

POVERTY AND CAPABILITIES: THE CASE OF SAMSUN

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ABSTRACT

POVERTY AND CAPABILITIES: THE CASE OF SAMSUN

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The thesis aims at looking closer to the capabilities of poor people as it elaborates on which and to what extent do poor people have capabilities, as well as individual and structural factors preventing improvement of these basic capabilities among poor people in the framework of the city of Samsun. By this way, contributing to the formation of an effective development policy which can increase the capabilities of poor people in Turkey is planned. To operationalize and measure the capabilities, twelve capabilities with different indicators have been investigated under the sections of structural capabilities and social and psychological capabilities. Face to face interviews with 29 social assistance recipients and a focus group meeting with disabled people have been done within this framework.

The findings of the study support that besides income shortage, poor people experience important capability deprivations in Turkey. People's abilities to convert income into capabilities change greatly according to their personal heterogeneities like gender, age, health, disability etc. over which people has no control. In this context, identification basic capabilities, and fertile capabilities as well as clustered

disadvantages and barriers to enhancements of capabilities is crucial. In this framework, this thesis supports that 3 important capabilities come forth to have eminent instrumental roles in improving other capabilities of people and thus act as a leverage to diminish capability deprivations which are education, employment and access to social assistance and these should be further supported by state to achieve the goal of human development.

Keywords: Capability, Poverty, Human Development



ÖZ

YOKSULLUK VE YAPABİLİRLİKLER: SAMSUN ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezde, yoksul insanların yapabilirlikleri ve bu yapabilirlikleri etkileyen bireysel ve yapısal etkenler Samsun örneği çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. Bu yolla, Türkiye’de insanların yapabilirliklerini artıracak etkili bir kalkınma politikasının oluşturulmasına katkı verilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Yapabilirliklerin ölçülebilmesi için de on iki yapabilirlik boyutu belirlenmiş ve yapısal, sosyal ve psikolojik yapabilirlikler başlıkları altında toplanmıştır. Her bir yapabilirlik boyutu için göstergeler geliştirilerek, 29 yoksul kişiyle yapılan derinlemesine mülakatlarda bu göstergeler çerçevesinde sorular sorulmuş ve engelli bireylerle ayrı bir odak grup toplantısı gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları, Türkiye’de yoksul insanların, maddi gelir yoksunluğunun yanı sıra, önemli yapabilirlik eksiklikleri olduğunu da göstermektedir. İnsanların gelirlerini yapabilirliklere çevirme yetileri cinsiyet, yaş, engellilik gibi birçok kişisel heterojenliğe bağlı olarak değişmektedir. Bu bağlamda, temel ve üretken yapabilirliklerle beraber kümelenmiş dezavantajların, yapabilirliklerin önündeki engellerin belirlenmesi çok önemlidir. Bu çerçevede bu tezde eğitim, istihdam ve

sosyal yardıma ulaşım olmak üzere 3 temel ve üretken yapabilirliğin desteklenmesi yoluyla insani kalkınma amacına ulaşabilmenin mümkün olacağını savunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yapabilirlikler, Yoksulluk, İnsani Kalkınma



TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iiiv
ÖZ.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
CHAPTER	
1.INTRODUCTION TO POVERTY AND THE CAPABILITY APPROACH.....	1
1.1 Methodology	3
2.LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.1. Poverty and Its Dimensions	11
2.2. Poverty in Turkey and Policy Review in the Framework of Fighting Against Poverty.....	19
2.3. A New Perspective in Development: The Capability Approach	33
3.EXAMINING STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES OF POOR PEOPLE.....	64
3.1. Structural Capabilities.....	64
3.2 Social and Psychological Wellbeing and Social Networks	91
3.3 Summary of the Findings.....	108
4.POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	111
REFERENCES.....	118
APPENDICES.....	127
A.THE SURVEY FORM FOR THE RESEARCH OF INCREASING THE CAPABILITIES OF THE POOR.....	127
B. TURKISH SUMMARY.....	132
C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU	143

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of Selected Capabilities	4
Table 2: Capability Dimensions and Related Methods of Inquiry.....	5
Table 3: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Participants	9
Table 4: Poverty Rates in Turkey	21
Table 5: Distribution of Annual Equivalised Household Disposable Income By Quintiles Ordered By Equivalised Household Disposable Income In Turkey	22
Table 6: Aid Recipient Rates in Some Provinces, 2012	23
Table 7: List of Nussbaum's Ten Capabilities.....	54
Table 8: List of Scholars on Human Development.....	58

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO POVERTY AND THE CAPABILITY APPROACH

The acknowledgment of poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon gave rise to new perspectives in development. In this framework, Amartya Sen's (1989) "Capability Approach" has marked the beginning of a new era. The approach mainly focuses on the enhancement of human achievements, capabilities and human freedom to make choices. The approach also aims to define who is poor in this new conceptual framework. Going beyond the standard income-based poverty measures which takes the GDP per capita as benchmark, Sen searched for alternative methods to measure the poverty. He delved into functioning and capabilities of people, which mean what they are able to be and to do when they have the same income.

The constituents of a person's capacity for development go beyond taking individual's personal characteristics as core elements for developing capabilities, the roles of institutions in a society and policies of states are also vital in the development of capabilities. Based on this understanding, it should be acknowledged that capability deprivation has many reasons. Among these reasons there are unequal wealth distribution, insufficient employment generation or mismatch of demand and labour in the economy as well as insufficiency of decent education opportunities etc. Taking these into account, the capability approach, first theorized by Amartya Sen will be the focus of the study. The thesis aims at looking closer to the capabilities of poor people as well as individual and structural factors affecting capabilities. It will further elaborate on which and to what extent do poor people have capabilities and the factors preventing improvement of these basic capabilities among poor people in the framework of the city of Samsun. By this way, contributing to the formation of an effective development policy which can increase the capabilities of poor people in Turkey is planned.

The thesis is structured in four chapters. The first chapter starts with presenting the historical evolution of the concept of development and tries to give an outlook of different conceptualizations of development concept. In this framework, first a review of poverty and its dimensions will be made. Being a concept that has been discussed for centuries, poverty has many different conceptualizations. To that end, first a review of these definitions and conceptualization will be done in a historical perspective. After giving an overview of changes from absolute poverty to relative poverty approaches, different measurements of poverty are going to be elaborated on. Following this theoretical framework, perceptions regarding the reasons of poverty will be investigated. Lastly, poverty and its dynamics will be looked at closer within the framework of Turkey.

Based on this theoretical framework last section of the literature review will be about the capability approach. First, the development of the approach by Amartya Sen and its core assumptions differentiating it from other approaches like income based approaches, utilitarianism or primary needs approach will be put forward, and the necessity of developing such multidimensional approach will be discussed. In the meanwhile, significant components of the approach like functioning, capabilities, basic capabilities, valuable capabilities, internal and external capabilities as well as collective capabilities will be deliberated. Afterwards, some criticism towards capability approach will be mentioned. Following this theoretical background, operationalization of the approach in theory and practice will be investigated. For this purpose, generation of various capability lists by different scholars and their comparison will be presented. Further, studies done for operationalization of capability approach including limited number of studies done in Turkey will be summarized to lay the groundwork of the field study of this thesis.

The third chapter of the thesis will present the findings of the field study regarding poor people's capabilities in Samsun. To that end, the capability list for the study will be explained. The methods used in this study are an in-depth face-to-face interview and one focus group meeting. The findings of the study will be presented in three capability categories which are "physical and material wellbeing", "public services and participation" and "social and psychological wellbeing and social networks". The first two categories also constitute structural capability dimensions.

Through presenting the theoretical grounds and different policy formations regarding poverty and capability approach as well as the relationships between them, and then analysing closely the capability dimensions in framework of Samsun, this thesis aims at bringing forward the issue of capability enhancements as an important policy issue on the agenda in Turkey. In the last chapter which will present policy implications and conclusions, the main findings of the study will be disclosed focusing on fundamental freedoms and capabilities of people.

1.1 Methodology

This study is trying to investigate the capabilities of poor people in the context of Turkey. By investigating the questions of which and to what extent do poor people have capabilities and what are the most important factors preventing development of these basic capabilities, the thesis aims at contributing formation of effective public policies to increase the capabilities of poor people in Turkey. In order to answer these questions, firstly a literature review has been done in two basic topics, which are poverty and capability approach. After this step, a field study was carried out by the researcher.

For the start, to operationalize and measure the capabilities of poor a set of indicators had to be developed. The list of related capabilities to be used in this study is generated through following the steps proposed by Robeyns (2005). First a brainstorming is done, then the literature on capability including the lists of various scholars has been analysed. This step is followed by the investigation of the Turkish context in relation to capabilities and poverty. Lastly, the list is debated with other colleagues. Accordingly following list is formed.

Table 1: List of Selected Capabilities

1) Life and health (physical and mental wellbeing)	Being able to be physically and mentally healthy, being protected from violence of any sort and having bodily integrity
2) Shelter and physical environment	Being able to be well sheltered and live in a safe and pleasant environment
3) Education and knowledge	Being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge
4) Income and wealth	Being able to have a minimum of income sufficient for a decent life
5) Employment and paid work	Being able to work decently in labour market and get paid fairly
6) Accession to public services	Having access to and benefit from public services like education, health, transportation etc.
7) Achievement	Personal success in social relations and work
8) Family and friendship	Having a good and harmonious relationship with family and friends
9) Social relations and information network	Being able to be part of social networks and have social support
10) Respect	Being able to be respected and treated with dignity in society
11) Autonomy and self-initiative	Independence and self-direction in relations with individuals and institutions
12) Participation	Being able to participate in national and local political decision making process, being part of civil society organizations
13) Leisure activities	Being able to engage in leisure activities

Having determined the main list of capabilities, the capabilities are categorized and for each capability, a set of questions are identified with the aim of using them during the face to face interviews with the participants. Accordingly, in the category of physical and material wellbeing, the questions are centered mainly on “shelter and physical environment”, “income and wealth”, “education and knowledge” and “employment and paid work”. In the public services and participation section, the questions are related to “the accession to public services”, “political participation”.

Lastly, in the social and psychological wellbeing and social networks category, the questions deal with “life and health”, “family and friendship”, “social relations and information network”, “leisure activities”, “autonomy and self-initiative”, “achievement and respect”. In these three categories, the questions are formulated in the framework of abovementioned themes. The lists of the questions directly asked to participants are annexed at the end. The findings of focus group meetings are also adjoined as complementary data.

Table 2: Capability Dimensions and Related Methods of Inquiry

		Capability Dimensions	Method of Inquiry
Structural Capabilities	Physical and Material Wellbeing	Employment and paid work	Interview Q14,15
		Education and knowledge	Interview Q7,8,9,10,11
		Income and Wealth	Interview Q 12,13,18,19,20,21,22
		Shelter and physical environment	Interview Q 5,16,17,40,41
	Public Services and Participation	Accession to public services	Interview, Q34,35,36,37,38,39
		Participation	Interview, Q 43,44,45,46,47
Social and Psychological Capabilities	Social and Psychological Wellbeing and Social Networks	Life and health (physical and mental wellbeing)	Interview Q1 Focus Group Meeting
		Social relations and information network	Interview, Q 30,31,32,33
		Leisure activities	Interview, Q27,28,29
		Autonomy and self-initiative	Interview, Q42
		Respect	Interview, Q30,33
		Achievement	Interview Q 15,48,49,50,51

Based on this framework, firstly socio-economic context of Samsun will be explained briefly to better grasp the context of the study. Samsun is one of the biggest cities in Turkey. It has over a million population and it is the biggest city of

the Black Sea region. Due to the low fertility rates and migration to bigger cities, it has an ageing population. On the other hand, agriculture continues to be the main source of employment in the city, though compared to other nearby cities it has relatively dynamic industry and services sectors too. The education status of the population is very low in parallel to the average of Turkey. 55 percent of the population is primary and middle school graduates, whereas high school graduates constitutes only 18 percent and university graduates 10 percent of the population. However, the educational attainment rates are rising due to the 12 years obligatory education, and due to the increased number of universities throughout the country. Currently there is at least one University in each city of Turkey. With regards to health services, the city has advantageous position. There are 19 state and 9 private hospitals and people have access to quality healthcare services compared to the other cities of the region.

