. Therefore, Fikret Şenses makes such an evaluation:

The establishment law of the fund can be linked to the wish to make “the structural adaptation programmes” sensitive to the poor as part of the governmental pursuit of social support. It can be considered as an answer to the criticism stating that the structural adaptation programmes damage income distribution and increase poverty (Şenses 1999, 432).

The establishment purpose of Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund is stated in the law in the followings:

...to help poor and needy citizens and those people accepted to live in Turkey at all costs if necessary.. to encourage social assistance and solidarity in order to contribute to the improvement of income distribution, taking measures to strengthen the social justice (law of Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund, article 1).

What kinds of dynamics will be mobilized in order to take measures to strengthen social justice is explained in the statement of reason of the law in the followings:

The most fundamental and permanent establishment of the Turk-Islam civilization living in Anatolia for a thousand years are the Funds, which are the best examples of assistance and solidarity. The Funds have made up an institution ahead of the age in terms of meeting social, economic and cultural needs. Putting into force the Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Law will also lead to a boom in the life of Turkish funds. The honour to render service to the group of people below the middle class deprived of social security, *with the support of benevolent and self-sacrificing citizens besides the governmental help*, will arise once again (Buğra 2008, 206-7) (emphasis added).

In this statement of reason there is no trace related to the perception of social assistance with the understanding of social right. There is a reference to the funds, which are the traditional institutions of social assistance. There is an emphasis put on the necessity that a perception of social assistance must be functional in a way that together with the state and the benevolent citizens will be active participants.

According to Ayşe Buğra, this law has the same characteristics of the proposal introduced to the Assembly together with the legislative proposal numbered 2022 by Necmettin Erbakan in 1976. Just like that proposal it adopts the opinion that social assistance cannot be just an issue of the State. It supports this opinion with inspiration drawn from the operation of the traditional religious institutions (Buğra 2008).

The sources of income for the fund consist of the entries provided in the law numbered 3294. These are:

the amount which will be transferred from 10 % of other funds at most, the allowances to be transferred to the budget, the half of the traffic fees, a certain amount of income and corporate taxes, the amount of 15 % transferred from the advert revenues of Radio and Television Supreme Council, every kind of charity and aids, and other revenues (the law of Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund, article 4).

Fikret Şenses has attracted attention to the variety of the sources of revenues for the fund. He has claimed that the income flow of a fund based on such various sources would be unsteady (Şenses 1999, 437). That there is a fund entry like “charity and aids” among the budget sources of General Directorate of The Fund must aim at stimulating local social dynamics. However, the fact that the General Directorate, which has a public personality as a public institution, has economic relations with individuals through a mechanism of charity may cause relationships to develop by favour between the State and individuals. Also we can assume that this institution has an opportunity to gather sources from the vast number of people in society through donations. This shows that the State has a tendency to share the responsibilities of social assistance with certain groups in society. However, while commenting on some characteristics of the law, Ayşe Buğra states the followings:

The enforcement of the law through an extra budgetary fund was a sign of the wish of The Motherland Part [ANAP] governments to avoid bureaucratic control. Apart from this, a series of local funds would be established and people would see that there was an institution into which they could canalize their aids in their region. It was hoped that the main financial source would come from the donations. It can be said that this

unfulfilled hope was one of the most important characteristics of the law (Buğra 2008).

In the light of the information taken from the website of the institution about its general administrative structure, we can say the followings:

The General Directorate carries out social assistance activities in the countryside through 931 social assistance and solidarity associations. The directors of the associations are the public administrators in their districts. They are the governors of provinces and districts. The board of trustees of the associations in a province consists of Mayor of District, District Treasurer, District Governor of Education, District Governor of Health, District Governor of Agriculture, District Governor of Social Service and Child Protection Institution and District Mufti. Also a village headman chosen among the village headmen, a representative chosen among the directors of Non-Governmental Organizations in districts and provinces and two people chosen among benevolent citizens by The Parliament of Province are assigned the board of trustees of the associations.

In the first version of the establishment law of the Fund, it was not anticipated that non-governmental organizations and benevolent citizens would be in the board of trustees of the associations as representatives. In 2004 with the aim of “increasing non-governmental participation” the board of trustees of the associations are opened to participation of the representatives from non-governmental organizations and benevolent citizens in place of the representatives from the police department. This change is, in fact, a response to criticisms taken from various circles with regards to the considerably formal appearance of the organization which might generate a conflict with the aim of mobilizing local-civil dynamics in struggling with poverty. In particular, The General Directorate of the Fund was criticised since it did not pay necessary attention to the non-governmental participation and local sources. No matter how close relations the associations managed to have with benevolent citizens and non-governmental organizations as a result of some revisions in the law, it is still doubtful how effective its results are. Specifically, interviewee’s comments in below which are made related to the question of how effective the new institutional structure is, are not reflecting positive evaluations. However these change attempts towards civil participation can be thought to be an ideal result the fund tries to aim at. When

looked from this aspect, the following comments can be made about the new structure: the board of trustees of the associations can be seen as an example which institutionalizes the model of co-operation between the state, non-governmental organizations and benevolent citizens in terms of social assistance. Also this structure can be evaluated as an institutionalization of certain tendencies in managing poverty such as localization, decentralization, and particularism. These tendencies will be analyzed in detail in the following chapters.

There is no hierarchy between the associations and the fund general directorate. The associations have private legal personality (SYDGM-2). In terms of bureaucratic control,

The control of the Fund by the Supreme Audit Board of Prime Ministry is made in general terms and in terms of the executions carried out by the board of the fund. It does not cover the applications of the fund on local level. It is impossible to see how detailed the control is made by the General Directorate of the Associations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü), which is responsible for controlling the associations. That the General Directorate of the Associations does not have any reports related to the control of the local associations of SYDGM is a noticeable fact (Şenses 1999, 444).

Having a status of private legal personality the associations are aimed at having a “flexible” type of operation in constructing social assistance projects. In this way, associations have an initiative to develop projects in which they might have the opportunity to mobilize local dynamics. Especially the activities to be carried out in relation to the common projects, charity and assistance campaigns with non-governmental organizations are thought to be performed more effectively with a flexible kind of organization. In relation with these aspects, Ayşe Buğra notices another important dimension of the organization of the Fund:

In this administrative structure, headmen take on a very significant function with the role they play in the identification of the deprived people. It seems to be an important advantage to have an access to the information related to the needs – which cannot be accessed otherwise – through the headmen, which is an administrative unit peculiar to Turkey (Buğra and Keyder 2003, 38).

Ayşe Buğra, who puts an emphasis on the role of the headmen in the efficient identification of the needs, has also revealed a missing part which is significant in terms of the scope of interviews made for this study.

The process of allocation of resources is the most problematic area from which the fund takes many criticisms. In particular, political clientelism is one of the biggest problems in the allocation of resources. Another related problem is that there is no systematic operation based on clear and formal rules in decision making process related to the social aids. This mechanism gives personal relations and preferences a determinant role in the resource allocation process. The process of allocation of resources consists of two stages.

At the first stage which involves the allocation of sources to the associations, the development levels of provinces and districts are taken as a criterion. Apart from this, criteria such as population, unemployment, donations given to the associations by local people, the projects of the associations to encourage social solidarity are taken into account (Şenses 1999, 433) (emphasis added).

Fikret Şenses points to the lack of concrete information related to the execution process of this first stage and expresses his opinion that “some events discussed by the press show that these criteria are not taken into consideration well. It seems that decision makers behave in a significantly flexible way in the execution process” (ibid., 434). Moreover, the press of different periods often gives place to certain news in particular claiming that the governments in power allocated more resources to the regions where they got much more votes than others (ibid., 444). At the second stage which involves the assistance given to deprived individuals by the association, “flexibility” grows tremendously. In relation to this “flexibility”, Fikret Şenses expresses the following comments

The execution of the social assistance process in SYDGM was initiated without any findings inferred from adequate statistical surveys related to poverty. The identification of the deprived people who constitute the target group of the association has been left to the subjective evaluations of imams, muftis and local governors...The probability that such a process of allocation can lead to personal or political clientelism and discrimination is considerably high (ibid.).

While analysing the areas of utilization of the Fund, Şenses defines three historical periods: the period between 1986 and 1991 when the Fund was established and the first implementation results were gathered, the second period between the years 1991 and 1996, and the period between 1996 and 1997 when The Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) had an effect on the fund (ibid.). The period when the resources of the fund were the least effective on poverty alleviation was stated to be *the second period*. One of its reasons is that in this period most of the sources were used to pay off budget deficit which was a result of the economic crisis. Another reason is that poverty was not of great importance in terms of the voter base of The True Path Party (DYP) and The Social Democratic People's Party (SHP) which were in the parliament in that period (ibid., 438). In relation with this, Ayşe Buğra particularly indicates that SHP as a leftist party was stuck into the problems of middle classes, putting the economic problems of government employees and middle class on the agenda of the parliament (Buğra 2008). In *the third period* when the Welfare Party was the center party of the coalition, the allocation of resources to the poor reached its peak level. This can be explained with this party's efforts to enlarge its social base to cover the growing poor population by referring to the cultural elements of social assistance and solidarity as part of the Islamic religious ideology of this party (Şenses 1999, 438).

The reason why poverty alleviation has occupied more room on non-governmental and political agenda during the years since 2000 is the Marmara Earthquake⁶ and 2001 economic crisis. This reason is also acceptable for SYDGM. There are studies claiming that the sources of the fund were put into use more efficiently after the economic crisis and the Marmara earthquake. Likewise it is of great importance that SYDGM has been chosen as a central institution in terms of poverty alleviation in the period of AKP and renamed as Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM).

⁶ The 1999 İzmit earthquake was a 7.6 magnitude earthquake that struck northwestern Turkey on August 17, 1999, at about 3:01am local time. According to the official statistics declared by the State, 17.480 people died, 43.953 people were injured and 600.000 people were directly affected. Not only did victims lose their homes but many residential and commercial buildings were damaged to various extents by the Earthquake.

Lastly, in this part, the kind of activities and services that have been provided by Social Assistance and Encouragement General Directorate after the year 2000 and especially after its being the central institution in the fight against poverty under the AKP government is presented with reference to the information provided by the official website of SYDGM⁷.

In 2000s, SYDGM has conducted several projects aiming at empowering the poor. These are the projects of Certificated Agricultural Workers Project, Business Encouragement Project, and Social Risk Mitigation Project. Main purpose of the Certificated Agricultural Workers Project is to struggle against poverty in rural areas, raising the agricultural workers' efficiency and employment in the field of agriculture by providing them technical courses. In 2006, 1100 trainees were certificated, tried to be given employment in TIGEM corporations⁸ with 20% higher earnings at the end of the project. As year 2007, 374.915,70.-TL had been spent on this project. Business Encouragement Project is designed by Diyarbakır Association for the people that are within the target of the law of social assistance and encouragement, article 3294, in order to provide them sustainable income. 172 individuals that took part in 94 economic business projects such as hairdressing, tailoring, furniture manufacturing and sale, ready-to-wear clothing and etc. are given incentives. Social Risk Mitigation Project – with the financing from World Bank– started to be implemented in 2002 as another project for the purpose of reducing poverty in short and long term. As a matter of fact, this project is formed with four related components. First component is related with the alleviation of the negative consequences of 2001 economic crisis on the poorest segments of the society which is designated as “urgent assistance component”. The second component is related with the improvement of the institutional capacities of social assistance institutions which is designated as “institutional improvement component”. The third component is related with the design of a social assistance infrastructure for the basic health and

⁷ <http://www.sydgm.gov.tr/tr/>

⁸ TIGEM is a state economic enterprise that is established to produce every kind of products and services which are in need of agriculture and agricultural industries.

education needs of %6 of the poorest segment of the total population which is designated as “conditional cash transfer component”. And, the last component is related with the improvement of the income-generation opportunities for poor people in local sphere which is designated as “the local component”. These components of this big project are in fact reflecting certain thematic tendencies of SYDGM in poverty alleviation which are going to be further analysed in the discussion section of the interviews. The improvement of institutional capacity to provide efficient administration of the poors, the improvement of local dynamics to orient the poors for entrepreneurial activities, targeting and isolating the poorest of the poors as deserving social assistance on certain conditions are reflecting certain tendencies gaining their meanings within the new liberal-conservative framework. As of March 31, 2007, this project continues under SYDGM without World Bank's financial contribution.