Samsun has around 1 million working age population. Labour force participation rate in the city is %50. However, only 36 percent of women are in the labour force. The majority of labourers from both sexes are either employed in the agricultural sector or working as unpaid family members, mostly denied of their social security rights. Indeed, agriculture continues to be the main source of employment in Samsun though compared to other nearby cities it has also dynamic industry and services sectors. Agricultural employment rate is 39 percent which is above the average of Turkey (22 %). Employment in the industry sector is 21 percent and in the services sector is 40 percent. Together with the other cities of the Region, we see that in TR83 region, rate of paid workers is only 50 percent, unpaid workers is around 25 percent and people who work for their own constitute 25 percent.

The development levels of the province changes according to its districts, too. Samsun has 17 districts, 4 of these are central districts of the province. These are İlkadım, Atakum, Canik and Tekkeköy. The field research of this thesis is done in İlkadım, Atakum, Canik. These districts are also the most populous districts of the city. They receive migration from rural areas of Samsun and from other cities. According to the socio-economic development index done by the Middle Black Sea Development Agency (Socio-economic Development Index of Districts of TR83 Region, 2015) based on 54 indicators, Atakum ranks 1st, İlkadım 2nd, and Canik

8th among the 50 districts of the TR83 Region. Despite of relatively good level of economic development in these districts, poverty is still an important issue to be addressed in these localities.

In order to reach the right target group, the poor people have been contacted through Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASF) in 3 districts of the Samsun. SASFs are found in every district of Turkey and have the most extensive database on poor people in Turkey. SASF in Samsun had 112.496 beneficiaries. They identify people in need for social assistance through analyzing the financial status of the households, doing random visits to them to investigate the actual status of households, and making face to face interviews. For this reason, the field study is done with the collaboration of SASFs and 10 beneficiaries from İlkadım, 10 from Canik and 9 from Atakum SASF have been interviewed during July-September 2014.

The social workers of the SASF introduced the researcher and the aim of the study to interviewees in order to establish an ambiance of trust and rapport among the researcher and respondents. In order to avoid any doubts which can arise from the usage of the findings, tape-recording has not been used. Instead notes have been taken during interviews. The interview done by going to the houses of the social assistance recipients and the interviews were done with the ones who were at the house at that time. Sometimes, more than one people participated to the interview by answering some questions directed to the main participant. In one case of one mentally ill interviewee, his brother helped him to reply some questions, and clarified some answers which respondent directly gave.

Moreover, observations have been made about their homes, neighbourhoods, the relationship with neighbours and children. While the interviewees have been selected, the researcher aimed to ensure a balance in the representation of social assistance beneficiaries from different categories. Existing categories among social assistance receivers are classified as cash recipients; conditional cash transfer recipients, widow allowance recipients and disabled person's allowance recipients.

Since the topic is very sensitive anonymity as well as confidentiality has been ensured during the research. To have the consent of the interviewees, the participants have been clearly informed on the purpose of the research, and the researcher assured them the information gathered during the interviews will not be disclosed to third parties. Interviews lasted approximately one hour in length. Care was taken to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a dialogue mode with the flow of conversation determining the sequence of questions. Some questions were withheld when it is seen that it was inappropriate considering their situation. The researcher tried to be objective during and after the research period. During interviews the researcher has not asked any manipulative questions.

With regard to sample size it is aimed to have a size which is manageable given the limited time frame. It was ensured that time and places of the interviews do not disrupt the participants' daily lives and do not create a feeling of hierarchy between researchers and researched. At times, the researcher withheld some questions where it was necessary to avoid embarrassment of the interviewees, or not to get an adverse reaction.

While 19 of the participants were women, the number of male interviewees were 10. The mean age of the group was 40, whereas the youngest participant was 24 years old, and the oldest is 71 year old. The largest age group was the ones between 18-44 as it can be seen from the table below. Educational status of the participants was very low in general. There were only 4 high school graduates and 4 middle school graduates. Among other respondents, 4 had no formal training and were illiterate and 17 were primary school graduate. 23 of the interviewees have been married at the time of interview. 3 were divorced, and 3 were widow. Also, 23 of the participants were living in the districts centers whereas 6 were living in rural areas of Atakum, İlkadım and Canik.

Table 3: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Participants

Sex	
Female	19
Male	10
Age	
18-44	16
45-64	7
65+	6
Educational Status	
Illiterate	4
Primary School	17
Middle School	4
High School	4
Marital Status	
Married	23
Single/Widow	6
Having a child	
Yes	25
No	4
Residence	
Urban	23
Rural	6

After the completion of these interviews and observation process, the researcher analyzed and codified the data under the above-mentioned themes, sorted out the inconsistencies and conflicting data. Based on this preliminary analysis, a series of topics were constructed.

The chosen research design embodies some research limitations that should not go unnoticed. Most importantly, the research findings cannot be directly reflected to the larger populations in the areas of study, given the relatively small sample sizes qualitative researches such as this demand. It cannot meet the statistical assumptions to project the results reliably to the entire segment of population in question.

However, the researcher is satisfied from the in-depth case study she conducted since the research methods were reliable and conducive to obtaining answers for the research questions which are the main inputs of the study.

In the second phase of the study, a focus group meeting has been held with disabled people since the group could not be reached individually. The meeting was done with 5 people who were physically handicapped, instead of a structured interview; the general hardships in their lives have been discussed. Lastly, a meeting was held with the 3 social workers of the SASFs. Their views on poverty, on social assistance recipients and their recommendations for improving the system have been assessed based on the outcomes of the meeting.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Poverty and Its Dimensions

Poverty is one of the key issues in development. Affecting the way millions of people live, poverty causes many problems ranging from nutritional deficiencies to people's lack of capabilities. Though poverty was a frequently observed phenomenon throughout the world history, it became an acknowledged social problem with the emergence of the capitalism in 16th century Europe. Migration to urban areas in search of new forms of employment in the newly emerging manufacturing and services sectors created urban poor (Buğra, 2006). Beginning from 16th century in Europe, especially in England some policies for the poor had started to be adapted.

Though there have been some improvements in the basic standards under which poor people have lived across the centuries, today millions of people still suffer from material deprivation, whereas others enjoy wealth and prosperity. Extreme poverty rates show that those living under 1.25 dollar a day limit, decreased importantly in the past decades. To be more specific, it decreased to 21 % in 2010 from over 50 % in 1981. Extreme poverty rates are highest in Sub Saharan Africa, India, South Asia (World Bank). Moreover, poverty is not a problem exclusive to developing nations. Today, 9 % of Europeans live in severe material deprivation and 17% of Europeans live on less than 60% of their country's average household income (European Commission, 2014).

There are many different conceptualizations of poverty, but in simple terms it entails income deprivation which affect human's living conditions, their well-being and their social participation (Lister, 2004). In general, poverty is defined in terms of absolute or relative poverty. Based on the absolute poverty approach, the most

widely used definition of poverty is the absence of a minimum level of income for meeting basic needs such as food, water, shelter etc. which are necessary to survive. Absolute minimum poverty lines are built on this understanding. First attempts of absolute measurements of poverty were made by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree in 19th century (1851, in Hall & Midgley). Collecting information about families in York City of England, Rowntree defined people as poor if they are not able to have income sufficient for maintaining their physical efficiency. He used works of an American nutritionist, and identified quantities of food necessary for maintenance of body weight. He found cash equivalents of these foods and added minimum requirements of clothing, fuel, rent and some other necessary items to his list. The total of these items constituted the poverty line (Townsend, 1979). This method became widely used to measure poverty and identify who is poor throughout the world.

On the other hand, as critiques of the absolute poverty approach increased, it became clear that there is a need for moving from absolute poverty conceptualizations to relative poverty conceptualizations. Townsend (1974, 1979) is in this respect a prominent figure. He argued for taking into account social expectations and the standards of living that most people enjoy in conceptualizations of poverty. In such a measurement of poverty, a country which is wealthy compared to other countries in terms of total GDP, can have more poor population than less wealthy countries, though the poor in the former might be better off. Accordingly, it is usually considered that relative poverty shows real poverty of people more accurately since it takes into account changing needs and demands of societies (Townsend, 1979).

Townsend criticizes the absolute poverty measurements as:

In fact, people's needs, even for food, are conditioned by the society in which they live and to which they belong, and just as needs differ in different societies so they differ in different periods of the evolution of single societies. Any conception of poverty as absolute is therefore inappropriate and misleading (1979:38)

Instead, Townsend proposes a conceptualization of poverty based on deprivation. Townsend's conceptualization of poverty as deprivation influenced also new research of poverty. Other scholars also made clear that taking only incomes or food needs of families into account, these measurements cannot reflect the rises in costs of

other important goods and services like housing, childcare, transportation etc. (Rank & Hirschi). The famous sociologist Giddens (2009) also points out that, as poverty is a culturally defined concept, which changes according to needs of societies, many people oppose to universal standards of poverty. Differentiation of essential and luxury things also changes according to the conditions of different countries. For example, in a developed country running water or flush toilets can be regarded as standard elements of life, whereas in some developing countries, these can be luxury goods. A second point he makes is the variations in human needs between individuals in a society. In this framework, though absolute food poverty is frequently used to identify the poor, daily calorie intake needs of individuals differ according to their health status or their physical effort during a day.

However, the relative easiness of measurements led to the widely usage of income, cost of basic needs and food-energy intakes methods in setting the poverty lines (Thorbecke, 2005). A basket of food or basic needs is calculated in these measurements, and people who do not have the monetary value of this basket are considered as poor. On the other hand, relative measures of poverty focused on median income or income distributions in countries. Whereas according to the absolute poverty measurement, there can be no poor in country, according to the relative poverty approach there will be always some poor people in a country since it considers poverty a matter of inequality (Şenses, 2002). In Europe and in other developed regions of the world, relative poverty measurements are usually done taking 50 or 60 percent of median income as the poverty line. Dividing income of people into the percentiles is another example of relative poverty. Accordingly, people are divided into income groups. On the other hand, World Bank leads the way in disseminating data on income based poverty measurements and uses indicators like 1.25, 2 or 5 dollar per capita incomes.

Moreover, besides the money metric measures of poverty, subjective poverty assessments and multidimensional measures have become widely used in recent years. According to the subjective participatory approach, the researchers simply ask the respondents whether they consider themselves poor. World Bank's Voices of Poor (1999) study series is important in this respect. They made large-scale research using participatory methods. Consequently, they state that poor people's definition of

poverty includes both materialistic and non-material dimensions. Among the material dimensions of poverty, the fundamental one is the lack of access to basic infrastructure like water, transportation; powerlessness, voicelessness, dependency, shame or humiliation are listed as psychological aspects of concept of poverty. Also, literacy and education as well as physical, human, social and environmental assets were highly mentioned by the poor people when they described a good quality of life or lack of it. Later, we will see that indeed these material and immaterial dimensions pointed out by poor people themselves, are indeed important components of the capability approach.

With subjective assessments, some disadvantages of money metric measures can be eliminated as they take different dimensions of poverty into account including material and non-material dimensions and they do not reflect assumptions of experts on poverty. Also, self-assessments are more likely to capture long –term economic status of people (Posel & Rogan, 2016). However, there are also some disadvantages of the subjective assessments. In some cases it is seen that people in poorer households tend to underestimate their needs, whereas more affluent people do the opposite. Also, groups like women and elderly can condition themselves to have lower expectations from life (Şenses, 2002). Moreover, people who have same standards according to the money metric measures can situate themselves differently depending on their personality traits or mood (Ravallion, 2008).

On the other hand, there is also a distinction between long term and short term poverty. Chronic poverty in general refers to the long term deprivation that persists much of people’s life courses. Hulme and Shepherd (2003) also made a specific definition and they say that chronic poverty occurs “when an individual experiences significant capability deprivations for a period of five years or more” (p. 405). They also note the possibility of those in chronic poverty to pass their poverty to next generations. They drew attention to the fact that there can be also poor household members in non-poor households because of their gender, age or social status. On the contrary, transient poverty is related with the fluctuations of income with regard to poverty lines (Gaiha & Deolalikar, 1993). The situation of poverty can be a temporary status. And different poverty elimination strategies are necessary for these two kinds of poverty situations.

A main theme in poverty research, which closely affects the methods to be used to increase the capabilities of poor people, is the reasons of poverty. The attributed reasons of poverty also affect policies of states. Poverty has various reasons as it can be expected. England is an important example to show the close link between the root causes of poverty and policies to eradicate it, as a country state policies on poverty had been initiated at early stages. Beginning from 16th century in Europe especially in England policies for poor had started to be implemented. In 1601 Elizabethan Poor Law made distinctions about reasons of poverty and imposed different measures for preventing poverty according to prevailing reasons. For poor, who were not able to work, there were poorhouses in which they could be taken care of. These houses provided indoor facilities for the sick, elderly or orphaned. It also introduced a compulsory poor rate to be imposed on every neighbourhood to finance for food or clothing need. On the other hand, as another measure, workhouses were established for the poor where they are able to work. The idea behind this pioneering law was that helping the poor of the country is a responsibility of the state to a certain extent rather than a religious duty of charities. In the meanwhile discussions about reasons of poverty were continuing. Some people considered that poor people are themselves responsible for their own misery, since they lack certain skills and do not have motivation to work or necessary moral and physical strength to be well off.

Indeed this kind of rationale took social standing of individuals as reflections of their abilities. Malthus as one of the famous economists worked on population had also controversial theories on poverty. Malthus (1806 cited in Morris, 1994), says it is natural that people remain in poverty since they don't marry until they have good prospects of supporting a wife and children. Therefore, he recommends restricting supports for poor and emphasizes that they should accept the responsibility for their circumstances. For Malthus moral education of these ignorant poor people is main remedy to eradicate poverty in which they live. Meanwhile he also accepts that there can be accidental cases of poverty even though people became more rational and morally strong, and in these cases charity activities are important and charity should be done only by people who are act on religious concerns. The Poor Law of 1834 in England also blamed poor themselves for their situation. It says that "state dependency itself produced a population callous to its own degradation, thus the failure to work was a moral failure and dependency the cause of moral degradation"

(Morris, 1994, p.13). In general opponents of the structural reasons consider poor people's lack of motivation in the labour market as a consequence of their distrust to the socio-economic system that led to their disadvantaged position in the society (Giddens, 2009).

On the other hand we should note that, there are also more recent views attributing the reasons of poverty to poor themselves and blaming welfare states for aggravating the problem of poverty. In line of this understanding, neo-liberal view assumes that free markets create opportunities for every individual to get out of poverty if they pursue their interests. Individual choice and responsibility are highly emphasized notions in liberal view. Charles Murray (1984) as one of the proponents of this approach argued that welfare policies in United States were indeed part of the social problems rather than being a solution in his book titled *Losing Ground* (1984) he. He developed the theory of dependency culture which advocated that poor people remain poor by choosing living dependent on welfare benefits rather than entering to the labour market. Murray blamed the growth of the welfare state for creating a sub-culture that restrains personal ambition to be successful.

However, he makes a distinction between people who can be held responsible for their poverty and those who cannot be held responsible because of reasons like being widow, orphan or disabled. He uses the underclass term for people outside the mainstream society and he blames the welfare state for the emergence of the underclass since it contributed to the break-up of the nuclear family household by giving welfare benefits and de-valued work (Morris, 1994). The underclass phenomenon later was elaborated by Ken Auletta (1982). He is one of the names who popularized the term of underclass. He determines four groups of people in the US who cannot get out of poverty. These are the passive poor who are long-term welfare recipients, the hostile street criminals, drop-outs and drug addicts; the hustlers, who are dependent on underground economy and the traumatised drunks, drifters, homeless and mentally ill. The underclass term also notes a distinction between the worthy and unworthy poor in terms of state's efforts (Morris, 1994). Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) include groups of school dropouts, people working irregularly, welfare recipients and female heads of households to the underclass classification. Within this understanding, poverty is linked to culturally transmitted

negative traits. Coser (1969) is another name who sees reasons of poverty in people rather than the economic system and argued that the path which will bring the people out of poverty can only be achieved when they gain skills to increase their productivity and change their cultural habits. So, they would be able to enter the labour market.

Another widely discussed concept in the framework of poverty studies is the culture of poverty. The concept was developed by Oscar Lewis (1966) with his study in Puerto Rico. Based on his work he notes the emergence of culture of poverty as:

It is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to the marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalist society. It represents an effort for to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair.” (1966:21)

He further explains that people develop these traits because of their un-served needs by institutions and agencies of the societies. He lists the surrounding circumstances of the poor as chronic unemployment, underemployment, and low wages, lack of property and savings, food shortage. He argues that the reasons of this situation can be that poor are either not eligible for these services or they cannot afford those services. As a third reason, he states that some poor can be ignorant and suspicious of the motives of the service provider and because of the insecurity they feel they do not benefit from these services. He adds that once culture of poverty emerges within a group it tends to perpetuate itself. Accordingly, children at younger ages adapt the attitudes and values of their subculture and they cannot even take advantage of the chances of improvements in their lives. As a result they cannot be integrated into the institutions of their society including hospitals, banks or civil society organizations.

As another approach to the concept of the poverty, classical Marxist paradigm situates poverty within the context of capitalist society and argues that it is an outcome of the capitalist mode of production (Harvey & Reed, 1992). Accordingly inequality is inherent in capitalist societies which are in the interest of capitalist class. In order to decrease the cost of production, capitalists force division of labour and increase usage of technology and machinery in production on the system. These developments lead to an increase in the surplus labour. Within this context Marx drew attention to the role the poor played in the capitalist society. In view of that,

like women in the society the poor also constitutes a reserve army exerting a pressure on the working population which makes them accept overwork and dictatorship of capital. The army includes people who became urban proletariat with mechanization of agriculture, immigrants, older people and people with irregular employment. And these groups of poor people are structural necessities for normal functioning in capitalist societies (Peet, 1975).

On the contrary to Marxist approach, neoliberal view supported that poverty has little to do with wider issues of privilege or structural inequality and they argue instead that the problem of poverty can be solved when countries promote economic growth by creating and nurturing free markets. However, examples of economic growth with an emphasis on free markets, deregulation, attraction of foreign direct investments and encouraging entrepreneur skills of individuals showed that unless specific measures are taken for poverty, the fruits of growth will affect only a minority and income inequalities will remain to be an issue. Today, even the institutions like the World Bank acknowledge that poverty is a result of economic, social and political processes (World Development Report, 2000). As the discussions continue, many studies show that a country's economic growth does not guarantee eradication of poverty or improvement in income distribution. Poverty is closely related with inequality and inequality does not only include income distribution but also discrimination, exploitation, oppression, accession to resources (Hall & Midgley, 2004). Among the structural factors of inequality there are class, gender, ethnicity, education etc. which shape the distribution of resources in a society.

One term closely related to inequality and poverty is social exclusion. Social exclusion became a widely-used term within the European Union recently. It is estimated that more than 120 million people in the EU live at risk of poverty or social exclusion. It is associated with discrimination in society on the basis of characteristics like age, gender, ethnicity and poverty (Clert, Gacitua-Mario & Wodon, 2001). There are some key characteristics of social exclusion. It is *multidimensional* which means that it cannot be measured by income alone but should take into account access to goods and services, to community facilities, ability for political engagement, and the chance to enjoy leisure time and social activity. Besides being multidimensional the concept of social exclusion is also a *dynamic* one

as it includes both current circumstances and future opportunities and capabilities; it is *collective*- referring to insufficient community facilities and *relational* as it focuses on inadequate social participation and locates them within contexts of family, household, community and nation catastrophic separation from the society. Opposite of social exclusion is participation rather than inclusion since inclusion implies more, conformity to social norms and demands (Abrahms, Christian, Gordon & Room, 1995). Pantazis, Gordon and Levitas (2006) identify dimensions of social exclusion as impoverishment, labour market exclusion, service exclusion and exclusion from social relationships. Based on this theoretical conceptualizations, EU policy on poverty and social exclusion is based on social policy actions including labour market, minimum income support, healthcare, education, housing and access to banking accounts; better use of EU funds to support social inclusion; promoting social policy innovations; working in partnership with civil society and open method for coordination for social protection and inclusion

2.2. Poverty in Turkey and Policy Review in the Framework of Fighting Against Poverty

Poverty in Turkey has a long history, though it became more of a policy issue since 1990s with the increased urbanization and changing economic structure in the country. Beginning from 1950s migration to the cities from rural areas started in the country while people living in the disadvantageous areas moved in search of jobs and better living conditions. Migration affected the lives of Turkish people significantly. These migrants had the chance to integrate into urban areas thanks to their close kin previously settled there and get help from them and from other informal networks. These networks helped newly migrated to find jobs, have temporary accommodation arrangements and build their own squatter houses (Buğra, 2012). However, until 1980s rural population continued to exceed the urban population. , In the mid-1980's, as a result of mechanization of agriculture, industrialization and division of land among a growing population, people with their families, migrated to cities from villages in much larger numbers. While this gave opportunities for waged employment to some new-comers, at the same time many unskilled people started to engage in activities in marginal sectors with limited social securities. The relatively

smooth integration of the previous immigrants to cities gave way to a more complex and difficult process while employment opportunities in the cities have declined and number of people who have precarious jobs have increased. As a result of this evolution permanent poverty rates have been raised in Turkey (Çağlar & Keyder, 2004).

As poverty had become a more prominent socio-economic issue, government institutions began to collect data on poverty regularly. Mainly, national measures of poverty are done by the Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat). Turkstat uses the household budget surveys to calculate poverty in Turkey. They define poverty as the situation when people cannot meet their basic needs. The institution defines the poverty in narrow terms; as the state of being in hunger and not having a shelter. In general sense Turkstat delineates the poverty line as state of having lower living standards than the average of the society. For the poverty study of Turkstat between 2002-2009, the institution constructed a food basket composed of 80 items to be basis of poverty calculation. The quantity of food is determined taking into account needs of an individual and it is set to 2100 calories per day. The total price of these 80 items in the basket constitutes the food poverty line. Apart from this, they identified households which have consumption levels slightly above the food poverty level and calculate the share of non-food goods and services within their total expenses. Food and non-food poverty rates are calculated as the share of the population in households whose equivalised per capita consumption levels are below the poverty lines within the whole population. Accordingly, food poverty in Turkey has been at very low rates. For 2002, it is calculated as 1,35 percent and for 2009 it is calculated as 0,48 percent.

The relative poverty lines based on income, on the other hand have been drawn according to the 40, 50, 60 or 70 % of the median income per person in Turkey parallel to the European practices. According to these measurements, poverty rate as 60 percent of median income is 21,9 percent and this means that 16 million people live in poverty in Turkey. The rates show also a decline of 4,5 percent in poverty between 2006 and 2015.

Table 4: Poverty Rates in Turkey

Year	Poverty Rate 60 %
2006	25,4
2007	23,4
2008	24,1
2009	24,3
2010	23,8
2011	22,9
2012	22,7
2013	22,4
2014	21,8
2015	21,9

Source: Turkstat, 2016

In addition to the poverty line calculations, there are studies on income inequality in Turkey. Income and Life Circumstances Study (2012) looks at the income distribution in Turkey. Income distribution shows how the total income produced by goods and services in a society are distributed between individuals through tools like wage, salary, interest etc. To show this distribution, the most common way is to divide the population into five 20 percentage groups. Accordingly, income share held by highest 20 percent income group in Turkey is nearly half of the gross income (45,9 %) while the lowest 20 held only 6,2 % of gross income.

Table 5: Distribution of Annual Equivalised Household Disposable Income By Quintiles Ordered By Equivalised Household Disposable Income In Turkey

	First 20 %	Second 20 %	Third 20 %	Fourth 20 %	Last 20 %
1963	4,5	8,5	11,5	18,5	57
1973	3,5	8,0	12,5	19,5	56
1986	3,9	8,4	12,6	19,2	55,9
1994	4,9	8,6	12,6	19,0	54,9
2006	5,1	9,9	14,8	21,9	48,4
2007	5,8	10,6	15,2	21,5	46,9
2008	5,8	10,4	15,2	21,9	46,7
2009	5,6	10,3	15,1	21,5	47,6
2010	5,8	10,6	15,3	21,9	46,4
2011	5,8	10,6	15,2	21,7	46,7
2012	5,9	10,6	15,3	21,7	46,6
2013	6,1	10,7	15,2	21,4	46,6
2014	6,2	10,9	15,3	21,7	45,9

Source: Turkstat, 2016
Yeşilirmak Basin Development Plan, 2004

In a fifty year perspective, we see that the first, second and fourth 20 percentage groups have smaller increases in income share, while the third group has a bigger increase and the last group has the sharpest difference by 11, 1 % decline between the years 1963 and 2014. To measure the inequalities among the population groups one of the other methods applied is the gini coefficient. When the coefficient is equal to 0, it means that the income in society is distributed totally fair, and when it is equal to 1, it shows complete inequality. The gini coefficient in Turkey shows a decrease from 0,55 in 1963 to 0,391 in 2014 which indicates improvement in income distribution (YHGP and Turkstat). It can be seen that the poverty rate in last 12 years dropped from 26,96 percent to 17,11 percent. However the gini coefficient which shows the income inequality has remained quite steady. Moreover, the ratio between highest and lowest earning 20 percent has been changing in favour of highest earning 20 percent which shows rising inequalities in the society.