Currently, there is only one on-going project which is Social Assistance in Rural Areas Project. This project is designed in 2003 for giving support to Agricultural Development Cooperatives which are in the field of animal husbandry. Its aim is to motivate people in the rural area who are in need of economical and social assistance to go into production by providing them monetary and technical support in marketing of the produced agricultural products, thereby raising their income and employment. Its main target group is the members of one of the cooperatives who live in the rural area and lack capital to start a business in sheep husbandry and cattle breeding for milking.

In the next title, the institutional biography of Deniz Feneri Association is presented.

5.2 Deniz Feneri Association

Deniz Feneri Association defines itself as “an association of assistance and solidarity whose main principle is to work continuously until it reaches the last

person in need on earth”⁹. The history of the association goes back to the television programme named “City and Ramadan” broadcast by Channel 7 for the Month of Ramadan in 1996. This programme, which was prepared with an aim to attract people’s attention to poverty and encourage them to help the poor, was watched and liked by a large number of people and upon this the management of Channel 7 began to broadcast a programme named “Deniz Feneri” which would continue after the Ramadan. These two programmes, which carried out their activities of assistance through sponsorship of small markets in the beginning, led to the foundation of Deniz Feneri Association in 1998 as a result of the rise in the number of people who asked for help and people who provided assistance.

Deniz Feneri Association perceives itself as a distinctive model among the non-governmental social assistance institutions. The association justifies its being a distinctive model by contending its adopted professional management approach in utilizing human, capital and knowledge resource within the social assistance field. By adopting the ISO 9001¹⁰ system in 2001, the association organizes and standardizes its assistance and donation process with precise rules and procedures. As a result, the institutional capacity is improved and the association is awarded with the ISO 9001 certificate of quality standards in 2002. In this light, the association is setting up a program similar to a management information system which is functioning to organize the assistance programs (YOP-Yardı m Organizasyon Programı). The information set such as the arrival date of a donated material, the quantity of this material, the usability of this material and the personal or institutional source of this donation, can be followed from the database of this program. The association also develops a social examination system project which is called as SIS.NET. The main objective achieved by this system is to accelerate the process of social assistance by means of web-based information transfer. Building upon these improvements, it is asserted by the association that these kinds of technological and institutional infrastructure promote the formation of a substantial institutional culture and common

⁹ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.yayinakisi.com/program/3142/deniz-feneri.html>

¹⁰ ISO is the abbreviation of International Organization for Standardization which focuses on the development of quality standards for the enterprises.

language¹¹. Besides these administrative issues, Deniz Feneri Poverty Research Center (DEYAM-Deniz Feneri Yoksulluk Araştırma Merkezi) is established under this association in 2003. The idea of establishing such a center of poverty research is realized by the contribution of social researchers to a symposium on poverty organized by Deniz Feneri Association in 2003. Afterwards, it is decided upon the formation of such a center which aims to promote scientific researches on poverty.

The activities of Deniz Feneri Association are concentrated on certain areas such as basic social assistances, natural disasters, job attainment projects and media programme. The association's basic social assistance package mainly covers food, clothing, education, shelter and health care assistances. The association has also provided important supports for the victims of natural disasters. As a matter of fact, it is asserted that the rising popularity of Deniz Feneri Association is highly related with the organized performance of this institution in Marmara Earthquake on August 17th, 1999. Specifically, the association set up nearly 500 prefabricated houses in Bolu-Gölcük region and helped the earthquake disasters. Deniz Feneri Association carry on its activities by developing projects from time to time in some fields. It has opened some courses in cooperation with some other associations such as People Education Centres (Halk Eğitim Merkezleri), Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization (Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli İşletmeleri Geliştirme ve Destekleme İdaresi Başkanlığı-KOSGEB), Enterprise Development Agent (Girişim Gelişim Ajansı) to help people to gain certain skills in several crafts and services, and provide them who can complete their training successfully with necessary supplies and machinery. Out of the successful trainees, those who have entrepreneurial spirit are supported to open a business.

The service network of Deniz Feneri Association is highly developed compared to other non-governmental institutions. It comprises of branches, representative offices, and some centers destined for certain services in certain regions of Turkey. The center of Deniz Feneri Association is located in İstanbul and all the

¹¹ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/icerik.aspx?kod=DENIZFENERIMODELI>

administrative issues related with branches, representative offices and activity centers are managed from this center. Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch starts its activities in 2000 with a large logistic center, guesthouse and modern eating house (aşevi). The provinces which are under the responsibility of Ankara Branch are Aksaray, Ankara, Bolu, Çankırı, Çorum, Eskişehir, Karabük, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Konya, Karaman, Nevşehir, Niğde, Yozgat, Kayseri and Sivas. This is roughly the region of inner Anatolia. Besides the administrative center in İstanbul and a branch in Anlara, there are representative offices located in five different regions of Turkey. These are Marmara, Aegean, Thrace, Eastern Anatolia and Black Sea representative offices. It is noticeable that there is no distinct representative office of Deniz Feneri Association in Southern Eastern region of Turkey. However, the provinces of this region are included under the responsibility of Trachea representative office. The logistic centers of Deniz Feneri Association reflect a developed technical division of labour. These centers are divided into six technical units in which the donated materials are stocked, prepared and dispatched. These are counting, sorting and barcoding unit, stock unit divided in itself as food and clothing sub-units, cold-storage depot where meats and milks derived products are conserved, cloth preparation section, food preparation section and dispatching unit. There are overall six logistic centers dependent on Ankara Branch and five other representative offices. The eating houses affiliated to İstanbul center and Ankara branch are giving services for about four years. In these eating houses hot dishes are prepared which approxiamtely one thousand people in total are benefited each day. In education centers job-focused courses are organized preferably for the children of poor families. These kinds of courses are effectively organized especially by the Aegean representative office of this association mainly in accounting, computer, tourism and old care fields. In Computer-Assisted Tourism courses and Computer-Assisted Commercial courses, Aegean Representative office performs the participation of 450 children and places %70 of them on related jobs till 2009. Moreover, courses of certain crafts are also organized by this office such as home accesories, boarding (ahşap kaplama), ornament design (takı tasarımı) which absorbs the participation of 150 people till 2009. There are also several clothing stores which are opened in

İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir regions to make poor people to feel as if they make shopping.

Besides the institutional and administrative dimension of Deniz Feneri Association, volunteers are also a very important factor in sustaining the activities of this association. The number of volunteers in the association is approximately sixty thousand by 2009. Deniz Feneri Association describes a typical volunteer with these words. A volunteer is a person who demands to make a job by using his/her time, information and skill resources without expecting something in return. Volunteers contribute in several ways to a civil organization by performing mental and manual labour, seeking for material resources for the organization, attracting new volunteers and contributing to the formation of positive public opinion. Furthermore, the association makes an evaluation in a more general sense and stress that the existence of volunteers are necessary in order to form the infrastructure of a just and democratic society. Both the volunteers and the non-governmental organizations have produced social utility and thereby have contributed a lot for strengthening the society¹². These evaluations have partly gained sense within liberal-conservative ideological framework that puts an important emphasis on volunteering activities and the intermediary institutions in poverty alleviation to maintain the unity and solidarity in society.

Working areas of volunteers in Deniz Feneri Association vary. It ranges from visiting poor households to make needs-assessment, office works, distribution, logistic, technological assistance, earthquake and natural disasters, to working on call-center to respond for the calls. A volunteer can visit poor households to make needs-assessment, fill the social examination report to decide on making social assistance, and insert these information into the network of the association. If a volunteer can be eligible to drive a vehicle and have his/her vehicle, he/she can work on the distribution process of the donated packaged materials to the poor households. In office works, a volunteer can work on the process of opening, classification and scanning of the envelopes of poor applicants. Afterwards they

¹² Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/icerik.aspx?kod=GONKIMKIM>

transfer those information expressed in those envelopes to the information system of the association. In the logistic center, volunteers can work on different units which are previously explained above.

The process of being a volunteer in Deniz Feneri Association includes simple steps. First, it is required that a specific volunteer applicant form which includes general information, adress information and education information is filled by the applicants. Afterwards, regular meetings are arranged by the association to meet with the applicants. During these meetings, they both discuss on the specific requirements of the association on several units and the conditions of the applicants to place them for the most suitable works. In the last stage, training of the applicants for the requirements of their associated units begins.

Some short interviews with the volunteers are presented in the website of the association which reflects the experinces and views of them about being a volunteer in Deniz Feneri Association¹³. These interviews are reflecting some common notions. One of them is that most of the volunteers are quite impressed about the professional nature of the administration in social assistance process that guarantees the distribution of resources to the “deserving” poors and thereby maintaining the feeling of “justice” for them. On the other hand, they are also impressed about the presentation of a strong philanthropic feeling which exemplifies a kind of person dedicating himself/herself to make “goodness” to the needy people. They also feel these similar kinds of feelings as they gain experience in this association. Moreover, they express this experience as a meaningful activity that fills some gaps in their life. In particular, some of them stress that they satisfy their conscience by helping poor people and thank their gods for their socio-economic conditions. As a matter of fact, the positive impressions of volunteers from the professionalized administrative approaches in poverty alleviation and their moral philanthropic feelings is a very typical combination of the distinct values inherent in the liberal-conservative approach which will be further analysed in the next section. On the other hand, many of the

¹³ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/gonullu.aspx>

volunteers emphasize the importance of the media programme broadcast on TV as a means of their rising awareness to the issue of poverty and thereby decide on being a volunteer of this association.

In the web site of Deniz Feneri Association¹⁴, the conditions of the state of “deserving poor” are described with an imprecise manner by responding to the question of an eligible beneficiary of the social assistance provided by this association. People who are living under the hunger and poverty line, widows and orphan children, old age people in need of care, and people who are not covered by any social security institutions can be an eligible beneficiary of the social assistance provided by the association. But in some cases, even having a social security is inadequate to cover some certain health expenditures. Therefore, Deniz Feneri Association also tries to give social assistance to such people. These previous conditions are in fact merely definitional criteria on the paper. The system of social assistance rather depends on precise social examination processes in which volunteers visit poor households and evaluate their conditions. The legitimization of the necessity of a social examination rather than depending on merely the written statements (beyana dayanmak) of poor people are articulated with such explanations like accelerating the social assistance process, respect for the rights of poors and maintaining the quality standards of services!

The social assistance process constitutes certain steps. The first step is the application of the poor people either by telephone, envelope or by coming to the association. In this initial step a request form is filled which includes the general content of the needs of the applicant, identity and address information. The association also requires from the applicant to collect necessary documents. These are the photocopy of identity card, family notice document (aile bildirim belgesi), health report in case of health needs, and an envelope which includes the general socio-economic condition and requests of this applicant. After the completion of the collection and delivery of these documents, a distinct account for this applicant is opened in the database of the associaton. From now on, all the

¹⁴ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/icerik.aspx?kod=YARDIMKIMAL>

information related with the assistance process of this applicant is followed from this account. The second step comprises the visit of volunteers to the applicant's houses and evaluation of their conditions in order to validate the accuracy of the previous collected documents and the written statement of requests of the applicant. During these visits volunteers initially gather information from the social environment of the applicant such as nearby grocery or headman of the neighborhood. Then, they visit the house of the applicant with the previous information in their minds and make necessary evaluations about the conditions of the applicant. Building upon their observations and dialogues, they fill a social examination report and note their own expressions whether this applicant deserves social assistance or not. One important dimension of this social examination process is that volunteers are advised to not to give any sign related to the probable decision of social assistance. The third step comprises the assessment of these social examination reports by the Assistance Evaluation Commission (Yardı m Deęerlendirme Komisyonu). This commission determines which applicants deserve social assistance, the amount and kind of social assistance they deserve, and the time periodics of the assistance. The decisions of this commission are ultimately taken by the board (Yönetim Kurulu). They give the ultimate decision by taking into account the resources of the association.

The donation system of Deniz Feneri Association is mostly organized around the credit card principle. In the web site of the association there exists a donation section¹⁵ in which a social assistance catalogue is presented. In this catalogue several kinds of social assistance are introduced briefly and under each of them donation amounts are presented in certain choices that a donator can choose and link the button to access for the online donation system. This is an efficient management system for collecting donations. Besides the online donation system, there exist other methods of donation proposed by the association such as internet banking, short message service, postal cheque, donation through telephone. Many of the national and international projects of Deniz Feneri Association are listed and introduced briefly in the donation page of the associatim's web site to inform

¹⁵ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/bagisci.aspx>

the visitors about these projects and influence them for making donations. The ongoing international projects are concentrated on Palestine from Middle East, Bosnia from Balkania and Niger from Africa. The national projects which are presented in the web site are of several kinds some of which are concentrating on the promotion of village-scale social transformations by promoting entrepreneurialism in certain agricultural and animal husbandry sectors. Some of the examples are Saanen Goat Stock Farming (Saanen Keçi Yetiştiriciliği), Apiculture (Arıcılık), Fruit Sappling (Meyve Fidanı), Oğulduruk Plateu Vineyard Project (Oğulduruk Yayla Bağı projesi). These projects are executed by Deniz Feneri Association in cooperation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs which are illustrating a typical state-civil cooperation model. Furthermore, it is important to signify that these projects are aiming to recover the losses of people living in those villages due to the impacts of the existing neo-liberal price policies on their agricultural products. But the preferred way to recover their loss is to reorient them to produce different products for market and thereby generate income from these activities. Thus, nothing in fact changes qualitatively for those villagers in the sense that these villagers are supported by material supplies and raw materials to be a potentially fragile producer in agricultural market.

During the period the site is visited by the researcher of this study (2009-September) a video is presented in the donation section of the web site. This video is aiming to inform the public about the unfair insults directed against Deniz Feneri Association due to the juristic case related with the usage of donations for private purposes¹⁶. The presentation of this video in the donation page is functional in terms of persuading the visitors about the innocent position of the association and thereby implicitly encourages them to donate. The last point to mention

¹⁶ A juristic case opened for Germany Deniz Feneri Association (Deniz Feneri E.V) in Frankfurt State Court due to the usage of donations for private interests is concluded with a penalty of imprisonment to the directors of the association in Germany in 17 September 2008. However, it is also asserted by German courts that there exists important doubts whether a close relation between Deniz Feneri Association in Germany and Association in Turkey, and advised Turkish officers to widen this juristic case to enquire the directors of Deniz Feneri Association in Turkey. Main defence of Deniz Feneri Association in Turkey is to deny the organic relation with the Deniz Feneri Association in Germany. It is also defended that the money transfer from the Germany association to Turkey association is realized under legal terms which is controlled by Ministry of Interior.

related with the donation is the association's notice of the importance of the donation for the society. In the light of this, the association entitles an important role to donation and donater during the process of creating sensitivity within society towards their poors. In this sense, it is asserted that associations which aim to replace the function of state in strengthening the society in economic and social aspects are supported by donations to realize their functions¹⁷. What is important within these statements is that the associations are asserted to be taking the responsibility of state's economic and social roles.

The final point to be stressed on is related with the religious values in the formation of the perspective of Deniz Feneri Association. In this context, a particular section in the web-site of the association is very important. This section is named as "Notes on Kindness"¹⁸. These notes constitute an ideological background for the social assistance activities of the association and they are mostly provided from several religious "intellectuals" and "opinion leaders". Some of the titles of these notes might deserve to be mentioned to give a general insight. Alm (Zekat) for a Strong Economy, Who are deserving to take alm?, The places where the alms should be expended, being an ummah by oneself: prophet ibrahim, messages from Quran to the riches about the lesson of Karun. In these notes related to Alms, religious citizens are especially informed about the suitability of expending their alms through charitable associations such as Deniz Feneri Association. They are advised that alms can be expended through charitable associations rather than personal relations. The other notes are including religious messages from Quran and legendary tales which are about giving moral lessons of for helping poor people. In this sense, Deniz Feneri tries to appropriate a religious notion of Alm and moral values for the purpose of the institutional activities of this association. These practices are, therefore, identified to be the best expression of the liberal-conservative approach to poverty which stresses on the functional use of the traditional religious values and related philanthropic sentiments to maintain the social solidarity and the unity of

¹⁷ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/icerik.aspx?kod=BAGIS>

¹⁸ Retrieved September 2009 from <http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr/icerik.aspx?kod=IYILIKNOT>
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society. In the next section, this approach to poverty will further be analysed in the discourse of this association.

5.3 Liberal-Conservative Approach to Poverty

It is necessary to note that some of the explanations made in ‘research process’ section are also repeated in the following paragraphs of this section. This repetition is thought to be functional just before reading the analysis of interviews because of providing an easy tracing of the analysis.

The thematic analysis of the interviews done by Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM is presented in below. These interviews were carried out on February, March and April of 2008. The interviews with Deniz Feneri Association were carried out in Ankara branch of this association which is located in Pursaklar neighborhood. The interviews with Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate (SYDGM) were carried out in the General Directorate which is located in Çankaya neighborhood. In addition to this, an interview was organized with Keçiören Social Assistance and Solidarity Association which was advised by the General Directorate as the most crystallized example of the ideals of this institution in general. The interviews with Deniz Feneri Association were carried out by four active personnel and several volunteers which were met during a training session of volunteers which was regularly arranged by the association. Among these active personnel D1 was a director of Ankara region in social assistance activities, D2 was the Ankara branch manager of the association, (D3) was the expert consultant of the association in social examination training process and D4 was the director of Ankara volunteers. The interviews with SYDGM and Keçiören Association were carried out by six active personnel of these institutions two of which were from Keçiören Association. Among these active personnel, S1 was director of the Social Relief Department, S2 was the director of the Cooperation with Voluntary Institutions and Foreign Department, and two experts from each of these same departments. In addition to this, the director of Keçiören Association S3 and one expert from this association were interviewed. The

interviews were semi-structured interviews. They took for approximately average two hours for each interviewee. But the interview with the ‘director of Ankara Region in social assistance’ in Deniz Feneri Association took for unusually four hours.

List of interviewees:

Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch

D1: A Director of Ankara Region in Social Assistance Activities

D2: Ankara Branch Manager of the Association

D3: Expert Consultant of the Association in Social Examination Training Process

D4: Director of Ankara Volunteers

And several experienced volunteers

Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate

S1: Director of the Social Relief Department

Expert(1)¹⁹: Expert from the Social Relief Department

S2: Director of the Cooperation with Voluntary Institutions and Foreign Department

Expert(2): Expert from the Cooperation with Voluntary Institutions and Foreign Department

Keçiören Social Assistance and Solidarity Association

(S3): the Director of Keçiören Association

Expert(3): Expert from this Association

The interviews include several questions which are listed in the appendix section of this study. These questions can be grouped under three fields of inquiry related with poverty. These fields of inquiry can be delineated as “the causes of poverty”, “the characteristics of poors”, and “the vision of a state-civil society relation in the struggling against poverty”. The questions in the appendix gather their upper-level problematics under these fields of inquiry. Furthermore, these fields of inquiry are

¹⁹ These numbers in the paranthesis are put in order to distinguish the experts while reading the analysis.

expected to clarify- if exists - a liberal-conservative approach to poverty in the discourse of Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM. Concerning “the causes of poverty”, this clarification is realized by inquiring whether the causes of poverty are related with individual responsibilities of the poors. Concerning the “characteristics of poors”, this clarification is realized whether there exists a negative culturalist approach to define the characteristics of the poors. Concerning “the vision of state-civil society relations in struggling against poverty”, this clarification is realized by inquiring the political nature of the approaches to poverty and the kinds of roles which are attributed to different sectors of social system.

In the course of the following analysis, certain themes are briefly introduced by referring to the discussions in theory chapters. Afterwards their forms of appearances are identified within the discourse of Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM. In the last part of the analysis, these themes which appear in certain forms within the discourse of these institutions are arranged within the framework of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in general. By this way the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty and the themes which are displayed in these interviews are systematically related.

5.3.1 Depoliticization

Depoliticization of poverty refers briefly to the isolation of the problem of poverty from the conflicts of capitalist economy and thereby preventing the politicization of this problem. In the light of this isolation, the problem of poverty is reduced to a problem of “effective administration of the poors” in consistent with the requirements of capitalist accumulation. The “depoliticization of poverty” theme needs further to be divided into two sub-themes. One sub-theme is related with the notions of particularization, firm-logic and technical division of management in poverty alleviation. The other sub-theme is related with the philanthropic approaches which refer to the moral responsibility of society in poverty alleviation. These sub-themes of depoliticization are specific perceptions

exemplifying this “effective administrative vision” in consistent with the requirements of capital accumulation.

The issue of depoliticization is emphasized in different sections of this study. For instance, the theme of depoliticization can be derived from the features –described with reference to Joachim Hirsch above- of post-Fordist mode of regulation which corresponds to the requirements of flexible accumulation regime. He identifies several features to describe the post-Fordist mode of regulation. One of them is directly related with the changing forms of the politics of capital-labour conflict. He, thus, states that:

nationalist syndromes are reactivated under the slogan that everyone, even wage-earners, depend first and last on the capitalist investment in “their” locality and must, therefore, in the face of growing international competition, conduct themselves aggressively towards those “outside”, whilst being ready to concessions at home (Hirsch 1991, 77-8).

Depoliticization, thus, finds its expression within the framework of regulation school in reducing the working-class movements to a simple interest group among others. In contrast to this logic, the “political” in general sense is directly related with the commons of society and thereby with the struggle of social classes with the attempts of privatization aiming to gather economic and administrative power. As long as the social class forces are reduced to just one interest constellation among others, the political sphere becomes gradually depoliticized in the sense that the dominant political-economy of post-fordism is envisioning and producing an increasingly privatized society²⁰. As long as the social class conflicts of capitalism is rejected as a constitutive principle of politics and dissolved within the framework of national interests, the “politics” transforms solely into a technical administrative issue that aims to target high level of national productivity in the competitive arena of global capitalism. This is one general manifestation of depoliticization in post-fordist era.

²⁰ <http://www.stateofnature.org/politicsDepoliticization.html>

On the other hand, the theme of depoliticization indirectly manifests itself within the Marxist critique of culturalist and market-oriented approaches to poverty. As it is discussed in poverty chapter, as long as the identities of poor people are isolated from their social class belongingness and the inherent conflicts of capitalist production relations, the poor are reduced to a differential socio-cultural group that needs to be governed with suitable means. Accordingly, the question of the “efficient means of administrating the poor” –in other words, the social-dominates the poverty literature and the social “scientific” debates. In the light of this, the liberal-conservative advocate Philippe Beneton’s suggestions about the “right” modes of assistance to poor people are needed to be recalled:

In terms of assistance, the key objective is the following: various forms that poverty takes must be identified so as to adapt assistance to the actual needs (moral and material). It is impossible to accomplish this aim through administrative or impersonal means... Thus aid should be as decentralized as possible and make significant use of services offered by volunteer organizations whose flexibility offers advantages that could never be provided by regulated forms of assistance (Beneton 1998, 193).

Search for the efficient means of administrating the poor depoliticizes the issue of poverty. In this respect, the roles of state and civil associations are also discussed within the problematic of an efficient technical division of management in poverty alleviation. The implications of this perspective are significant in the interviews with SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association. On the other hand, Beneton’s suggestion of decentralization also feeds a particularized perspective in approaching the issue of poverty. The significance of a particularized perspective is that it reflects a conservative style of thinking which focuses on ‘concrete’ events and disregards necessary abstractions to understand the underlying dynamics of these concrete events. The implication of this perspective will be shown below in the approaches of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri.

The theme of depoliticization also refers to the issue of the liberal conservative ideology of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) related with the public policy reform which is discussed above in chapter 5 on Turkey. The main philosophy of this reform is to organize the efficient means of public management

which avoids any conflict with the requirements of capital accumulation and to establish a firm-customer relation between state administration and citizens. The reflection of this philosophy of public management into the sphere of poverty alleviation is significant in the sense that a similar discourse of a firm-customer relation and that of budgetary constraints typical for a firm constitute certain aspects of liberal conservative approach to poverty. Thus, traces of such a discourse are identified in the interviews of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association and will be shown in below analysis

In making an overall assessment of the depoliticization theme, it has to be put forward that depoliticization of poverty reduces the issue of poverty to a perspective of an “administration of the poor”. This contention is important in the sense that two distinct sub-themes are identified under the problematic of an effective mode of administration of poverty. One of them is related with the “particularism”, “firm-logic” and “technical division of management” dominant in the discourse of poverty alleviation. The other is related with the discourse of philanthropic perspective in poverty alleviation. For the latter, the more detailed explanation will be made after the analysis of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri interviews with respect to former.