In order to estimate poverty rates at the province level, it is possible to look at the distribution of the social assistance of Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations which are based in every district of provinces. They provide cash or in kind assistance to poor people. However, it should be noted that these rates are significantly lower than poverty rates calculations based on median income. The reason for this is that this kind of assistance is given to households if per person income in the household is less than 1/3 of official net minimum wage in Turkey. This equals to almost 430 TL per person in 2016, which is far below the basic income requirements necessary to meet ends. Moreover, though the criteria for receiving the aid is the same for the whole country, the discretion power of the Foundations make it easier to have discrepancies independent of the objective criteria. However, still this is the only official data on province scale. Using this data when we compare the aid recipients to the total number of population in that province, we see that the poverty rates are higher in eastern provinces. The highest rate is 35 percent in Ağrı and lowest in İstanbul, Antalya and Muğla.

Table 6: Aid Recipient Rates in Some Provinces, 2012

Ağrı	35,7
Muş	35,3
Bingöl	30,0
Hakkari	26,5
Malatya	9,2
Samsun	9,0
Giresun	9,0
Gümüşhane	8,9
Muğla	2,6
Antalya	2,3
İstanbul	2,1

Source: Ministry of Family and Social Policy, 2013

After reviewing these statistics, to understand better the poverty dynamics in Turkey, we should look at the wider structure in Turkey. Turkey's economy has grown substantially in the last years. GDP per capita in Turkey tripled between the years 2002 and 2013 and became 10.782 dollars in 2013. However, this performance does not correspond proportionately to success in the labour market. The population of Turkey is 74 million and among these 55,6 million is working age population. When we look at the statistics like unemployment, underemployment and profile of

unemployed people declared by Turkstat, we see that the labour force participation rate still remains about 50 percent in the recent years. This means that half of the working age population in Turkey are not working and are not looking for work. An important part of this population is women. Between men and women there is a wide gap, whereas 71 percent of men are in labour force, only 30 percent of women are in the labour force. The distribution of sectoral occupation of labour force shows also that still the share of agriculture is high. 24 percent of the labour force works in agriculture, 26 percent in industry and 50 percent in the service sector. Informal employment rates are also quite high. It is 30 percent for men, 51 percent for women, and in total it is 38 percent. This shows that a very important share of population cannot benefit from their legal rights with regard to work benefits and social security system. Wages of formally working people also show that working poor is a reality in Turkey. As the studies show population growth has outpaced employment growth for many years. Clearly, the successful economic growth performance of Turkey is not generating enough decent jobs. Consequently, employment rate in Turkey is one of the lowest in the world (World Bank, 2006). Furthermore, while agriculture does not constitute an important part of economy anymore in Turkey, services sector has not grown enough to replace the agricultural sector unlike the developed countries. This situation led especially to low female labour force participation rates.

One of the important characteristics of the labour market and also the Turkish population in general is the low educational status of people. 65 percent of the population has education below high school, high school graduates constitute only 22 percent and university graduates 13 percent of the population. Education is primary factor which determines entry to the labour market and then income earned in the labour market.

In this framework we should also look into social protection in Turkey. Social protection programmes cover social assistance programmes and social security programmes. Social security systems provide protection for citizens to ensure that they have a minimum standard of living through income security and healthcare particularly in situations of old age, unemployment, sickness, maternity or loss of a breadwinner (ILO n.d). Turkey has a defined benefit social security system in which

health and pension benefits are distributed to employed people and their dependants according to their labour market position (Kılıç, 2008). Turkey's social policy changed with the Justice and Development Party rule since 2002 and EU candidacy status starting in 2005. Also, international pressures from institutions like IMF and the World Bank imposed a neo-liberal understanding to public policies. In line with that, the reforms are introduced in the social security system. The three separate institutions of the security system namely Retirement Fund, Social Insurance Institution and Social Security Institution of Craftsmen, Tradesmen and other Self Employed were brought together under the umbrella of the Social Security Institution in 2006.

On the other hand, until late 1970s there were no direct intervention policies to fight against country-wide poverty in Turkey, efforts were mainly focused on solving problems of rural areas. In the following period, social assistance started to be given to the poor people as a poverty alleviation tool. In 1976, Law 2022 was introduced which granted monthly allowances to people above 65 years old and who are needy and have no relatives to take care of them. This was also in line with the understanding that family has the main responsibility in the social security area and when it fails to provide, state can step in. In 1983 Social Services Institution was founded, and establishment of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund followed it in 1986 with Law No. 3294 and it became one of the main bodies who provides services for the poor people. The choice of establishing this institution as foundation rather than a state institution also implies state's eagerness to share welfare provision with the civil society (Bugra, 2007). The fund aims to 'provide social assistance to needy and vulnerable citizens, along with other individuals accepted into Turkey for any reason, to ensure their fair income distribution, taking additional measures for social justice and to promote social solidarity'.

Today, the law 2022 provides wages to various groups including old people, disabled people and survivors. Survivors pensions are given to men and women, children under 18 (increasing up to 25 according to educational status) and to older children by a means-test. According to Social Security Institution's statistics in 2012 there were 1.228.355 people receiving the allowances under the law 2022. On the other hand, social assistance programmes in Turkey cover a wide range. They can be

broadly grouped under the categories of housing, health, education, family, disability and widow women. In total there were about 3 million households receiving at least one kind of this assistance in 2015. The main responsible body for these programmes is the Ministry of Family and Social Policy. As the local operator body of these programs, SASFs are responsible to select the recipients of the assistance programmes and make their monitoring. SASF has a board of trustees in each district which is composed mainly of the members from public administrators and the governors of districts are the head of these boards. There are 1000 branches of SASFs with about 9000 personnel (Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2016).

Social assistance schemes of the state are designed based on means based tests. The means test process starts with the application of the people to social assistance, following the application home visits are done to get information on the status of the applicants; the data obtained from people is also double-checked through the official records. The application files prepared by this way are presented to the boards of the Foundations for approval.

To explain the social assistance programmes in detail; first within the category of family assistance, there are coal and food assistance. Coal is considered to be specifically important as it is the main source of heating in poorer neighbourhoods of Turkey and constitutes an important cost in the households' consumption budgets. On the other hand, though food poverty in Turkey has been traditionally low due to the large size of the agrarian economy and the informal networks of support (Dayıoğlu and Şeker, 2015), there is still a vulnerable group who suffers from food shortage. Because of this, food assistance is given twice a year to certain groups. Especially, these supports are very important for the people who are old or sick and do not have any social network that provides constant assistance to them.

Within the category of housing assistance, on the other hand, new houses are built for poor people living in very adverse conditions. In a year approximately between 4000-6000 people benefit from this programme. Apart from this assistance the Social Housing Administration (TOKİ) provides low cost housing for poor people. People who can benefit from this programme will be chosen among social assistance takers and a quota is given to disabled people.

As it comes to disabled people, with the change done in 2005 to the Law 2022, disabled people are entitled to receive monthly payments without an age limit if they have 40 percent or more physical or mental disability proved by medical reports. To receive this payment the disabled person should be not fit to work or not able to find work. Disabled people above 18 years old and people who are taking care of disabled people younger than the age of 18 are allowed to receive monthly allowances on a means tested base. The payments of disabled people are on average 300 and 500 TL per month according to the severity of disability and clearly this amount is far from providing income security.

Home nursing allowance is significantly higher than other cash assistances given within the social assistance system. In 2016, the wage is about 900 TL per month. The allowance is higher for disabled people with a higher ratio of disability. In 2012 half of a million received disability allowance and 60.000 people received allowance as care takers of disabled people. An important point regarding these assistances is indeed care work which closely affects women as care takers and the interdependence between other capabilities of women and disabled people.

Education assistance programme, on the other hand, is a comprehensive programme as it was explained before. It includes various supports for primary, middle and high school students. All the books are distributed by the state freely to all children at the primary schools. Other education material is also covered for the needy children. Also, children are transported freely and lunches are given for the children who benefit from the transported education system. Besides, the conditional cash programme provides monthly money to parents with the condition of their children continue uninterrupted their education. The studies done to test the effectiveness of these programmes show that there are some positive impacts of these programmes on raising attendance rates of children with greater success rates of girls, and on raising awareness of parents on the importance of education (Esenyel and Torun, 2015).

When it comes to health assistance, we see that first it covers all the health expenses of poor people under the General Health Security Programme. The green card programme which was a free health-care programme for the poor people has been ended and instead a general health programme has been started recently. This

programme, like the social assistance system covers health costs of the people on a means tested basis. Additionally, there are conditional cash transfers given to the families who go regularly to the hospitals for health checks of their children aged 0-6. This 30 TL for month is paid to the bank accounts of the mothers. Also, for pregnant women there are financial assistance of 35 TL a month and one time birth money of 300 or 400 TL is given to families.

There is also a newly introduced social assistance tool. Women whose husbands died and have no regular income, started to get 250 TL per month from Family and Social Policies Ministry. There are some conditions to get this assistance such as not living together with parents or not benefiting from the assistance given to the care-takers of disabled people. There were more than 200.000 women who benefited from this programme in 2012 with more than two-fold demands for getting the assistance (Family and Social Policies Ministry 2013).

Analysis of the social assistance programmes show that the regular assistance programmes are mainly widower pensions, wages for disabled and old people under the law 2022, and conditional cash transfers. Irregular assistance kinds are food, coal, housing, education, health, disabled people's needs, clothing, and birth assistance. More than 2.3 million households benefit from the regular social assistance schemes, whereas 1.9 million receive irregular social assistance. As explained above, the amount of cash transfers under various assistance programmes is low. Only programmes like disabled care assistance or wages under 2022 provide a regular income for people.

It can be seen that there are various social assistance programmes in Turkey serving different needs of people. 3 million aid recipient households in 2015 received about 26 billion TL aid. The amount of the social assistance has also become an issue of public debate. The official statistics show that this amount has increased significantly under JDP rule. Other than government assistances, also assistance of municipalities is increasing, too. Indeed the assistance of municipalities is more of a controversial issue since it is not transparent and there are no sufficient data to test their efficiency. It is also a common belief that this assistance is distributed to serve the political objectives of administrations. On the other hand, still, the ratio of social transfers to

GDP shows that Turkey has much lower rates among all the European countries with a ratio of 12 % (Buğra & Adar, 2007). Parallel to this, Şeker (2008) notes in this respect, the social assistance schemes in Turkey do not lead to an income increase that will push people out of poverty. Considering these, increasing implementation of regular assistance transfers for the poor people may be a good policy to provide an opportunity for people to enhance their options and increase their capabilities. However, the issue is very controversial. There are worldwide studies investigating the relationship between social transfers and work. While some of these studies advocate that there are negative impacts of monetary social transfers on labour force participation; others find no such a relation. In Turkey Ahmed et al looks into the impacts of conditional cash transfers and find no important impact of these programmes on employment patterns of adults. On the other hand, Yıldırım and Dal, according to their empirical study, conclude that there is a statistically significant negative correlation between social assistance and labour force participation. Öğülmüş (2011) looks into 2032 household which are receiving social assistance at least for two years. According his research great majority of beneficiaries is not engaged in any income generating activity and most of them are housewives. He states that most of the beneficiaries views the government as responsible for their poverty. Moreover, they do not have the tendency to participate into the labour market. However, when evaluating the results of this study, we should also note that most of these people lack necessary qualifications and skills to be employed in the labour market, and they are mainly women whose primary duty is considered lying in the domestic area. Moreover, there are also studies with contradictory results. Hande Hacımahmutoğlu (2009) conducts a study with 30 participants in Keçiören, a district of Ankara and contrary to Öğülmüş she finds out that most of the beneficiaries of social assistance work for income generating purposes. A critical factor which should be noted is the fact that, the ratio of employed social assistance beneficiaries indeed varies according to the type of assistance they are receiving. The employment rate decreases to less than 50 percent for direct cash aid recipients.