5.3.1.1 Particularism, Firm-Logic and Technical Division of Management in Poverty Alleviation

The question of how do you define poverty is answered by D1 who is a director of social assistance responsible for Ankara region in Deniz Feneri Association:

It is, in fact, not possible to give a precise definition of poverty. I do not know how you define it. It is not right to give a general definition of poverty. Can you give such a definition! Of course there are some general definitions developed by World Bank or United Nations. But these definitions are not more than a definition. That is to say a particular perspective is needed to define poverty.

D1 emphasizes the need of a particular perspective to define poverty. And he continued:

For example, your budget might be limited in this year. Or it can be large. According to your budget conditions, you can develop some ideas, you can enlarge your scope. In the beginning you may not assist to wage earners, but as your budget permits, you can do assist. The conditions might confront you with a large mass of wage-earners. Then you need to focus completely on the wage earners. As a result, this whole process conveys variations. Therefore, those bunch of general definitions might not produce right consequences.

When it is asked to an expert(1) in social relief department of SYDGM about the universal social rights perspective in poverty alleviation strategy, she implicitly articulates a very similar statements with respect to the above statements of D1. She says that:

It is very important to define a target poor population on which we implement the social rights perspective. For instance take the 12 million people who are categorized as relative poor. Then, which segments should we select to implement the social rights perspective.

They – D1 and the expert(1) from SYDGM - both express a typical firm-strategic view that takes into account the budgetary constraints, target poor population and improvement of new ideas and scope, accordingly. As a result, he finds no reason to work with a general definition of poverty. He concludes that, “poverty cannot be approached with a general view but with a particular view.” This particularized perspective is also expressed by the branch manager of Ankara Deniz Feneri Association, D2, and he states that “each poor has a distinct poverty story”. This can be interpreted as an extreme version of particularism. That there is a distinct story for each and every poor is indisputable, however, the ideological aspect of such a particularism is manifesting itself when it deliberately rejects any abstraction to understand the underlying structural dynamics of poverty. Thus, D2 advises us to not to ask himself any kind of “sociological and political” questions. Instead he prefers to respond to the questions of a concrete kind which are basically related with the activities of Association. In particular, he felt a real pleasure when it is time to display some photos of a particular project of house making for some poor families in a near-by village of Ankara. He ardently emphasized a lot about these particular success stories. A similar style of narration

is experienced in SYDGM too. S2 - the director of the department responsible for the cooperation with voluntary institutions - talks about a project of establishing a “social market” in Harran where poor families were provided first or second hand clothes and home facilities. She seems to be fascinated by the project:

District governor of the town organizes the prayer leaders, mayors, civil associations of the town in three days. They give briefing for three days to the people of the town. They prepare brochures and distribute them to students. Students, in turn, give these brochures to their families. By this way, the whole town is informed about the social market. In the first week, a very large amount of home materials are flowing to the social market. It is unbelievable, you should witness to this event: toys, socks, wedding dresses, all first-hand, new. A lot of firms are taking roles in this organization and grants a lot of clothes and home facilities. The day we left Harran, a poor family was all clothed with first-hand clothes and shoes. It is wonderful, a person who cannot afford such materials are wearing brand new clothes.

While both of these officers exemplify a particularistic perspective in their narration of the success stories of particular projects, D2 shows a contemptuous attitude to the struggle of trade-unions for the interests of working class. He states that:

What we do here is very different from trade-unions. They can only march on the streets and shout at around. But we do perform work. We do something. They just shout. You cannot solve the problem by shouting on the streets. You should perform work.

These statements are a very clear example of a depoliticized view. In accordance with this view, D2 expresses his opinions on the relationship between the enrichment of a minority of people and impoverishment of large masses of people. Below he responds to the question of why the grant base of the association depends more on middle class people than on the rich of the society. He states that:

It is not our job to judge the rich people. After all, there is no inherent relationship between the impoverishment of large masses of people and the enrichment of a minority. Rich people work more and become rich. There is no problem. If you wonder about the rich, then go and ask to the rich.

In the above statements D2 implicitly points to the fact that rich people cannot be accounted responsible to assist poor people. If they want to assist, they voluntarily assist them. Apart from their voluntaristic action, they cannot be held responsible and thereby be forced to share a portion of their richness with the poor people. Because in his view enrichment mechanisms have no effects on the impoverishment of large masses of people and hard-working people achieve their rich position by their own endeavors. These ideological arguments are also a clear example of a depoliticized view of impoverishment and enrichment.

D1 also expresses his opinions on the impoverishment and enrichment. He brings moral issues to the foreground which can be treated as another manifestation of depoliticization:

The questions of ‘How the rich become that much rich and how the poor become that much poor’ cannot be taken into account by this association [Deniz Feneri Derneği]. The answers to these questions cannot be found in this association. You can find the answer to these questions either through your own observation, or through religion, or through some political ideologies. That is to say your world-view determines the answer given to these questions. For me the basic problem is the moral dissolution. Moral dissolution covers the problems of economic sphere, too. Therefore, the problem is not the division of society into the rich and the poor, but a moral one that covers all segments of society.

Like D2, D1 expresses his reluctance to problematize the enrichment mechanisms and social inequalities. But, D1 at least stresses that these issues do not have any matter for the association. Thus, D1 also passed off the question related with the little amount of donations given by the rich of society. He says that

This might be related with the level of publicity of this association. Or think from another perspective. For instance is it a must for this association to collect all the grants given by the rich. We do not have to collect all the grants. The more important one is to encourage the spirit of solidarity for both the rich and the poor.

D3, an expert in social assistance and reporting and gives consultancy to Deniz Feneri volunteers, has given a training of how to make a proper social examination and reporting during volunteer visits to poor families’ houses – into

which the researcher has participated. In this training, he emphasizes the necessity of preparing an “objective” needs-assessment report. In his presentation, he complains a lot about the wastage of resources in social assistance due to ‘political’ interests and claims that:

Social assistance is above all kinds of political and ideological interests. This duty is above the interests of all social groups and political ideologies. Therefore we have to make this job perfectly. By this way, we can determine those who deserve and who do not deserve and thereby the grants are not wasted for other reasons. In the end everyone gets what they deserve.

He isolates the process of poverty from the conflicts in the society claiming that social assistance is above the interests of all social groups. Thus, he depoliticizes the issue. In line with this, conservative-liberal spirit of getting what you deserve is clear in D3’s view. It can be inferred from his statements that if everyone gets what he/she deserves, then there exists no social conflict on which politics is constituted. And such a perspective feeds depoliticization, too.

As already explained above the search for the efficient means of governing the poor depoliticizes the issue of poverty. In this respect, the role of state and civil associations is also discussed within the problematic of an efficient technical division of labour in poverty alleviation. In the light of this, the most apparently politicized discourse in Deniz Feneri Association is in the end reduced to a search for a technical division of labour between state and civil associations to govern the poor.

D2 does not want to answer the question of whether non-governmental associations undertake the responsibilities of the state in social assistance. He says that:

This topic does not make any sense to me. Our responsibility is not to make pressure on the State institutions in terms of calling its authority to take responsibility on the issue of poverty. We are only a bridge between contributors and the poor. State’s adequacy in social assistance is limited with his resources. State behaves according to his resources. If his resources permit him to take role in social assistance, then he does it. If not, then he can not..

On the other hand, D1 approaches to the relation between civil associations and state with a slightly different perspective. He thinks that:

There should not be strict distinctions between state and civil associations. State and civil associations should continuously trigger each other. They even assign roles to each other in dealing with a problem. For instance, a civil association may identify a certain social problem, and search for the means to tackle with this problem. At this moment, he can call for the state to provide him an orientation or coordination. Or maybe for resources. They both make a suitable division of labor to tackle with the concerning issue.

D1 also responds with a familiar perspective to the question of an effective mode of governing of the poor.

The solution should start from the political sphere. A strong political perspective should come on the scene. It should thank to all these previous attempts, and then, attempt to gather all the previous information and efforts in this field. By forming a wide structure of collaboration with various civil associations, state should give a start to a new process.

As previously stated above, the most apparently political discourse related with the civil association and state's role in poverty alleviation is reduced to a technical division of management within the problematic of governing the poor effectively. On the other hand, this problematic manifests itself in a different form within the discussion of private legal personality of Social Assistance and Solidarity Associations in the organizational structure of Fund General Directorate. Such a decentralized and localized organizational structure of Fund General Directorate is supported by the notion of flexibility as an efficient means of governing the problem of poverty.

S1, a director of the relief department in Fund General Directorate, expresses her opinions about the private legal statuses of Associations:

This is for flexibility. It enables the State to give a fast response in a local setting while facing the urgent requirements of poor people. And no more bureaucracy. Associations do not need to take confirmations from the upper echelons of bureaucracy. Board of trustees of Associations does their job. They emergently answer the needs of poor people in their local settings.

Among others, this is a unique example of a flexible management in a state institution, highly capable of fast problem solving.

The director of Keçiören Association S3 also expresses the same spirit of effective, dynamic management in a very assertive mode. He states that:

we are unfortunately evaluated as a public institution by both citizens and workers of the Association. This is our biggest handicap. On the contrary, I see my Association as a non-governmental organization. As a civil-private institution. Thus, I need to be dynamic, flexible. I need to disregard the strict rules of state bureaucracy.

5.3.1.2 Philanthropism

As previously stated above, two sub-themes are identified under the theme of depoliticization. It is also asserted that these two sub-themes are related with the problematic of an efficient means of governing the poor which is a typical manifestation of depoliticization. The phenomenon of philanthropism is discussed above in chapter 3 in the section about approaches to poverty. Philanthropic approaches are developed in a particular historical context. That is, the rebellion uprising of working class in 1848 urges the necessity of developing a new administrative vision confronting with the demands of poor working-class. This necessity arises by the political demands of working classes which force the state to renew his juridical relations with society in terms of the entitlement of citizens with new social rights and thereby charging the state juridically with new economic and social roles. This new juridical vision also leads to the legitimacy of the intervention of the state to the economic sphere to fulfill its social and economic responsibilities. Nonetheless, the search for a solution within the juridical sphere is opposed by 19th century conservative-liberal advocates of strong state authority and free markets. They reject it on both ideological and material grounds. For the former, the charging of the state with new social responsibilities to its citizens would put the state in a position in which it has to generate legitimacy to sustain its authority. Conservatives see in this process a weakening of state authority in the sense that the authority of state is henceforth depended on the fulfillment of social responsibilities to the poor. On material

grounds, the intervention of state to economic sphere is limiting capitalists' freedom to accumulate more surpluses. State intervention conflicts with the interest of capitalists, which constitutes the main pillar of the liberal opposition. That is the point where philanthropic approaches emerge and become functional to alleviate the tensions of a divided society between the poor and the rich.

Philanthropy provided [...] set of principles for intervening in society. Without denying the individual's interest as the basis of the economic system, all philanthropic techniques elaborated a pragmatic reference to some kind of collective interest. But such collective interest did not lead to any social debt toward the poor, since philanthropy pointed in a moral community the rationale for interpreting poverty as a concern for the whole of society (Procacci 1989, 169).

As it is stated above the nature of philanthropic suggestion points to a new administrative vision in which moral social responsibility of the society is called upon to deal with the problems of the poor. By referring to the moral social responsibility, philanthropy depoliticizes the issue of poverty.

Philanthropy has a close affinity with liberal-conservative ideology. As it is stated in the section on poverty above in Chapter 3, the goal of liberal-conservative ideology is to find ways to sustain the social unity and solidarity without intervening into the sphere of capital accumulation. In this context, the functionalization of religious values in social help is proposed to sustain social unity and social solidarity and thereby preventing the antagonism between the rich and the poor of the society.

These ideological tendencies which are derived from philanthropic approaches are well-embodied in Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM. For instance, the slogan of Deniz Feneri Association is "kindness movement of the century (Yüzyılın İyilik Hareketi)". The emphasis on the value of 'kindness' in this slogan is significant in the sense that it shows the mobilization of collective responsibility of society by moral values. On the other hand, the emphasis on the value of kindness in such a movement might generate a hierarchy between the kindly-spirited volunteers of this movement and the poor people which are waiting to be

survived by this volunteer army. Thus, as it was observed by the researcher during the visits to the houses of the poor for needs-assessment together with the DF volunteers, most of the volunteers see in themselves the right to blame or reproach the poor for their several behavioral preferences. The simultaneous existence of the compassion of the kindly-spirited volunteer and the authoritarian attitude of the same person against the poor illustrates the Janus-face of the volunteers in this hierarchical relation.

Overall, the administrative vision proposed by philanthropic arguments, incorporation of religious values with philanthropism in liberal-conservative ideology, and the authoritarian tendencies of some of the volunteers are illustrated in the interviews done with SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association.

D2 defines the essence of Deniz Feneri Association with the following words. “Deniz Feneri is Responsibility. It does not enforce but evokes..” He refers to a typical attribute of a sphere of action which is neither related with economic sphere nor juridical sphere. Deniz Feneri does neither enforce people in a juridical sense to make social assistance nor organizing an economic production orienting to the collective interests of the poor. It rather attempts to display the conditions of the poor to evoke philanthropic sentiments of citizens which are in a relative economic comfort. What D2 implies by the word ‘responsibility’ is a civil-moral responsibility that does not refer to a state-related juridical activity.

In the training session mentioned above, D3, an expert in social assistance and reporting and gives consultancy to Deniz Feneri volunteers, exemplifies the phenomenon of philanthropism by referring to an Islamic oriented historical narrative. He cites a small story from the Ottoman Period to its audiences in a volunteer training session.

In the period of Sultan Yavuz Selim, imperial order arrives to local treasuries of Ottoman Empire to provide food needs of poor households in each local region for the upcoming ‘Three Months’ religious bayram. Afterwards, it is noticed that there exists no change in the treasury account with respect to the money allowances for the food needs of households.

They find out that communities were able to solve the problem of the food needs of household with their own dynamics. This is the potential of the community equipped with modesty and decency. This is a brilliant example from our forefathers that we need to follow.

From the SYDGM wing, it is necessary to recall the story told by S2 of a project of establishing a social market in Harran where poor families were provided first or second hand clothes and home facilities. She ardently cited the story of this social market by mentioning every minute detail. In the end she assessed all these events as the best example of a community solidarity in which a state organization takes a participant role. In consistence with the philanthropic approach, state institutions participate into a social assistance organization by mobilizing and coordinating the collective and moral dynamics of a local community.

In parallel with this view, Director of Social Relief Department S1 states that:

If you look at the title of this institution, you notice the word ‘social solidarity’. Social Assistance and Solidarity... Until today we neglect the dimension of social solidarity. Social solidarity is necessary. You should not expect everything from the state. But when you promote social solidarity as an institution, you need to be very careful in terms of not hurting the poor people. You organize a social assistance so that it should be sensitive to the emotions of poor people.

Director of Keçiören Association S3 points to the fact that there exists no considerable difference between SYDGM and SHÇEK in terms of their general objectives of poverty alleviation unless the role of empowering the local solidarity dimension of SYDGM via its Associations is emphasized.

Why do they establish SYDGM? In essence it has no difference from the objectives of SHÇEK. Take a look at the law numbered 2828. The activities written in this article is quiet similar to the activities of SYDGM. But there is a distinct reason in the establishment of SYDGM. It is the mobilization of the dynamics Turkish society towards social solidarity, the mobilization of philanthropic dynamics, and the participation of citizens to the field of social assistance. The notices that came from the administration in the first years of the establishment of SYDGM clearly indicates the objective which is maintaining the local participation at the highest possible level, creating projects that can attract other civil associations, institutions and local

citizens towards social assistance. So to speak, the integration of local society into the social assistance projects. This is the main objective.

Although the distinctive objective of SYDGM is defined as mobilizing the local philanthropic dynamics of society through associations, an expert(1) from the Social Relief department points to the fact that SYDGM Associations cannot achieve a satisfactory performance in realizing this objective. She justifies her opinion by referring to the very low level of donations attracted by associations. She also indicates the role of governors of the town in mobilizing the community dynamics through designing of projects:

Keçiören Association is a very unique example in terms of mobilizing the local philanthropic dynamics to social assistance. But it cannot be generalized to other Associations. In fact, the performance of an Association in mobilizing local dynamics depends on the attitudes of the Governors of the region. Although there exists a Board of Trustees of an Association, ultimate decision is always given by the governors of the region. Their views are therefore very important.

However, S3 from the Keçiören Association, described as a unique example of mobilizing local philanthropic dynamics, complains about the very low level of local participation to social assistance. He states that:

Our title signifies the importance of social solidarity. But there exists no effective social solidarity. We need to be in interaction with the people and civil institutions in our region to establish a social solidarity network in social assistance. In my opinion the use of state resources is a dependency to state. Therefore I do not want to use the resource of the state. If you take the resource from the state and distribute it to poor people, then this means that you are not working according to the principle of an association. What makes an association a proper one is its relative autonomy from the state by the granted resources. But unfortunately even Keçiören association cannot achieve satisfactory autonomy from the state.

As stated above philanthropic notions constitute an important dimension of liberal-conservative ideology. In this context, the administrative vision of philanthropy which aims to sustain social unity and solidarity reproduces itself within liberal-conservative ideology that depends on a relatively more emphasis on the functional roles of religion to maintain the social unity and solidarity.

Although philanthropic approach is dominant both in SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association, the latter distinguishes itself by emphasizing more on the role of religious values to maintain social unity and solidarity. In this context, it is necessary to take a look at what D1, director of social assistance for Ankara region of the Deniz Feneri Association, states on this aspect:

In my opinion the problem of poverty cannot be controlled or administered by merely 'giving'. Taking from the rich and giving to the poor is not the main issue. Moral reform is needed. To make this moral reform you need a base structure to justify this moral reform. This base structure should be constituted by the religious values. Either you accept it or not, the values which maintain the social unity of our society are, today, religion. A considerable degree of social assistance made by people is motivated by religious values. If religion is weakened in this society, the base structure of this society collapses and all solidaristic sentiments flow away.

In this same vein, D1 identifies the functional necessity of Deniz Feneri association in a modern society. He makes this by referring to a strict duality of modern society vs community-like groups.

In modern society, Deniz Feneri association is necessary to develop a consciousness of solidarity and cooperative spirit, because modern life isolates people in their own boxes. Even in the same apartment neighbours do not meet each other for long. This is a symptom of modernity. And Deniz Feneri functions in its particular field as a medicine for curing this symptom. Think about the nomadic or tribal mode of life in past centuries. No one can feel the insecurity of being isolated and poor in such conditions. In case of any arising need of a poor in these modes of life, close relatives of the same tribe urgently run for the help. Patronage and protection is more advanced than modern society. And so the social relations are warmer than that of modern social relations.

It is also important to notice the association of patronage and protectionist relations with the warmness of social relations. D1 refers to the warmness of social relations while he also envisions the differences between state and civil associations in social assistance with respect to their relations with poor. He says that:

The difference between us and State in the field of social assistance is that we set up closer and warmer relations with poor. We really nested with

them. We are like neighbours. Unlike the state perspective, they are not an experimental object for us.

These views above on modern versus tribal societies, patronage and protection, warmth of the civil associations as opposed to state is in consistent with the liberal-conservative ideology that attaches high importance to the civil intermediary institutions in terms of strengthening the moral bond between the poor and the other sections of society who are in a relatively better economic position. In addition to this, the quotation below also illustrates the tendency of liberal-conservative ideology in terms of the priority it gives to voluntaristic action of citizens in social assistance compared to the juridical and compulsory state welfare system. It is further claimed that state social assistance indirectly weakens the moral bond between and the rich and the poor, and confronting them against each other. D1, thus, illustrates these ideological tendencies in below:

Deniz Feneri Association provokes certain emotional values that affect people in a relatively better economic position. It evokes them and makes them turn towards the poor of the society. When they confront with the facts of the lives of the poor they turn to themselves and bless God for their own positions in life. They simultaneously attempt to help poor people and become abstinent in their own life preferences. Whether we deliberately target this point or not, Deniz Feneri Association creates the conditions for the rich and the poor of the society to meet each other, and thereby it strengthens the social solidarity between them. By this way, more radical struggles might be prevented.

Both SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association organize some special days in which they bring together volunteers, poor people, and some governors of cities or towns. In these special days, similar sensitivities are displayed from both institutions with respect to neglecting the traces of hierarchy between the participants. For instance, in order to make poor people feel themselves outside of the real hierarchies of society, the protocol table is excluded in the arrangement of the place and governors and donators are sitting in between poor people in these special days. A social unity of riches, higher statue governors and the poors are presented with these symbolic movements.

Although liberal-conservatives argue that closer and warmer relations are set up by civil associations in social assistance compared to the state welfare bureaucracy within the general framework of philanthropic administrative vision, the existence the authoritarian attitude of the volunteers against the poor is the other side of the coin. As it is stated above, the assumption of a kindly-spirited volunteering society simultaneously creates the conditions of the emerging authoritarian attitudes in different forms. This will be exemplified below with reference to both Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM.

One of the experienced volunteer of Deniz Feneri expresses his opinions in a volunteer training session:

I have a critical advice to my friends. Volunteers should not confine themselves to merely visit poor families' houses and examine their conditions on the spot. They should rather stretch their examination through other days and weeks. They should increase their visits to the poor houses which are in their responsibility once or twice a week and control whether the male breadwinner of the house spares his time in coffeehouse or whether he smokes cigarettes that cost 5 lira. Because there are some people who arouse compassion for themselves and thereby obtain social assistance. Afterwards, they play gamble for the whole day. You should take these factors into account.

The other experienced volunteer of Deniz Feneri puts himself in elder-brother position in his relation to the poor families:

Besides examining the poor families' condition, I occasionally make some recommendations to them whenever I make my visit. I said them this is not your fate. Behave yourself, snap out of it! Never attempt to come up against state or God. Since they generally express their angers to the state. But here we are. You are not alone. We come to you as an elder brother...In other words the important thing is not to give basic needs to them, but to give them the moral spirit of dynamism and hardworking to prevent their moral laziness and angers.

In a scene where D1 and some volunteers evaluate the social examination reports together, one of the volunteers expresses his opinion about the poor and she says that the poor so much tend towards deceiving people for obtaining social assistance. D1 refers to this determination and expresses his norms about how to be a proper Deniz Feneri volunteer: "This attitude is the one which we want from

our volunteers: Be merciless!” He also added that “I try not to behave in a formal style. Instead, I try to behave ‘kindly but firmly’ to the poor. By this way I prevent their excessive demands from us.”

An experienced social assistance expert(3) in Keçiören Association in SYDGM expresses a very similar perspective with Deniz Feneri volunteers:

For instance the poor man of the house expresses that he is seriously in need of food and coal support. But he smokes Marlboro. If he cannot do without smoking, he should at least smoke cheaper cigarettes than Marlboro. For instance, you enter the house, and notice the beer bottles hidden behind the door. Then you inevitably think that if we assist this family, they waste this resource by buying beer or alcohol. For another example, last week in one of my visits I noticed fifteen bracelets (burma bilezik) left on the table. Then the woman of the house hurriedly attempted to close them by a table cover. But I am fast enough even to be able to count them. Overall, you should be so careful during the visits of poor houses. You should examine every detail and judge them accordingly.

5.3.2 Denying Social Rights Perspective

As it has been dealt with in Chapter 3 in the section on welfare regimes, Esping-Andersen suggests some important criteria for the theoretical specification of the welfare state. One specification is related with the dimension of social rights and citizenship. It is asserted that welfare state should be examined with respect to its decommodification efforts and granting of social rights and social citizenship statuses. Social contract between welfare-state government and citizens refers to a set of rights and a legal statue named as “social rights” and “social citizenship” status. This new model extensively modifies the state-society relationships towards a juridically and politically responsible state for the social well-being of its citizens. Moreover, these developments are inherently related with egalitarian values in the sense that each citizen has the right to access equal standards of quality in welfare provisions. In parallel to this historical development, the field of social policy gains its essential character. This particular character is explained in Chapter 3 in the sections on poverty by referring to Özuğurlu’s arguments on the changing essence of social policy field by referring to the changing connotations of the ‘social’ in the neo-liberal epoch. According to the traditional social policy

vision, the meaning of “social” refers both to a sphere of political-legal rights of citizens vis-a-vis state and to a sphere of decommodification processes. However, he points to the fact that since the liberal-conservative assault has dominated the social policy agenda in general and the poverty alleviation in particular, the meaning of “social” loses its political-legal status and thereby loses its meaning of decommodification. Liberal-conservative agenda takes social policy out of the modern political paradigm and adapts it to the new public policy understanding which echoes to the principles of a private company politics. In the light of this there exists a parallel change in the understanding of ‘social rights’ which loses its political-juridical and universal scope and thereby reduced to a definition of rights of a particular target group. This new meaning of the ‘social rights’ is immanent in the liberal-conservative approach of Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM to poverty as will be illustrated below.