There are also some studies showing the attitudes of the social workers towards the assistance recipients. Murakami (2014) states that some of these workers believe that recipients tend to abuse the fund and make false declarations. Attepe, Çoban, Çelik and Uluocak (2011) also do a study on the perception of employees at Foundations

about the aid-receivers and note that the common perception is that assistance makes people 'lazy'. According to them improvement of employment opportunities and participation of more members of household in the labour force would be more effective policies for poverty reduction. Though in general direct cash assistance programs are not being considered as effective, they note that education assistance, health care assistance and assistance for disabled people are regarded more positively among other social assistance types by most of the participants. As a measure on the argument that social assistance schemes hinder labour market participation, some actions are planned. Reshaping of the social assistance system is on the agenda to integrate poor people into the labour market more effectively. To that end, coal, education and food assistance are planned to be prioritized and then gradually the monetary assistance will be cut in the case that aid-recipients started to work. In this situation money will be given to assist the poor people with regard to their work. If an aid recipient would not willingly accept job offerings and start working, then cash assistance will be cut, though he can continue to benefit from central and relief programmes. However, as interviews with Social Workers and Counsellors of Turkish Employment Office indicate, the efficiency of this programme would be low in practice since until now, they haven't been successful in placements of assistance recipients to jobs and there have been no case of cutting the benefit of an aid-recipient since s/he did not accept a job offering. That's being said, it is clear that some measures should be taken to guarantee the smooth functioning of the system

On the other hand, neoliberal economists defend that economic growth in a country will eradicate poverty eventually. Indeed, though economic growth is important in terms of creating resources to increase capabilities of people, how and in what sectors this growth occurs is more important. If the growth is seen in less productive sectors or do not enable sustainable job generation, then its positive effects will be seen on a limited number of people that will ultimately increase the income inequalities in a society. Though Turkish economy achieved important growth rates and increases in exports, the quantity of jobs generated has not been as high as desired. Some people point to regulatory framework of Turkish State as responsible for this situation, while others blame the wider structure of economy led by finance sector which creates the problem of joblessness (ILO, 2011). Also, an important point in this respect is Turkey's demographic structure and its continuing transition

process from rural to urban economy. With the effects of these factors, beginning from 1990s stable full time jobs have become rare and people who have precarious jobs could not provide for their families. This means that there has been a rise also in the working poor. The situation was worsened by proliferation of sub-contracting and home-based working for large producers. These new forms of working had no guarantee for job security or social security. Firms were unwilling to register workers which brought additional burdens to them and were paying below the minimum wage. Moreover, firms which agreed on registering the workers have been in the habit of postponing the start of the registration (Kumbetoglu, User & Akpınar 2010). Backing these arguments, lack of sustainable decent job opportunities is seen also the main reason of their poverty by the participants. However, indeed these structural problems necessitate macro policy formations regarding Turkish economy to decrease long term employment and support proliferation of decent jobs for everyone. While macro-economic policies are very important in this respect, there is also some research showing active labour market policies are more likely to reduce unemployment with a lower fiscal cost for governments (European Commission, 2013). For that reason labour supply related issues will be looked at closer.

With the aim of increasing employment of people, active labour market policies in Turkey are being implemented by the Turkish Employment Office (İŞKUR). The institution has the duty of matching the labour supply with the labour demand. The institution accepts applications from unemployed people and according to their qualifications and skills; it directs people to the suitable job offerings specified by the employers. There is an employment office in each province of Turkey. İŞKUR offices offer services like trainings, job counselling and job brokerage. To better serve to the unemployed, in 2012 İŞKUR started to employ work and vocation counsellors. These officers are obliged to do individual and group sessions with people to make them more aware of the various occupations, labour market and do right occupational choices. They also direct people to vocational courses or to jobs according to their skills. However, still the most prominent service of the İŞKUR is the vocational trainings. The vocational trainings are seen as a way to transform the low educated labour force. Registered unemployed people can participate to these trainings, which are given on a variety of subjects. In principle, the Provincial Board

of Vocational Training and Employment brings together important actors in the employment field and they decide the necessary labour supply needs of provinces.

A new kind of these courses is the employment guaranteed courses. These courses are open to people above 15 years old and registered to Turkish Employment Office as unemployed. However, effectiveness of these courses remains to be questionable. Statistics show that there are about 22.000 registered unemployed women and 24.000 men in Samsun. As an active strategy to tackle with this problem Samsun Employment Office had organized 130 employment courses in 2014 and among all participants of the courses 1644 were women whereas only 862 of the whole group were men. It can be seen that there are twice as many women to men who took these courses though the number of men registered to Employment Office is higher. This can be related with the inclination of women to go these courses due to the daily money given though there are not actually looking for jobs. On the other hand, though some provinces give details about the employment rates after the courses, Samsun Employment Office does not give information about these statistics. Therefore it is not possible to reach out a conclusion regarding the effectiveness of these courses. However, the experience from the field supports the view that effectiveness of these courses remains limited and essentially the pocket money given to the participants served as the main incentive to participate to these courses. World Bank (2013) also has an assessment on the İŞKUR training courses.

On the other hand, there are some attempts of collaboration between the Ministry of Family and Social Policy and Turkish Employment Office to direct social assistance takers to İŞKUR offices. Also, there are plans for paying the social security premiums of social assistance recipients. Within the efforts to strengthen the relationship between social assistance services and employment services, it is noted that nearly 200.000 assistance takers are guided to Turkish Employment Office and 53.000 people have been employed by this way in Turkey (MoFSP, 2016).

Another policy, highly encouraged by the state to increase employment rates in Turkey is entrepreneurship. İŞKUR as well as other public bodies like KOSGEB (SME Development and Support Organization) work in this area. Whereas İŞKUR provides trainings for people who want to become entrepreneurs, KOSGEB in

addition to that gives some grants and loans for these people. However, given the fact that becoming an entrepreneur demands certain financial capacity and necessary personal skills, it is most likely that only a certain section of society and obviously not the most deprived ones, can benefit from these supports. Apart from these grants, there are also micro-credit schemes. Micro-credit programmes are designed to give small loans to very poor people for self-employment projects to generate income (Woller & Woodworth, 2001). Turkey-Grameen Bank Micro-Credit Project has been initiated in 2003. Poor people are given small amounts of money to set up their own business without giving any assurance and guaranty. They have 110 branches in 67 cities including Samsun. The number of loanees is nearly 40.000 in 2016. However, the studies carried out to test the effectiveness of these schemes show that in economic terms they have limited impact on the welfare of individuals. As these programmes focus on poor women with limited resources and know-how, majority of them could not invest the credit in profitable business rather they continue to do mostly traditional handiwork which has low rates of profits (Şavlı, 2008).

In the light of these discussions and findings in the world and in Turkey, we should acknowledge the multidimensionality of poverty and the difficulty of defining who is poor. Considering these we need approaches which go beyond focusing on income of people such as the capability approach that will be explained in the next section.

2.3. A New Perspective in Development: The Capability Approach

Amartya Sen's (1989) "Capability Approach", which gives importance to the enhancement of human achievements, capabilities and human freedom to make choices, gained weight in the formulation of development policy as opposed to narrower views of development in recent years. The theoretical basis and implementation of the approach is not limited to development field but also covers welfare economics, social policy and political philosophy (Robeyns, 2005).

The approach is accepted to have theoretical roots in Aristotle, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith and Karl Marx's work. The approach's powerful conceptual connections relate to Aristotle's theory of political distribution and human

flourishing (Nussbaum, 1990). It is a liberal theory philosophically, which means that it values individual freedoms. However, this liberal basis does not require certain liberal social and economic policies to be implemented; rather it tries to find out right policies to increase the capabilities of individuals (Robeyns, 2005). Initially, Sen developed his approach in the early 1980s based on differences of countries' in economic achievements cumulatively and in their performance in terms of life expectancy, infant mortality and child death rates. Later, he drew attention to the differences within the countries between the individuals stemming from different factors such as sex discrimination and disability etc. (Sen, 1999). After Sen's present formulation of the theory, academicians like Martha Nussbaum made valuable contributions to the approach.

One of the important contributions of the capability approach to development theory is that it takes each individual's well-being as an end of development rather than the average of society's well-being (Nussbaum, 2011). Sen criticizes inequality literature on the grounds that it focuses on rankings of countries instead of real freedoms people have in those countries. Moreover, Sen indicates that capability approach is clearly different from approaches to individual and social evaluation based on variables as primary goods, resources or real income. According to Sen these are only tools for achieving well-being and means to freedom. By his approach, Sen takes away our attention from the space of commodities, incomes, utilities, etc., to the space of constitutive elements of living. In this sense, Sen criticizes both welfarist and income/resource-based approaches.

Sen (1999) points out that welfarist approaches rely exclusively on utility and excludes physical differences as well as social and moral issues. Utilitarianism is a special form of welfarism. In its classical form, utilitarianism is developed by Jeremy Bentham and defined as pleasure, benefit, good, advantage, happiness, or satisfaction. Accordingly, an unjust society is one in which people are less happy taken together.

Sen warns us that focusing on utilities can hide important dimensions of well-being and mislead our evaluation. Freedom, fulfilment of civil rights, aspects of quality of life are not reflected in this analysis of happiness, but have indirect roles through

their effects on utility. Moreover, Sen explains that this approach has an aggregative framework and does not look into individual distribution of utilities. Moreover, as the measurement of utility is not easy, it is defined as numerical representation of a person's observable choices. This means that when a person would choose an alternative x over y , then this person has more utility from x than y (1999:59, 60). In more modern forms of utilitarianism, utility is seen as fulfilment of desires but the shortcomings of the approach continue to exist. As utilitarian approach assesses one's content or happiness or fulfilment of desire, it does not differentiate between a physically and mentally healthy person and an unhealthy person as long as they are equally happy. In addition, it ignores people's mental conditioning and adaptive preferences. Sen explains that utility approach can be unfair to those who are persistently deprived:

The usual underdogs in stratified societies, perennially oppressed minorities in intolerant communities, traditionally precarious sharecroppers living in a world of uncertainty, routinely overworked sweatshop employees in exploitative economic arrangements, hopelessly subdued housewives in severely sexist cultures. The deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation because of their sheer necessity of survival, and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change, and may adjust their desires and expectations to what they unambitiously see as feasible. (1999:63)

Nussbaum (2000) also writes about adaptive preferences. She shows how entrenched preferences can clash with universal norms. She explains that, in her field study, she witnessed women who were severely malnourished but they had neither expressed anger nor had protested about their situation. Since they knew no other way, they didn't consider their situation as unhealthy. However, according to Nussbaum there can be measures to prevent adaptive preferences. In this example, a government consciousness-raising program led them protest the local government, demanding clean water, electricity and a health visitor for their community.

Similarly Qizilbash (1997) mentions Henry Frankfurt's conceptualization of second order desires which are desire to desire and accordingly in underdeveloped countries people have very limited capacities for being and doing what they desire to desire to be or do. He notes that in the situations where people try to survive by having a shelter and enough food, they are not able to go for their second order desires and

this situation affects their expectations. Griffin (1986) at this point emphasizes that these adaptive preferences of people is related with lack of information. Marx was also one of the developers of the view of ‘false consciousness’, which is similar to adaptive preferences. In addition, important liberal thinkers such as Adam Smith, Mill, Kant and John Rawls also stressed that some preferences can be deformed by ignorance, malice, tradition, intimidation or injustice (Nussbaum, 2000:114).

Sen (1992) defends that capability approach is more sensitive to entrenched deprivation than utility based approaches. Considering these points about the adaptive preferences problem, instead of equality of welfare, Sen and Nussbaum proposes equality of capability. However, Qizilbash (1997) points out that capability approach is also vulnerable to adjustment to deprivation. He argues that there is also a possibility that a deprived person would develop abilities to adjust to her disadvantaged position rather than adapting her preferences.