On the other hand, there emerges a direct assault by liberal-conservative ideology against social rights perspective in some settings such as charity-based civil association. Instead, as explained above in Chapter 3 in the context of approaches to poverty, liberal-conservative ideology encourages the role of philanthropic sentiments of the rich and attributes an important role to charity-based “civil” associations in poverty alleviation. Furthermore, it encourages the social responsibility of average citizens of society in poverty alleviation. An example of such a direct assault to social rights perspective is particularly observed in interviews done by Deniz Feneri Association. During the interviews, an expert(1) in relief department of SYDGM was asked the question of what the relevance of a charitable income account is in a state institution. She responded as follows:

In fact this is not a usual case for a state institution. At first, it seems not relevant to have a charitable income account for a state institution. But, on the other hand social assistance is not understood within the framework of a social right. If it is accepted as a social right, could the state afford to do this? It is a controversial issue whether the state can meet the social expenditures given as social right.

It is obvious that social rights are not understood as prioritizing the political and juridical responsibility of state in providing the social well-being of citizens. It is

rather evaluated as an accounting approach in terms of the quantitative adequacy of state budget to meet social expenditures. When the same expert(1) is asked to elaborate in more detail about the possibilities of a social policy adopting the social rights perspective in poverty alleviation, she states the following:

This is, in fact, related with the definition of the target population you choose. You decide on what amount of a mass of people you are planning to cover for social assistance. For instance, if you take relative poverty, there are twelve million poor people. Then which segments are you going to select from this twelve million? If we are able to target specifically to a certain set of people who cannot earn their living and give them social assistance as if it is their social rights, then we can really change something in their lives. But we unfortunately lack the information on the quantity of the targeted mass. It is uncertain, and this uncertainty prevents me to make certain arguments about whether the social assistance can be a social right or not.

But when she is reminded about the universal scope of the notion of social rights, she still handles this notion within her peculiar framework, and asks:

OK, it is a universal right. But which groups benefit from this universal right? In such a case, the definition of poverty is critical. If you accept the social assistance as a social right for the absolute poverty category, you need to determine how many people are in this category. If you refer to universality, then we need to turn towards the relative poverty category. But the number is really high for relative poverty category. Therefore, for whom the social assistance becomes a social right is again directed as a question to be answered.

It can be observed in these statements that ‘social rights’ are understood as the rights of a particular targeted social group. The attribute of the ‘social’ in the sphere of rights here is not defined with reference to a juridical and political society but defined instead with reference to a particular social group that needs to be defined by the social policy maker. The director of Keçiören Association S3 expresses a similar understanding of social rights. He states that:

Our duty is to find a balanced position between relative poverty and absolute poverty. That is to say, we try to save people from the conditions of absolute poverty. But the others who are in relative poverty have no right to take social assistance from my Association. And I see the social assistance distributed to the people who are in absolute poverty condition as their social rights. They should take this social assistance, because it is their right.

But I myself have to check whether they deserve this right or not in every six months period. In every six months, I detect whether she/he has this right to deserve social assistance or not.

It is clear that S3 uses the notion of social right in the sense of the status of deserving-poor. That is to say, whenever S3 uses the notion of social assistance as a social right, he in fact implies a particular status of the poor people that deserves to take social assistance.

Direct assault of liberal-conservative ideology against the social rights discourse is obvious in D1's statements. In the following statement he expresses his general impression about the families who earn their life by collecting papers:

We make social assistance to some of these families for a certain period. But I notice something strange about them. They accept the social contributions as if these are their social rights. They thought that they already deserve these social contributions because it is their social right.

D1 does not seem to be at ease with the attitudes of these paper collecting families. He seems to evaluate this attitude as arrogance. His proper model of a poor family might be the one who knows its 'natural' place and limits. To support this speculation about D1, it is necessary to refer to his ideological arguments below through which he evaluates the social struggle for rights from a culturalist perspective. He states that:

Our society does not feel sympathy to people who shout in the streets for rights and freedoms. The reason might be related with the Ottoman Empire culture. In any case, our society does not feel sympathy to the groups who mobilizes with a rebellion spirit. Instead the common sense of this society prefers a social type which is passive in terms of expressing its political demands to power centers and submissive to its economic and social status.

These cultural determinations can be interpreted as signifying a very important dimension about the understanding of the authority in this society. That is to say, these determinations implicitly signify a typical conservative outlook in the sense that a merciful authority that gives social help to its subjects but intolerant of the rebellion uprisings of them with respect to rights and freedoms is underlined. In

the light of this point, D1 points to a criminal aspect in evaluating the social rights perspective of poor people. He states that:

Some minority of poor people dare to see social assistance as a social right of their own. They reflect a form of jealousy in the sense that why I am poor and the others have many properties that generates income. In the end, this might lead to a thievery. The general reason for thievery might be the actions of these kinds of the poor.

When D1 is reminded of the criticism of the alms logic²¹ in social assistance in terms of setting up a hierarchical relation that can damage the human dignity, this criticism would not make any sense to D1. Since the hierarchical relation between the rich and the poor is not a problem in itself for D1. On the other hand, he defines the problem in alms logic with respect to the waste of resources by distributing them to non-deserving families. In this respect he does not treat Deniz Feneri assistances within alms logic because he claims that they are so careful in selecting the deserving-poor families.

5.3.3 Moralizing Poverty: Defective Sociability and the Deserving Poor

Above in Chapter 3, it is elicited that the historical development of the social scientific discourse is related with the uprisings of the poor working-class in 1848 revolutions (Procacci 1989). Social scientific discourse attempts to generate a new outlook to deal with the problems of society in general and poor working-classes in particular. This new outlook is formed with specific conceptual apparatuses that are provided neither by the already developed juridical discourse nor by the individual-centered economic rationality provides. According to this new outlook,

Poverty was an effect of *unchangeable* laws of economic development. It was then utterly economic, yet not industrial: on the contrary, the industrial system was slowly but surely reducing poverty. There was also another sort of poverty: a moral one, which it was possible to treat socially. Such poverty had no natural justification: it originated in the gap between the economic improvement of the lower classes, and their moral progress. In this defective

²¹ Alms-logic refers to any material favour done to assist the needy, and prompted by charity. In the framework of Islamic doctrine, unlike Jesus Christ, Mohammed never condemned wealth or possessions of this world. He himself had become rather wealthy merchant trader. But, he required Muslims always to set aside a portion of their wealth for the poor — a self-imposed and regular tax on income. (<http://middleeast.about.com/od/religionsectarianism/g/me080901e.htm>)

sociability lay the cause of the moral poverty: idleness, improvidence, irresponsibility affecting the popular classes. Against this poverty, no remedies would be effective other than improved means of *socialization* (ibid., 180) (emphasis added).

The assumed moral poverty of the poor people is caused by a defective sociability which includes idleness, improvidence, and irresponsibility. The fact that the “defective sociability” of popular classes are expected to be remedied by improved means of socialization “opens the field of an unlimited pedagogy of the citizen” (ibid., 183). Thus, early social scientific discourse attributes the poor labouring-classes a defective sociability that requires to be remedied by improved means of socialization to fit them to the requirements of capital accumulation in 19th century.

The conservative tendency of the early social scientific discourse reproduces itself in different forms in 20th century. In particular, liberal-conservative assault against the welfare state is highly significant in terms of the revival of a similar kind of moral language in dealing with the problem of poverty. As presented above in Chapter 3, Philippe Beneton points to the necessity of changing the vocabulary of social policy field towards a moral one to overcome the challenges of the welfare state. He states that:

This implies modifications in our use of vocabulary and a return to terms which express the moral signification of actions: laziness, courage, cheating, dignity, corruption, commitment. Today, such a vocabulary is immediately denounced as ‘stigmatizing’ certain individuals. But this external attitude of non-discrimination is counter-productive: concern for the well-being of others does not mean indifference to evil (Beneton 1998, 193).

The tendency of evaluating the poor people according to the moral significance of their actions is also observed as a dominant characteristic of the approaches of Deniz Feneri and SYDGM to poverty. On the other hand, the blaming the poor with a moral perspective is “tolerated” to a certain degree because of the existence of children in the poor families. The position of children is a determining factor for the liberal conservative approach to poverty in terms of deciding for a social assistance. This aspect of the moralizing of the poor is also experienced in Deniz Feneri and SYDGM discourse.

As it is explained in Chapter 3 which provides the theoretical background to this study, liberal and conservative paradigms converge in explaining poverty as the by-product of social causes and this is sometimes called a *casualty approach* to poverty (Townsend 1984, as quoted in Alcock 1984, 45). “The poor are the casualties of the market and their symptoms of suffering must be relieved by the state” (Alcock *ibid.*). But as long as the relief function of the state is managed within a moralizing framework, some groups are prioritized over others and treated as morally deserving to take social support from the state.

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

This view is also observed in the interviews done by SYDGM Association organized under a State Institution.

The notion of moral poverty can be noticed in the opening statements of D1 from Deniz Feneri Association. He is asked about the causes of poverty in general and responds as the following:

You can list many factors regarding the causes of poverty. But in a general sense I associate the causes of poverty to morality. I use this concept of morality in a wide sense in which we can add honesty, truthfulness. Thus, I see a general moral degeneration underlying the causes of poverty.

He further added that:

Although the economic conditions can also be accounted among the major reasons of poverty, moral values are deeper than the economic factors. Therefore, there is a need to set up a moral base at the deepest level. I do not believe that poverty can be relieved by giving higher wages, more jobs to the poor families.

In the following quotation, D1 exemplifies the notion of moral poverty by referring to the unjustifiable anger of the poor against the rich. He says that:

In fact, the poor criticize the widening social inequality not for the purpose of achieving a state of social justice. They rather feel the jealousy of why they lack the privileges of rich people. If they gather even the half of the privileges of these riches on their own hands, they would be worse than the ones they previously criticized. This is the moral dilemma of the poor.

In the light of this general moral framework, the Director of Deniz Feneri of Ankara branch, D2 expresses his opinion about the main causes of poverty.

The very important reason of poverty is the laziness of the poor people. For instance, the Ülker Corporation²² informs our Association that the corporation demands forty people to employ with insurance in loading works. We tell this to many poor families which are in our databases. We see that none of these families attempt to apply for this job vacancy. It seems that to overcome their hunger by social assistance is adequate for poor families; they do not have a desire to work and earn their own living.

It can be noticed from D2's statements that the moral qualification of the actions of the poor starts with pointing to the laziness of poor families. As stated above, these are the indicators of the poor's defective sociability. He further mentions the typical attitude of the Association when the poor person rejects the job offers advised by the Association. "We stop giving social assistance when the poor man rejects the job offer". It seems that the poor have no right to reject a job offer. In other words, the poor have no freedom to choose from among the capitalists to whom they sell their labour-power. D2 notices one important condition that makes them rethink instead of stopping to give social assistance when the poor families reject the job offers advised by the Association: "If these families have children, then we keep continuing the social assistance for a while even man of the house rejects a job offer". Children seem to be exempt from blaming the preferences of the poor from a moral perspective.

D2 complains about another moral defect of poor families. He says that:

²² The biscuits and, later on, chocolates that were produced in a small workshop in 1944 gave their name to both the Ülker Group of Companies and the Ülker Group which is the locomotive of the holding. This company has turned into a food giant producing various food items including; biscuits, chocolate, chocolate covered food items, cream chocolate, gum, candies, baby food, coffee, cake and flour. (http://www.ulker.com.tr/en/ulker_group.aspx) Ülker group is generally known with its close relations with the Islami-conservative oriented parties and movements.

Poor families try to hide the materials that come as social aid from other institutions. By this way, they try to cheat our Association. Recently, in one of my visit to a poor house, I find out that one room is stocked with olive oil which is probably taken as a support from other institutions.

It seems that for D2 poor families have a tendency to cheat others as well as lacking a desire to work. Therefore, he reflects a general distrust against poor people during social assistance. For instance, he tells that “we never prefer to give cash money to the hands of the poor; we first identify his needs, and give them in-kind. We also, if necessary, pay the rent of some families directly to the accounts of the house owners.” This might be the evidence of a belief in the irresponsibility and improvidence of the poor as the signs of their moral poverty and thereby their defective sociability.

Besides laziness, cheating, irresponsibility and improvident tendencies of poor families, D1 emphasizes the importance of drinking or smoking habits in their needs-assessment process. They treat these kinds of habits as “bad habits”. Furthermore, he also points that it is important to know whether any member of the poor family commits a “shameful” crime such as theft. But, when it is asked him if these kinds of ‘bad habits’ or shameful crimes are the consequence of deeply poor life-conditions rather than causes of poverty, he points to an important aspect of their needs-assessment process:

Even we try to be as objective as possible in these conditions, the prejudices of society is very strong. For instance, the general prejudices of society against alcoholic person are very negative and this affects our decisions. Otherwise, the Association is harshly criticized by the volunteers and their social environment. They can even warn the Association not to make social assistance with their grants to alcoholic people. Even you support your position by telling that these aids are not for the alcoholic man but for the future of his children, you cannot easily persuade them.

As it is asserted by D1, ideological prejudices of the people who grants to the Association is effective even the association sometimes tries to tolerate some ‘bad habits’ by taking into account the future of the children.

It can be remembered from the part on philanthropism that D1 contrasts the state and civil association in terms of their emotional proximity towards poor people. He claims by referring to their own association that civil associations show so much friendliness to the poor and never attempt to analyze him/her as an experimental object. However, it is elicited from D1 that poor families are also treated as experimental objects in Deniz Feneri. He says that “we sometimes suddenly break the social assistance to a certain family. We do it for the purpose of testing the family in terms of their struggling capacity with the conditions.”

As stated above the “deserving poor” are “those individuals and communities that are positively identified as poor” not the ones who have a negative culture of poverty (Bademci 2007, 47). So far, idleness, cheating and improvidence are identified as the indicators of the moral poverty in Deniz Feneri interviews. These characteristics constitute the properties of the negative culture of poverty. The discourse of the negative culture of poverty engenders the understanding of the “deserving poor”. In the field process this understanding results in attributing a very special importance to needs-assessment processes that includes visits to poor houses. D3 in a volunteer training session makes a comparison between some local state institutions and Deniz Feneri association in terms of the efficient transfer of resources to the deserving-poor and thereby preventing political clientelism:

We should be very sensitive to transfer the resources of our Association to the deserving poor. In local municipalities the needs assessment reports are prepared without making any visit to poor families houses. They sit on their table; they make their assessments on the basis of the statements of the poor and some formal documents required from them. As a result, resources are wasted in these institutions.

In this context, D1 signifies the importance of detailed analysis of the poor families’ conditions.

This approach necessitates “a deep focus inside the house”. He says that to make a healthy determination of deserving poor for social assistance, we need to penetrate inside the house. That is what I mean when I say that our job requires a specialized perspective of poverty rather than a generalized perspective.

Building upon these points, an experienced volunteer expresses the general distinction between the deserving poor and non-deserving poor below:

Our social assistance should not engender idleness, dependency and passivity on the side of the poor people. As the motto ‘teach how to fish rather than giving fish’ states, we should direct poor people to particular courses where they develop their skills and knowledge to make them dynamic for working. On the other hand, there are some others who really cannot have any possibility to obtain a job or craft, and live in deep destitute. Exactly these groups deserve the unconditional social assistance of Deniz Feneri, and this is our job.

As stated above, liberal-conservative paradigm attributes the state a relief function in struggling with poverty. It is also asserted that this relief function should be selective in terms of distinguishing the deserving and non-deserving poor. Thus, this needs to be a precise targeting of a certain population with respect to specific criteria. However, it is elicited in SYDGM that there is no developed system of statistical targeting and criteria. An expert(1) in Relief Department told that:

We have no specified definition and criteria set now. But we are in a process of constructing a new project. The grading system used in Conditional Cash Transfer Project is planned to be extended to other social assistance categories. By this way we have at least some criteria to determine which groups of people can benefit from certain social relief programs. Although the ultimate decision will still be given by the Board of Trustee of the Associations, they will henceforth have some weighted criteria to be used in their decision making process.

More up-to-date information related with the new project on the web site of SYDGM announces the name of the project as the “Project on Developing Process for Specifying Beneficiaries of Social Reliefs” (SYDGM). This project is undertaken in collaboration with TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey). By the implementation of this project “social assistance beneficiaries are determined by relatively more objective criteria. The relatively more efficient use of public resources is being reached. Undeserved beneficiaries are being prevented.”

In Keçiören Association, S3 is asked whether they have developed certain definitions for poverty categories. He explains his categorization in below:

We have risk groups. First group includes the handicapped and chronically ill citizens. Their disability and illnesses prevent them from working. The second group includes the old-aged citizens who are left alone by either their families or close relatives. The third group includes widowed women whose husbands died and left her with her own children. We give unconditional social assistance to these groups. These groups are the absolute poverty groups.

Concerning the relative poverty, S3 states that:

This group includes people who are capable of working but either unemployed due to economic conditions or working on very low wages and bad conditions that make them dependent on social assistance. They cannot afford their expenses by their earnings. Therefore they need to be supported or oriented towards income-generating projects or skill-development courses.

But S3 has no positive opinions about the potential of income-generating projects in poverty alleviation. Because he identifies that the return on such projects are not that much high to have a considerable influence on poverty alleviation. He further identifies an important point. That is, the competitive conditions of the market are so fierce that as long as special privileges are introduced for income-generating projects, there exists no chance for them to survive in such a market.

In this context, ‘Project on Social Support in Rural Region’ (KASDEP) which is still continuing under the project department is needed to be mentioned among the important projects of SYDGM. The objective and the target of the project is defined below:

It aims at the participation of the poor rural families to agricultural production by giving them necessary material and technical support in producing and marketing agricultural products in local setting. By this way, the project tries to increase the income level and employment in rural area. The target beneficiaries of this project include the poor rural citizens who have no adequate economic and social resources. The project brings rural citizens together in a cooperative structure for sheep husbandry and cattle breeding. The cost of the project will be paid for in three equal installments starting from the third year by the beneficiaries (SYDGM).

Although the poor in rural areas are materially and technically supported to produce and sell for the market, they are charged with paying the cost of the project after a certain period of time. Furthermore, the poor are put in a position which they have to struggle for surviving in the competitive agricultural product market.

Ultimately, it is necessary to briefly mention about the similarities between Deniz Feneri association and SYDGM in terms of their determinations of moral poverty. In parallel with Deniz Feneri, S3 states that:

Poor people lack a motive for working. There is no zeal in them. But it is not because of their laziness. It is due to their deep hopelessness. They are hopeless. Therefore they do not believe that one can find a job and can achieve a relative success in this job. They do not have adequate self-confidence.

Although S3 stresses the relation between “demotivation to work” with “poor people’s deep hopelessness”, his determination of this state of hopelessness combines with the determination of the lacking of an entrepreneurial spirit of poors and thereby transforms into a typical complain about poors in which he blames them for their submission of their own fortunes in the course of his other statements.

5.3.4 Tension in Liberal-Conservative Ideology

Thus far, liberal-conservative ideology is illustrated with an inner perfect harmony. That is to say conservative sensitivities are articulated with liberal economic perspective in an unconflicting state of harmony. However, Jessop points to the other side of the coin. He uses the terms neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism to designate the two pillars of liberal-conservative ideology. He, then, subsequently identifies the distinctive problematics of neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism. For Jessop, neo-liberalism essentially deals with the relationships between state and economy. In this context, a new political mode of regulation which should correspond to the requirements of flexible capital accumulation is proposed by the neo-liberal structural adjustment programs. A new mode of

regulation should be founded on the bases of a more flexible, competitive and creative spirit. On the other hand, neo-conservatism deals with the establishment and sustainability of a certain social order based on values and its relations with the authority structure of the society. In the light of these problematics, Jessop asserts that it is so difficult to achieve a satisfactory consensus between neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism, because neo-liberalism does not hesitate to reshape the social order for the requirements of capital accumulation at expense of the dissolution traditional-moral bonds. In contrast, neo-conservatism is in search for the re-establishment of traditional institutions and social bonds for the sustainability of social order. This tension between neo-conservative sensitivity and neo-liberal ideology can also be observed in D1's statements where he refers to rapid and uncontrolled transformation of society:

I think the modernization process was experienced so fast in Turkey. Urbanization, modernization processes emerged so sudden and in an uncontrolled way in Turkey. We sometimes made visit to villages, and we saw that no young people were present in the villages. Where were they? They mostly went to İstanbul for construction jobs. This process of the flow of people to cities was faster in the last years, but it was also ever more difficult to find a job in metropolitan cities. Yes, overall, I assume that this rapid process of modernization creates very serious difficulties in peoples' adaptation to life. We are not ready to the moral dimensions of this process. We are not ready to adapt to this process by our hearts, spirits and ideas.

In the following quotation, D1 indicates what he sees as the symptom of modernity. In line with a conservative position he refers to the warmth of traditional forms of social relations:

Modern life isolates people in their own boxes. Even in the same apartment neighbors do not meet each other for long. This is a symptom of modernity. ... Think about the nomadic or tribal mode of life in past centuries. No one can feel the insecurity of being isolated and poor in such conditions. In case of any arising need of a poor in these modes of life, close relatives of the same tribe urgently run for the help. Patronage and protection is more advanced than modern society. And so the social relations are warmer than that of modern social relations.

Besides illustrating the tension between conservatism and neoliberalism, it is also necessary to illustrate the role of values and of the state in constituting the social

order which is relevant for conservatives. D1 reflects this conservative standpoint in his explanation of the motivation underlying the social assistance to the poor.

Taking from the rich and giving to the poor is not the main issue. Moral reform is needed. To make this moral reform you need a base structure to justify this moral reform. This base structure should be constituted by the religious values. Either you accept or not, the values which maintain the social unity of our society are, today, religious values. A considerable degree of social assistance made by people is motivated by religious values. If religion is weakened in this society, the base structure of this society collapses and all solidaristic sentiments flow away.

D1 also expresses his views about the roles of the state in this rapid transformation process:

The state as a father does not take the necessary responsibility in this modernization process. Or the state may not know exactly what to do in these conditions. Does the state have expert staffs working on the negative consequences of this process? Is the state aware of a declining state of affairs in this society? You step up very fast to the modern urban life, but you have not developed any adaptive mechanism to it. For instance, the state should increase the minimum wages to one thousand lira. Only under this condition, the state has the right to say to me that you have the responsibility for the day care of your old mothers and fathers. These are all related with each other.

These statements very clearly display the conservative tension with neo-liberalism. D1 thinks that the minimum wages should increase to one thousand lira for the purpose of sustaining the healthy unity of families in terms of the responsibilities of young members of the family to the elderly. However, such an amount of minimum wage is intolerable for the requirements of capital accumulation in global competitive capitalism.

5.3.5 Final Evaluation

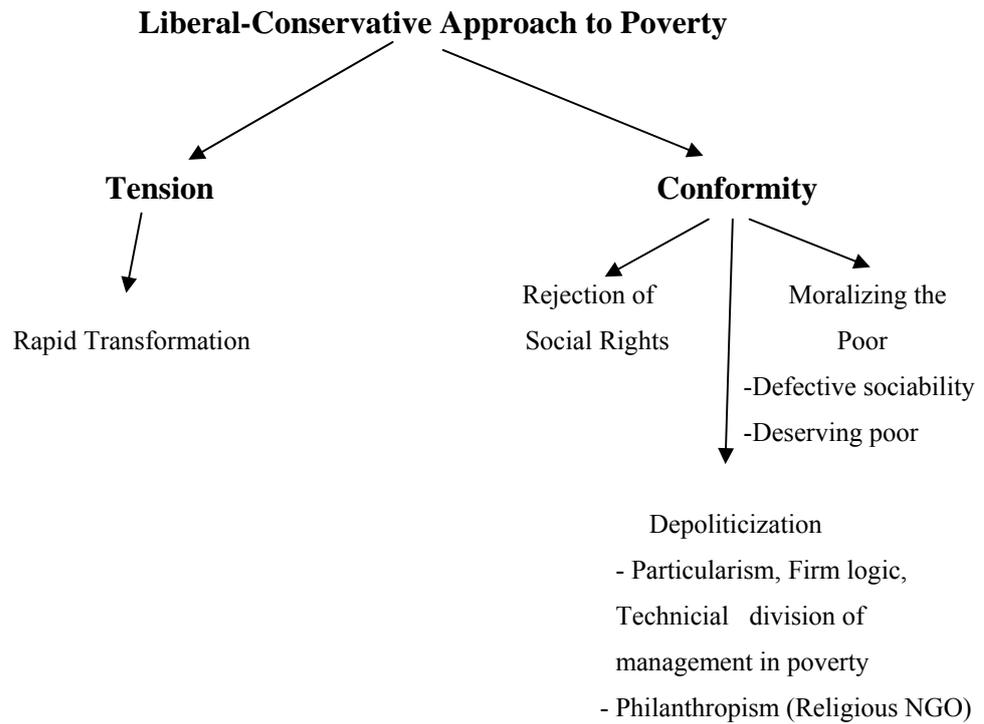


Figure 9: The themes of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which are displayed in the interviews.