In addition to problems of measurement and adaptive preferences in the utility approach, there is the issue of differences between utilities. An example Sen gives is that there is a person with a handicap who needs great amount of money to live a decent life and another person who does not have a handicap but she enjoys a lot spending money. In a simple utility analysis, equalizing marginal utility requires giving more money to the latter, whereas the needier one gets less. By this example Sen explains that fulfilment of a person’s desires may not be indicative of her well-being or living standard. Sen also shows that self-reported utility may be biased by information and social circumstances. He gives the example of two states in India to illustrate this situation. Kerela, which had almost universal education and high life expectancy, had the highest self-reported morbidity rates whereas Bihar, one of the poorest states of India with low life expectancy had the lowest rate of self-reported morbidity. This situation can be explained by the inability of people in Bihar to assess their own health status or having less hope about to remedy their situation (Deneulin, 2009). Based on these grounds, Sen takes utility as only one of the valuable functionings among others in his well-being assessment. He notes that:

Indeed, being happy does not—and cannot—subsume all other achievements and freedoms (nor serve as a proxy for all other values), and yet avoiding pain

and having a joyful life cannot but be among the various objectives we have reason to value (both in our personal lives and as a characteristic of a just society). Thus, any attempt to have a theory of justice that concentrates only on the distribution of resources, and tries to do without any interpersonal comparisons of achievements and freedoms, fails at many different—and basically separate levels. (2002:83)

As it comes to income based or resource based approaches, Sen stresses that though income has a very important impact on what we can or cannot do, it can be only a proxy for capabilities since it misses important dimensions of well-being differences. Accordingly, resources are only means of people's well-being enhancements (Robeyns, 2005). Within the framework of feminist economics Robeyns (2005) also points out that income and resource based approaches exclude important aspects of well-being such as care labour, household work, freedom from domestic violence, or the availability of social networks. As opposed to this, Sen includes non-market goods and services in his evaluation of well-being. Sen's view is also shared by Nussbaum (2011). She defines resource based approach as an egalitarian version of GDP approach based on the idea that a country does better when the more resources it has, as long as they are equally divided. And this view ignores that people have different needs for resources if they are to attain a similar level of functioning and they also have different abilities to convert resources into functionings (ibid).

Sen (1999) nuances the human diversity as the biggest difficulty in the income approach to well-being. He explains distinct sources of variations between income of people and the well-being and freedom of them in five categories. First, there are *personal heterogeneities* depending on people's disparate physical characteristics such as disability, illness, age or gender. The compensation of people's disadvantage varies and even some cannot be compensated with income. For instance, an ill person would need more money for achieving the same well-being level with a healthy person, and even with the necessary income and medical treatment, he may not enjoy the same quality of life. Second, there are *environmental diversities*. Climatic circumstances, diseases, pollution etc. will affect the relation between income and wellbeing. For example, heating and clothing requirements of poor people in colder regions will not be same with that of those in warmer climates or the prevalence of certain diseases like AIDS in particular parts of the world alters substantially the quality of life of people living there. Third, there are *variations in social climate* like

educational arrangements, prevalence or absence of crime or the social capital. Later, Sen (2005a) explains this point as variations in non-personal resources and includes examples like arrangements of public health care, societal cohesion and helpfulness of community. Fourth, there are *differences in relational perspectives*. This includes the differences being poor in a developed and developing country. In the former, the poor could have limited access to some elementary functionings, while their income will be much higher than of those who live in the developing world. Or realization of self-respect, as a less concrete functioning has an inter-societal variation rather than inter-individual variation according to Sen. Fifth, there is *distribution within family*. Income within the family is earned by one or more members of the household, and intra-family distribution of this income will vary. This can be according to different needs of individuals or related to gender or age. By explaining these points, while acknowledging income as an important factor in the well-being assessment, Sen explains us the shortages of income-based approaches.

Rawls's (1971) primary goods approach is also being criticized by Sen (1979, 1999). Rawls proposes a framework, in which a society is evaluated in terms of the level achieved by the worst-off person in the society over the index of primary goods. There are five basic groups of primary goods accordingly: a) basic liberties b) freedom of movement and choice of occupation c) powers and prerogatives of offices and positions of public responsibility d) income and wealth and e) the social basis of self-respect. As it can be seen Rawls's primary goods have a broad framework. He defends that if someone has the same primary goods with someone else, and ends up being less happy, and then this not an unjust situation in the utility space since a person should take responsibility for his preferences. However, Sen notes that Rawls shifts the attention towards freedoms but focuses on means of freedom rather than the extent of freedom. He points out that resources do not have intrinsic value and claims that primary goods approach, in this sense does not provide an adequate framework in dealing with variations in the relationship between income and resources. Sen reminds us other variables that affect the relationship between income and well-being (1999). He argues that primary goods approach suffers from commodity fetish which he explains as being too concerned with goods even though these goods in Rawls's analysis have a broad range and include rights, liberties, opportunities etc. Moreover, he argues that Rawls does not take much into

account the human diversity, which prevents the index of primary goods from being a good way of judging advantage. In addition, denial of utility as an issue of concern in the equality assessment is hard to justify according to Sen (1979). So, Sen suggests a move from goods, to what goods do to human beings. The reason of this is the fact that people vary in conversion of goods to capabilities which will prevent equality of outcomes even though they have the same goods. Based on this, Sen defends 'basic capability equality' which will avoid commodity fetishism.

One of the other approaches criticized by Sen is the Basic Needs Approach. The approach defends that certain goods and services must be available to all people. It was initiated in 1970s and taken up by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank. ILO defines basic needs as "the minimum standard of living which a society should set for the poorest groups of its people" (1976:7). However, though, in theory non-material factors such as employment, participation, political rights, cultural flourishing are included in the approach, inclusion of these in practice have been difficult. For this reason, the World Bank and ILO focused mainly on material needs like health, education, clothing, shelter, sanitation and hygiene. On this ground, Sen criticized the approach for being materialistic and subject to commodity fetishism, too. However, scholars like Stewart and Deneulin draw attention to the similarities between basic needs approach and capability approach. They note that;

In practical work, Sen [accepts] that to be healthy, well nourished, and educated are basic capabilities, which, presumably, he would argue, would always get democratic support. In effect, this shifts the approach to one that is almost identical with the BN [basic needs approach]', except that it has much broader scope and a more elaborate philosophical foundation (Stewart and Deneulin, 2002: 64).

On the other hand, feminist scholar Ingrid Robeyns (2003) points out the weaknesses of the standard welfare approaches and criticizes these for measuring equality in "male terms". Moreover, she points out that many theories assume that families are social institutions where there is love; justice and solidarity which is not always true (p.66). In addition to the household relations, she notes that for example gender discrimination in the market may affect one's capability set or socialization process can importantly impact men's and women's choices.

In summary, we can say that the unidimensional measures and conceptualizations based on income and goods cannot capture multiple deprivations of people. Seeing these shortcomings, Sen proposes a new framework to well-being assessment-the capability approach. By implementing the capability approach, shortcomings of income based approaches can be overcome to some extent and important dimensions of subjective well-being like lack of empowerment, health, social and personal isolation, and gender discrimination could be integrated to the analysis. To that end, Sen proposes policies and projects which remove obstacles against freedoms of people to live the life of their choosing. And people's ability to convert their resources to functionings is taken into account within his approach.

The capability approach has two central notions. These are capabilities and functionings. Functionings refer to various combinations of doings and beings and include basic matters such as being well nourished and well-sheltered, as well as more complex matters such as having self-respect and dignity, taking part in political decision making and so on (Sen and Nussbaum, 1993). While functioning is central to the notion of human well-being, it is not only the achieved functionings that matter but also capabilities should be taken into account. *Capabilities* reflect the alternative combination of functionings that a person can choose to have (Sen & Nussbaum, 1993). With capabilities a person has freedom to lead a life she wants. Capabilities show us how a person turns her resources into functionings. For example, a person who fasts willingly or in a hunger strike has the ability of not being hungry but chooses to be hungry. Sen explains the differences between functionings and capabilities as following:

A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead. (Sen, 1987:36)

In this framework, an important conceptualization is basic functionings and capabilities. Sen (1985a) defines some functionings as intrinsically important. Those are being happy, acting freely, being able to choose, having self-respect, being in good health and being adequately fed as well as appearing in public without shame. These functionings are valuable whether they are desired or not. Deneulin (2008)

also comments on valuable and non-valuable functionings. According to her, whereas being healthy is a valuable capability, being able to commit suicide is a non-valuable. Valuable collective capabilities such as eradicating child mortality also allows individual capabilities possible. The distinction between valuable and non-valuable capabilities is also the basis of capability lists developed by different scholars. At the point of taking which functionings as valuable functionings Sen notes that:

In the richer countries, the functionings involving longevity, nourishment, basic health, avoiding epidemics, being literate, etc., may have less variation from person to person, but there are other functionings that do vary a great deal. The ability to entertain friends, be close to people one would like to see, take part in the life of the community, etc. may vary a good deal even within a rich country, such as USA or the UK. (1985a:30-31)

Capability approach notes that individual advantage can be assessed in the categories of well-being achievement, well-being freedom, agency achievement and agency freedom. Sen (1993) explains that a person's actual freedom to live well and be well is important in both social and personal evaluation. Whereas well-being achievement depends on the achieved functionings, well-being freedom represents freedom to enjoy various well-beings associated with different functionings in the capability set. The notion of capability reflects positive freedom. The positive freedom concept sees freedom in terms of what a person is actually able to do or to be, whereas negative freedom sees it in terms of absence of interference from governments, institutions and other persons. If a person is not free from hunger and lacks the means and the practical opportunities to feed himself or herself adequately, then that person's positive freedom must be seen as having been thoroughly compromised. On the other hand, his or her negative freedom may be completely unviolated, if this failure to acquire enough food is not a result of his or her having been stopped by interference from others (Sen, 1987: 3).

Nussbaum (2011) notes that the capability approach theorizes about basic social justice. When comparing and assessing societies, the approach asks "what is each person able to do and to be" (p.18). So, it takes each person as an end, not the totality of the society's welfare. In that respect a good society is one that provides set of opportunities or substantial freedoms for its people. Moreover, the approach is pluralist about value which means that essential capability achievements differ in

both quality and quantity. The centrality of individual differs the capability approach from other approaches which take family as the central target of public policies. Nussbaum stresses that she develops her version of capability approach as a partial theory of social justice specifying an ample social minimum for nations and that delivering her proposed capabilities is a necessary condition for social justice.

According to Nussbaum, capability is a kind of freedom. Nussbaum explains this point as “capabilities are not just abilities residing inside a person but also the freedoms or opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social or economic environment” (p.20). These are referred as substantial freedoms and combined capabilities by Nussbaum. Characteristics of people such as personality traits, intellect, emotional capacity, internalized learning etc. have important impacts on a person’s combined capabilities. Nussbaum has more emphasis on negative freedoms than Sen in her version of capability approach by using the distinction of internal (I) capability and external (E) capability. I capabilities are internal to the person, whereas E-capabilities involve external factors which facilitate the use of I-capabilities. Having an I-capability means that there are no external factors affecting the use of this capability. Moreover, when someone is E-capable, then there is no conflict between positive and negative freedoms. Another category she formulates is basic capabilities (B-capabilities), which is different from Sen’s conceptualization. These capabilities refer to innate equipment people have, that make later development and training possible (ibid). For Nussbaum, in order to promote most important human capabilities, first development of internal capabilities should be supported and the means of supporting these capabilities are education, resources to enhance health, family care etc. She points out that though capabilities have value in themselves, they would be idle if they were never used. She concludes that capability approach within the framework she develops, concentrates on “protection of areas of freedom so central that their removal makes a life not worthy of human dignity.” (p.31)

Some scholars emphasize that not only capabilities enjoyed by individuals are important but also the wider context of social groups. Alkire (2008) notes that collective and group capabilities as well as the wider context of the social groups, without which some capabilities could not be enjoyed, should be taken into account

in the capability assessment. She explains collective capabilities by giving an example. Accordingly, capability of playing a music instrument in a group and capability to enjoy friendship with group members can be first considered as individual capabilities. However, one could perceive her experience in a music group much more than an individual capability and value the capability of playing music together within a group as a collective capability. On the other hand, while some members of a group benefit from a collective capability, other may have harm, as there will be heterogeneities. According to Stewart (2005) collective capabilities have intrinsic value, which means that these capabilities cannot be enjoyed without participation in a group. She explains that belonging to groups has positive impacts on well-being. Furthermore, she notes that groups are important in determining efficiency and resource shares and influence values and choices of people.