In above figure, the conceptual themes which are displayed in their particular forms within the discourse of Deniz Feneri Association and SYDGM are arranged within a peculiar framework of liberal-conservative approach to poverty. Such a framework is inspired from Bob Jessop's notes on the specific tension between liberalism and conservatism in terms of their distinct problematics. As explained above he stresses on the tension dimension of the liberalism and conservatism. Depending on this inspiration from this note of Jessop, such a framework is constructed by taking into account the conceptual themes of this study which are ultimately needed to be located within the liberal-conservative approach to poverty.

According to this figure, liberal-conservative approach to poverty is divided into two parts in terms of the conformity and tension of liberalism and conservatism.

Within the conformity part, liberal economic problematic of state-market relations and conservative problematic of state-society relations are in a relative complementary relation in the sense that the themes under the conformity part are functional to the requirements of the capital accumulation and thereby reproduce the capitalist production relations. The explanation underlying the reproduction relation between these themes which are grouped under the conformity branch and the capitalist accumulation in fact constitute the theoretical conclusions of this study which will be presented in the final conclusion section. Before writing these conclusions, it is necessary to link the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty (Buğra 2008) which are presented in poverty chapter with these conceptual themes

The substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which refer to the conceptual sub-themes expressed under the notion of “depoliticization”, are

- the encouragement of the role of philanthropic sentiments of the rich
- the encouragement of the social responsibility of average citizens of society in poverty alleviation,
- the attribution of an important role to charity-based civil associations,
- disconfirming the role of state bureaucracy in social policy

On the other hand, the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty which refer to the conceptual sub-themes under the notion of “moralizing the poverty”, are

- the belief in the negative role of generous state welfare provisions to promote idleness
- the strict distinctions between deserving-non-deserving poor and thereby moralizing the issue of poverty

The notion of the “denial of social rights” can itself be regarded as an obvious expression of one of the main substantive principles of liberal-conservative-approach to poverty.

Lastly, the tension side of the above figure refers to the existing contradiction between the problematic of liberal economic perspective and conservative vision of social transformation. In this sense, rapid transformation of society in line with the requirements of neo-liberal capital accumulation dissolves society. Conservatism is against these kinds of rapid transformations which endangers the existing institutions of society and thereby experiences a tension with the liberal economic practices. However, this tension might not necessarily lead to a left-oriented revolutionary transformative force against capitalist society. It, rather, shows a tendency to a reactionary orientation in which pre-capitalist forms of association are envisioned.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

From the analysis of interviews made with these institutions, the approach of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association to poverty can be identified with the liberal-conservative approach to poverty. The question of this study which is “the dominant approach to poverty in Turkey” found its ultimate answer in this identification. That is to say, the dominant approach to poverty in Turkey can be identified with the liberal-conservative approach. In the way of arriving this identification, certain conceptual themes were first deductively developed from the theoretical literature readings on poverty and welfare regimes. Then, the content analyses of the interviews were carried out by means of these conceptual themes. These themes are de-politicization of poverty, moralizing the poverty, and denial of social rights discourse. In addition to these conceptual themes, the specific tension existing between liberalism and conservatism expressed with the notion of rapid transformation was also identified in the analysis. In the light of these findings, the relation between the substantive principles of liberal-conservative approach to poverty and the conceptual themes of this study were clarified with relevant explanations.

Building upon this descriptive performance, final conclusion is related with the dimension of ‘critique’ inherent in the purpose and the title of this study. The theoretical-conceptual tools which are provided by TMSA (Transformational Model of Social Activity) are functional to formulate a theoretical critique of liberal-conservative approach to poverty. These tools are the mediation categories of reproduction/transformation that conceptualizes the way of determination relation from the agent to the structure. Theoretical critique of the descriptive findings within the framework of this study can be realized by identifying the role of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in meeting the functional requirements

of capitalist accumulation regime. The role of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in meeting the functional requirements of capitalist accumulation regimes ultimately results in the *reproduction* of the capitalist economic structure. In the following paragraphs, the logic of the mechanism of reproduction of the capitalist economic structure is explained by referring to each of the conceptual themes which were identified in this study and displayed in the discourse of SYDGM and Deniz Feneri Association.

Concerning the “depoliticization of poverty”, as it is stated above this theme refers to the isolation of the problem of poverty from the conflicts of capitalist economy and thereby preventing the politicization of this problem. In the light of this isolation, the problem of poverty is reduced to a problem of “effective administration of the poors” in consistent with the requirements of capitalist accumulation. In the light of this general evaluation for this theme, the logic of the realization of the requirements of capitalist accumulation through the notions of philanthropism, particularism, firm-logic which makes up the sub-themes is necessary to be explained.

Concerning the notion of philanthropism, this approach is functional to provide secure conditions for capital accumulation. Since this approach is providing a solution to the problem of poverty through the mobilization of a moral social responsibility of the society instead of forcing the state to increase the social expenditure and if necessary to intervene economy. By this way, the burden of social expenditures for capitalist class can be minimized. On the other hand, the mobilization of the moral responsibility of the average citizen and riches of the society for poverty alleviation prevents the politicization of the existing conflicts between riches and poors. This also provides capitalist class secure conditions for the capitalist accumulation.

Concerning the notion of particularism of poverty, this approach is functional to provide secure conditions for capital accumulation. Because, particularization implies an administrative vision by referring to the necessity of particular concrete

projects to struggle with poverty. In the light of this, social policy understanding which reflects a universal scope and egalitarian spirit are opposed by the particularistic perspective. This opposition is consistent with the functional requirements of capitalist accumulation in terms of freeing the state from taking universal social responsibilities which might cause the increase of tax burden on capitalist class. It is also functional with the requirements of capital accumulation in terms of the exploitation of cheap labour which can not be provided under the egalitarian and universalist social policy approaches. Particularist style of thinking also disregards the necessary abstractions to understand the social class conflicts. It causes to an understanding which isolates the poverty from the general class conflicts of capitalist society which is also functional for the capitalist classes.

Concerning the notion of firm-logic, this approach is functional to provide secure conditions for capital accumulation. Because, this notion dictates the principle of budget constraints which disallow to give deficits for social spendings. This is also functional for the requirements of capital accumulation.

Concerning the theme of “moralizing the poverty”, as it is stated above this theme refers to a return to terms which express the moral significance of actions: laziness, courage, cheating, dignity, corruption. These are the indicators of the “moral poverty” of poor classes. And the notion of “defective sociability” refers to the necessity of an effective socialization of poor people to overcome these indicators of moral poverty. In other words, the effective means of socialization of poor classes to overcome their moral poverty is to make them prepared as a reserve army of labor for the disciplining environment of capitalist economy. Therefore, the “moralizing the poverty” is functional to the requirements of capital accumulation.

Concerning the notion of rapid transformation of society which is signifying the unique tension of conservative vision of society with the liberal economic understanding, conservatives’ generation of a vision of historical forms of social relations such as patriarchal tribal structures when confronted with the negative

effects of capital accumulation process on the society might engender a *transformative* force on the capitalist production relations. However, the nature of this transformation is reactionary in the sense that it idealizes the traditional form of social relations which includes certain patriarchal forms.

Overall, within the theoretical framework of this study, it can be asserted that the liberal-conservative approach to poverty is functional to the requirements of the capitalist accumulation. Thus, the role of liberal-conservative approach to poverty in meeting the functional requirements of capitalist accumulation regimes ultimately results in the *reproduction* of the capitalist economic structure. The moment when there appears a certain tension within liberal-conservatism related with the effects of capital accumulation on the society, this tension mostly generates a reactionary imaginary and motivation.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview questions directed at Deniz Feneri Association's representatives

- How does Deniz Feneri Association's social assistance mechanism for the poor operate?
- Through what kind of mechanisms does this association get in touch with the poor?
- What kind of criteria are you using to determine the poverty?
- What are the main causes of poverty?
- What type of social assistance programs should be considered for the social integration of the poor to the community life? Is Deniz Feneri Association adopting such a target? If so, how successful the association in terms of its achievements?
- Does Deniz Feneri observe differences or similarities between his methods and the government's approach in struggling against the poverty?
- Are the government's and non-governmental organizations' programs against the poverty complementary?
- Is struggle against poverty important for social integrity? If so, how is it important?
- Is poverty a treat for social order and integrity?
- Does Deniz Feneri think the existence of the poor and the rich in a society is natural?
- Does Deniz Feneri think the complete elimination of poverty is possible?
- Are being poor or rich deserved attractions as an individual (or as a group)? Do people have individual responsibilities as an individual to fall into poverty?
- How does the way the governments in power approach to poverty affect the activities of Deniz Feneri Association? Is it possible to have negative effects?

Interview questions directed at SYDGM's representatives

- What was the purpose behind SYDGM's establishment as a governmental organization? Why was such an institution needed for the post 1980? What are the special conditions of post 1980?
- How does SYDGM define poverty?
- What are the causes of poverty according to SYDGM?
- What kind of measures does SYDGM use in order to determine the poor?
- Through what kind of mechanisms SYDGM use for organizing its relations with the poor?
- What kind of social assistance programs SYDGM organize?
- Could you provide some information about the job oriented assistance programs? Do people who learned a profession from these aid programs placed in a job in formal sector? Does SYDGM track this procedure?
- Especially, are the job attainment programs and projects qualified enough to be the solution of the serious unemployment problem in the country?
- I took some information from SYDGM's website about its organizational structure. One point that captured my attention is that there is not a hierarchical relation between SYDGM's associations dispersed through cities/districts and the general directorate. In terms of organizing social assistance activities, how the distribution of power between local associations and general directorate is shaped by the framework of this given organizational structure?
- Resources necessary for the social assistance activities and projects is provided by the government budget and the major part of this budget is taxes. Other than this resource, does organized associations in cities and districts mobilize other kinds of resources?
- Especially, does SYDGM generate resource from the donations of the benevolent people? If so, does not it mean that a governmental organization transfer its social assistance responsibility to society through its internal mechanism?

- SYDGM organizes some of its social assistance activities in co-operation with non-governmental organizations and municipalities. Could SYDGM provide some information about these relations? What kind of collaborations are these? What kinds of benefits does SYDGM gain from these collaborations?
- Especially in the struggle against poverty, are non-governmental organizations a must alongside governmental organizations? Isn't it possible for the government to bear this responsibility on its own?

The interview questions directed at Keçiören Social Assistance and Solidarity Association's representatives

- Could you give some information about the social assistance activities of the association?
- What are Keçiören Association's methods of determining the poor in its region?
- What are the reasons of poverty according to Keçiören Association?
- Are the social assistance activities of the association adequate to be the solution of the poverty?
- Are the budget resources periodically provided by SYDGM enough for the activities of the association?
- What are the activities conducted by the association in cooperation with the non-governmental organizations?
- How is the relation between the association and rich entrepreneurs?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of having private legal personality as an association?
- What kind of points is paid attention by association's social service experts while constructing relations with the poor during social examination?
- What did the association experience in its visits to the poor with the social examination form? What kind of things captured its attention?
- Should there be a difference between the perspective of a governmental and non-governmental organization towards the struggle against poverty? Are there similarities or differences between the approaches of Keçiören

Association and non-governmental organizations towards the struggle against poverty? If so, what are these similarities and differences?

- Does Keçiören Association think it is possible to eliminate poverty with the current methods?