In capability approach, a choice is made by focusing on capabilities rather than functionings. Sen and Nussbaum explain that by this way a particular way of good life is not being imposed on people, and instead it is aimed at providing a range of possible ways of living. Concentrating on capabilities or functionings brings the issue of promotion of either capabilities or functionings by governments. Nussbaum (2011) emphasizes that the promotion of capabilities rather than functionings would be more accurate since by this way people would not be made function in a certain way. On the other hand, some other scholars like Richard Arneson defended more paternalistic function oriented policies of government. Nussbaum opposes this view. However, she also notes there should be one exception; that governments should protect functionings of being treated with respect and being not humiliated (Nussbaum, 2011).

On the other hand, focusing on individuals and capabilities gives a liberal nature to the capability approach according to Robeyns (2006). This also means that individuals should be responsible for their own choices. Another scholar Peter Evans (2002) defines Sen as a '*Manchester liberal*' due to his focus on individuals in his capability analysis and argues that the approach lacks a thorough analysis of markets' negative role in the expansion of freedoms people enjoy. Evans stresses that individual capabilities depend on collective capabilities and accuses Sen from refraining "exploring the ways in the concentration of economic power over the

means of producing and diffusing culture might compromise my capability to decide what things I have reason to value” (2002: 56). Evans emphasizes the importance of individuals’ interactions with friends, family, communities and other groups with whom we share our interests and values and says that “gaining the freedom to do things that we have reason to value is rarely something we can accomplish as individuals” (p.56). These interactions both are sources of utility and key for the development of identities and values according to Evans. Another point of criticism Evans made is that Sen does not take into account the role economic and political actors play in systematic ‘mental conditioning’ of people in preference formation. Similarly, there are some arguments about collective capabilities. Deneulin (2008) also questions whether it is sufficient to assess development in the space of individual freedoms and capabilities. She appreciates the positive move from income based approaches taken with the capability approach, but argues that by placing individual subjects at the center, it creates a conceptual tension between the individual and her society. Again, similarly to Evans; Deneulin and Stewart (2002) argue that Sen by putting an emphasis on individualism avoids the issues of political economy. They claim that structures of living together are evaluated only in term of instrumental value by Sen and he does not take into account the intrinsic value of social norms, cultural practices, trust etc. to the well-being of people. Another point they make is that individual agency is influenced by structures of living together. So, they defend for extending the evaluative space of development to collective capabilities. Deneulin adds that that to promote individual capabilities one should take into account socio-economic conditions that make individual agency possible. On the other hand, Robeyns notes that adapting Sen’s ethical/normative individualism is a right point since it is not ontologically and methodologically individual. Accordingly, ethical individualism takes individuals as ultimate units of moral concern which means being interested in the effects of social affairs on individuals.

Another criticism comes from Fleurbaey (2002). Again, related with the individualism in the capability approach he claims that capability approach treats people harshly. According to him for example, when in the situation of the availability of jobs in a context, Sen assumes that professional careers belong the sphere of the personal choice and responsibility. This includes the ways individuals

making use of their education and health (p.74). He notes that competitiveness and cooperation levels of societies shape social relations and social positions and offer different set of opportunities to people. A second point he makes is that providing access to good functionings will be not enough in an unjust society, one should also protect people against bad functionings such as authoritarianism, stress or rivalry. Because of these reasons he suggests a theory, which focuses on access to functionings rather than capabilities.

As a response to criticisms Sen notes that he is well aware of the fact that people live and interact in societies and they cannot flourish without participating in political and social affairs as well as in joint decision making processes in their societies (p.79). He explains that:

No individual can think, choose, or act without being influenced in one way or another by the nature and working of the society around him or her. If, for example, women in traditionally sexist societies come to accept that women's positions are naturally inferior to men, then that view—shared by individual women under social influence—is not, in any sense, independent of social conditions (2002:89).

Sen reminds that adaptive preferences of exploited and victimized people and calls for political activism related to class-based resistance or anti-racist struggles or feminist challenges as a part of the social justice process. Based on these grounds, he rejects the claim that his approach is methodologically individualistic. Moreover, he notes that seeing individuals as members of a particular group strictly can prevent seeing various identities and affiliations of people with different kind of thoughts, choices and actions. Further, Sen (2002) opposes the argument that he ignores collective capabilities and instead he argues that Evans names capabilities which depend on social interactions as collective capabilities rather than individual capabilities. Sen calls these as socially dependent individual capabilities and states that these should be separated from collective capabilities such as “such as the capability of a world nuclear power to kill the entire population of the world through nuclear bombing; this is most likely not within any individual's capability” (2002:85).

Here, we should also note that there are also studies investigating the relationship between social capital and the capability approach. Social capital is another concept,

which has received considerable attention in the social sciences literature. First, Coleman (1988, 1990) investigated how relations among persons constitute a form of resources, which affect economic activities and have economic consequences. Based on this work, Putnam defines social capital as ‘ features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.’ (1993:167). These networks of social connection produce reciprocity and trustworthiness (Putnam, 2000). By this formulation, he emphasises that choices of people are not simple their individual choices triggered by individual circumstances but also by their social circumstances (Comim, 2007). By these enabling social structures and cooperation in the society, Putnam explained development differences between regions or countries. Francis Fukuyama (1995) also identified social capital as a key factor for economic growth and development since it creates trust in a society. As other capitals like physical, financial and human, social capital can be considered as a means to access resources within the framework of capability approach. Also, Comim (2007) introduces the concept of social capability and accordingly ‘social capabilities are those capabilities that can only be achieved socially, and that present those sets of beings and doings that can only be achieved as a result of social interaction.’ (2007:644). So, these capabilities do not stem from individual capacities but from social structures and systematic level of outcomes. It can be seen this conceptualization is close with Evan’s definition of collective capabilities. In general we can say that there are some important social or collective structures which enable emergence of individual capabilities and these can be defined as collective or social capabilities.

Another point related to capabilities has been brought forward by Basu and Lopez-Calva (2011). They stress the problem of interpersonal freedoms. Basu and Lopez-Calva question whether people are really free to choose any functioning from their opportunity sets. They point out that people’s opportunity sets also depends on other people’s choices. For example, a woman would prefer to have leisure time on a weekend, but if her husband prefers the same and if they have children they have to take care for, one of them would be forced to relinquish his/her leisure time opportunity. In a way, they argue that opportunity sets have illusions of choices. This is also a point frequently emphasized by feminist scholars. They point out that many

choices women are making are not voluntary or genuine choices but reflect wider social and personal influences (Robeyns, 2008).

On the other hand, as stated by Nussbaum (2011) sometimes capabilities can be in competition which can lead to the situation of tragic choice. Nussbaum explains tragic choice as a situation happens when two important capabilities collide and any course selected involves doing wrong to someone. Examples are that women in many developed parts of the world are forced to choose between high quality childcare for their children and a decent living standard due to requirements of welfare rules. According to her, another tragic choice is between leisure time and a decent living standard especially in the United States. Similarly, in developing countries like India parents face the dilemma between sending their children to school and making them work to earn money. In some of these situations governments can propose some solutions to compensate losses of people. In the example of India, the state of Kerala initiated a programme of flexible school hour and a nutritious midday meal for children to offset children's lost wages which has proven successful.

The answer of the question "how to increase capabilities" depends on knowing the factors affecting functionings and capabilities. First, we know that *goods* can enable a person's functionings and due to this we should know which goods people should have to achieve functionings. And also we know that achievement of these goods depends also one's income. However, there are other factors affecting a person's functionings, as mentioned while explaining the shortcomings of the income approach. As Robeyns points out;

Income might reveal much of the well-being of an idealised independent individual who is working full time, who is in good health and good physical and psychological condition, and who has no major caring responsibilities. But for an unemployed person, or a care taker, or a dependent person, other dimensions of well-being might be much more important for their overall well-being. (Robeyns, 2008:88)

As acknowledged by Sen and other scholars, capabilities depend on social, cultural, political, biological or regional factors. For this reason, income cannot be evaluated as the sole instrument for generating capabilities. That is why Sen concentrates on deprivations that are intrinsically important, unlike income which is only instrumentally important. He acknowledges that relationship between income and

capability is variable between communities, families or individuals. Among determinants of this relationship are age, gender, social roles, location, epidemiological atmosphere etc. over which a person has limited or no control. Moreover, handicaps such as disability, age or illness decrease the ability to earn income and make it more difficult to convert income into capability. For example, two persons can have money to buy books but if one is blind, they will not be able to achieve the same functioning. In this situation a different need emerges to achieve the same functioning. As examples can be multiplied, we see that the older or more disabled may need more income to achieve the same functionings compared to younger and healthier people. Or when we evaluate sufficiency of a certain food intake of a person, we should know the biological needs of that person since it changes according to her age, her physical work load or special health requirements. A certain amount of food's sufficiency would depend on whether it is for a small child, pregnant woman or a heavy worker. Another point is that income of a household cannot be assumed to be spent evenly within the family members. Within family there can exist disproportionate use of income favouring some family members and not others. Examples are systematic boy preferences in the family repercussions of which can be seen in greater mortality, morbidity, undernourishment, medical neglect etc. for girls (Sen, 1999). For this reason it is important to look at closer to the reasons of one person's particular functionings when determining the overall quality of their life. Judging someone's functionings based on resources they have, may mislead us to concentrate on individual intermittent variables such as lack of ambition or personal choice (Pfister, 2012).

A systematic analysis of the variables of heterogeneities between individuals is done by Robeyns (2005, 2008). She explains that the relationship between goods and functionings is shaped by three groups of conversion factors. The first group is the *personal conversion factors* such as biological/physical traits, mental situation, intelligence or skills. Being disabled or in bad physical condition will affect someone's ability to achieve. An example given by Sen (1992) is that a bicycle is a commodity providing transportation for individuals depending on the individual's physical ability. If the person is physically disabled, then it won't be a transportation tool. Second are the *social conversion factors*. These are social institutions (e.g. the educational system, the political system, the family, public policies legal regulations

etc.) social norms and practices (e.g. gender roles, religious, moral and cultural norms societal hierarchies etc), traditions and behaviour of others in society (e.g. stereotyping, racism, sexism, homophobic behaviour etc.). Continuing the previous example a woman can have a bicycle but social norms can restrict her in some contexts to ride it in public. Third one is *environmental conversion factors* like climate, environmental pollution and geographical location. Again, here an individual's using a bicycle as a transportation tool will depend on the state of roads.

In addition, some capabilities do not require a good or service as an input. Examples of these capabilities are being respected by your peers or having good relations with family and friends. Here, also the conversion factors affect the realization of these capabilities. For example, the reason of disrespect to a woman in the political arena does not rely on any material basis but occurs via social norms and traditions. Moreover, Robeyns notes that the choice of achieved functionings from the set of capabilities is not a pure rational one but is affected from the preference formation mechanisms such as peer pressure, social conformity or expectations (Robeyns, 2008). In this critical point, whether one chooses freely to exercise a capability or the choice exercising a capability is constrained by social norms is questionable.

Human diversity is central in the capability approach and the approach concentrates on intrinsically important dimensions of well-being rather than tools for achieving well-being like resources and commodities. Capability approach takes the proposition that well-being should be evaluated according to the extent of freedoms and capabilities people have. So, it provides an alternative framework to assess policies of programs designed and implemented in the process of development (Alkire, 2008). Mainly it guides us to consider different implications of policies in the capability space. Between the set of possible options an informed value judgment should be made to expand capabilities and freedoms. For a development policy to be successful we should ask ourselves which capabilities to promote and how. For the expansion of capabilities Sen (1999) underlines the importance of instrumental freedoms: *political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security*. These freedoms tend to contribute to the capability of living freely. Political freedoms include electing, scrutinizing and criticizing authorities and having freedom of political expression etc. Economic

facilities are the opportunities people enjoy to utilize for the purpose of consumption, production or exchange. The utilization of these facilities will depend on resources owned or available as well as the prices and the working structure of the markets. He notes that access to finance as an important instrument to have economic entitlements and economic growth is important to facilitate the realization of other freedoms especially in the field of social arrangements by states. However, aggregate income increases of states do not mean necessarily increases in the income of all people living since distributional inequalities prevail largely in many societies. Social opportunities refer to the arrangements in the field of education, health etc. that society makes. Enjoyment of these opportunities allows people to live better lives and to participate in economic and political activities. For example, lack of education can be an important impediment to participate in the labour market. Transparency guarantees are related with social interactions and deal with the need for openness, disclosure and lucidity in society. Sen notes that these guarantees have an important instrumental role in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhand dealings. As the last category protective security provide a social safety net for those vulnerable and deprived people. Protective security includes both fix institutional arrangements such as unemployment benefits, income supplements and temporary measures like emergency reliefs.

After reviewing the basic concepts about the capability approach, it is important to look into the operationalization of the approach and relevant discussions on the issue. Sen (1999) proposes that there can be three ways of using capability approach. First, the direct approach examines and compares functionings and capabilities. The supplementary approach, on the other hand, uses the traditional income metric and supplements it by capability considerations. Thirdly, the indirect approach calculates adjusted incomes by using determinants of capabilities other than income. For example, family income levels can be adjusted downwardly by illiteracy and upwardly by high levels of education. However, it should be noted that measuring capabilities is much more difficult than measuring and comparing the income of people. First of all, to measure the capabilities one should know how to select the relevant list of capabilities. Sen does not employ a specific list of capabilities to operationalize the approach he developed. However, he emphasizes public discussion and democratic deliberation in selecting, prioritising and specifying

capabilities. At this point, some scholars have questioned the practicality of the approach. One of these scholars is John Rawls (2001). He labels Sen's capability approach as unworkable as opposed to methods based on primary goods where a citizen's share is openly observable and makes comparisons possible. Mozaffar Qizilbash (1996) is another scholar who extensively works on the capability approach. Qizilbash argues that if capability approach is understood merely as enhancing people's ability to lead good lives, then it doesn't provide us the definition of good life. He notes that the approach of Sen allows interpersonal variation, which makes it flexible enough to be consistent with pluralism about the good life. However, he argues that Sen's capability approach fails to provide an adequate account of development since it does not give us a list of valuable functionings. He links this failing with the problem of pluralism, which makes the good life undetermined. He notes that the development understanding as expansion of capabilities can be misleading. He gives the example of a person who is poor and to live a valuable life he steals money from a rich person and becomes more capable of leading a valuable life and this doesn't affect very much negatively the rich person's capabilities. Here, according to Qizilbash this situation shows us the need of a list of valuable functionings. Moreover, he defends that Sen fails to give more explanation about interpersonal comparisons, which makes us unable in the previous example compare gains of the person who steals, and loss of the person whose money was stolen. Also, he claims that Sen gives inadequate attention to negative freedom in his conceptualization of freedom.

Another critique is Robert Sugden (1993) who reviews Sen's work and questions operationality of the approach based on view that it is not easy to agree on the nature of good life and value sets compared with the income based measurements. Robeyns (2000) notes that the number of empirical application of the capability approach is very limited, and the surveys used in applications aren't specifically constructed to measure capabilities. Opposite to these views, Chiappero-Martinetti notes that:

Indeed, it is precisely the rich and unrestricted nature of the capability approach that makes it so appealing to many researchers, its usefulness in addressing a plurality of issues within a multiplicity of contexts, its interpretative richness regarding what a good life is, and the attention it focuses on human diversity. (2008: 269)

As Sen (2004) stresses out, these lists cannot be accepted valid for every society or situation, but they are useful applied in particular contexts. Dependent on the social and economic circumstances of a society in particular, one capability once had been very important can be irrelevant presently. For example, instate of basic literacy, computer literacy can be a more meaningful capability for more developed nations of today. Sen (1992) in earlier writings points out that in extreme poverty situations the basic capability list can be shorter, whereas in other contexts the list may be much longer. The second issue about the choosing of capabilities is their weighting. Sen (1999) notes that some functionings are more important than others. He proposes that a particular selection of functionings and capabilities would yield a ‘dominance partial order’ and this can be extended without a full agreement on their relative values.

Nussbaum has a different point of view with regards to having a list. She (1988), in this framework notes that:

Getting the list of functionings that are constitutive of good living is a matter of asking ourselves what is most important, what is an essential part of any life that is going to be rich enough to count as truly human. A being totally detached from human experience and choice could not, I think, make such a judgement (p.38)

She opposes a process in which each groups’ or culture’s ideas of relevant human functionings into the consideration since this will prevent the necessary move from desires or preferences to capabilities. She criticizes capability selection process pointing out that the process is open to distortion through the influence of local culture and the status quo (Qizilbash, 2013). She calls Sen to introduce an objective normative account of human functioning and a procedure of objective evaluation, which shows the contribution of functionings to the good human life. Nussbaum notes that selection of important capabilities depends on our purpose. She points out that if we want to compare nations or regions, then all sorts of capabilities could be chosen to be tested. However, if our aim is to establish political principles, then selection of relevant capabilities is more important. She also notes that sometimes it is easier to determine the centrality of a capability, such as the capabilities of primary and secondary education. On the other hand, some others have been discussed for a long time. For example, for many centuries a woman’s right to refuse her husband’s

intercourse had not been considered as a crucial right of bodily integrity. She gives the examples of plural marriages and homeschooling as recent controversial debates and she points out that there are some subjects on which some compromises are made but these compromises do not always make sense. Another example is the legality of using alcohol, which can be extremely destructive, but marijuana which is considered less destructive relatively, remains illegal in many societies. Another discussion brought forward by Nussbaum (2011) is the right to do things that would hurt someone such as selling one's own organs, using hard drugs or engaging in risky sports. She notes that to determine the capabilities, instead of number of supporters, the quality of argument is more important. She also concludes that it is clear that many issues will remain as optional to be settled by the political process. However, she believes that one should ask "what does a life worth of human dignity require?" as a part of social justice framework and she argues that one should adopt ten central capabilities she has developed as a bare threshold. She notes these capabilities are irreducible and must be protected in distinctive ways. On the other hand, she acknowledges that some capabilities on the list can be contested and some items are abstract and need further specification. While defining a list of capabilities she also reminds that the list has *multiple realizability* which means that its elements can be more concretely specified in accordance with local beliefs and circumstances (Nussbaum, 2000:77).

Table 7: List of Nussbaum's Ten Capabilities

1) Life
2) Bodily health: being able to have good health, including reproductive health, to be adequately nourished, to have adequate shelter
3) Bodily integrity: being able to move freely from place to place, to be secure against violent assault, sexual assault and domestic violence
4) Senses, imagination, and thought: being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason and to do these things in a truly human way
5) Emotions: being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves, to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger
6) Practical reason: being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance
7) Affiliation. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction. Having the social basis of self-respect and non-humiliation. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin
8) Other species. being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature
9) Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10) Control over one's environment: <i>A-Political:</i> being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life, having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. <i>B-Material:</i> Being able to hold property and having property rights, having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others, having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure.

Nussbaum defends that fulfillment of these capabilities is a necessary condition of social justice; however some capabilities can take priority considering the fertility of the capability or its potential to remove a corrosive disadvantage. What she means by fertile capability is a capability which helps the fulfillment of other capabilities. An example is access to credit which will enable someone to protect her bodily integrity, to have employment opportunities, to participate in politics and to enhance self-respect etc. Another example is education. It enables people to be employed and to earn an income or monetary independence. By doing so education can also protect women from domestic violence while giving them exit options from oppressive situations and enhancing their status. Opposed to fertile capability, there is corrosive

disadvantage, which denotes the areas whose deprivation has large effects on one's life. Moreover, Nussbaum includes talents, internal powers and abilities into her interpretation of functionings and capabilities (Robeyns, 2003). Robeyns points out that by including these dimensions, Nussbaum integrates Sen's conversion factors in the concept of capability itself. Nussbaum's list of capabilities represents a neo-Aristotelian account of universal values. As Sen stresses, she points out that her list of capabilities have value in themselves rather than being merely instrumental. She explains the capabilities in detail with the aim of using them directly in constitutional and political matters. However, many scholars agree that Nussbaum overspecifies capability approach with her list claiming to be universalist (Hurley, O'Neill in Nussbaum & Glover 1995, Qizilbash 1996, Robeyns, 2003).

Other scholars working on capability approach formulated some lists of capabilities for the operationalization of the approach, too as can be seen from the table below. In general we can see that lists drawn by different scholars have common elements. For example, some dimensions like life, health, knowledge/education, family/friendship/affiliation, work can be found similarly in these lists.

As Alkire (2002) concludes in her review of capability lists, there are important similarities between the capability lists of different scholars constructed by using different methods. By reviewing these lists in this section, different capabilities selected by scholars will be examined. One of these scholars who developed capability list is Robeyns (2003). Foremost, she proposes five criteria for the selection of capabilities. These are explicit formulation, methodological justification, sensitivity to context and different levels of generality. Robeyns proposes a list drawn especially for measuring gender inequality. Different from Nussbaum she follows Sen's conceptualization of capabilities and functionings. She proposes that for policy issues and especially for design of socio-economic policy proposals Sen offers a more useful conceptualization, whereas Nussbaum's list will be more related with moral philosophical principles useful for development of legal rights and political declarations or in qualitative analysis of how people can cultivate their capabilities. She categorizes capabilities linking them with existing gender inequality literature. Life, mental and physical health, bodily integrity and safety, social relations dimension are similar to Nussbaum's list. Differently, Robeyns includes

dimensions of political empowerment, knowledge-education, domestic work/non-market care, paid work and other projects, mobility which are especially important for achieving gender equality. Furthermore, it can be seen that her list contains more concrete capabilities compared to Nussbaum's. It should be also noted that she excludes economic resources claiming that these do not constitute a capability.

Alkire (2008) proposes five criteria for the selection of capabilities. These are existing data or convention; theory which shows implicit and explicit assumptions about what people do or should value; public consensus; ongoing deliberative participatory processes to elicit the values and perspectives of stakeholder; and empirical evidence regarding people's values such as consumer preferences, behaviours, psychological studies. Alkire and Black (1997) note that to determine a list, alternative lists should be compared to see dimensions that can't be reduced to one another and those dimensions should remain. Following this logic, they review and compare the work of Germain Grizes, Joseph Boyle and John Finnis with Nussbaum's list and end up with their own list. Their list includes life, knowledge, appreciation of beauty, work and play, friendship, self-integration, coherent self-determination, transcendence and being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world nature.

Mozaffar Qizilbash (1996) also proposes a list of capabilities under the name of prudential values. These values include at least minimal levels of health, nutrition, sanitation, rest, shelter and security; capacities of literacy, certain basic intellectual and physical capacities; self-respect and aspiration; positive freedom, autonomy and self-determination; negative freedom or liberty; enjoyment; understanding or knowledge; significant relations with others and some participation in social life; and accomplishment. He notes that this list is in line with both basic needs school with regards to items like health, sanitation, literacy and Sen's conceptualization of capabilities especially with regards to positive freedom, autonomy and self-determination. He emphasizes that though most of the items on the list have intrinsic values, he does not believe that the distinction between intrinsic and instrumental values has a great importance.

Manfred Max-Neef identifies his list of human needs, with a participatory method of gathering individuals to analyse needs and satisfiers in their lives under the headings of beings, havings, doings and interacting. He identifies subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure creation, identity and freedom as basic needs. He argues that needs that cannot be adequately satisfied reveal an aspect of human poverty.



Table 8: List of Scholars on Human Development

Nussbaum (2003)	Doyal and Gough (1993)	Alkire and Black (1997)	Robeyns (2003)	Qizilbash (1996)	Cummins (1996)
Life	Nutritional food/water	Life	Life and physical health	Health/nutrition/sanitation/rest/shelter/security	Material well-being
Bodily health	Protective housing	Knowledge and appreciation of beauty	Mental wellbeing	Literacy/basic intellectual and physical capacities	Health
Bodily integrity	Work	Work and play	Bodily integrity and safety	Self-respect and aspiration	Productivity
Senses, imagination, and thought	Physical environment	Friendship	Social relations	Positive autonomy or self-determination	Intimacy/friendship
Practical reason	Healthcare	Self-integration	Political empowerment	Negative freedom or liberty enjoyment	Safety
Affiliation	Security in childhood	Coherent self-determination	Education and knowledge	Enjoyment	Community
Other species	Significant primary relationships	Transcendence	Domestic work and nonmarket care	Understanding or knowledge	Emotional well-being
Play	Physical security	Other species	Paid work and other projects	Significant relations with others and some participation in social life	
Control over one's environment	Economic security		Shelter and environment	Accomplishment (sort that gives life point/weight)	
Material-being able to hold property, having right to seek employment, being able to work as a human being	Safe birth control/childbearing		Mobility		
			Leisure activities		
			Time Autonomy		
			Respect		
			Religion		

Parallel to the attempts of defining capability needs, there is a growing quantitative research done to employ the capability approach. Kuklys and Robeyns (2005) note that it is possible to measure welfare in terms of functionings and this measurement differs significantly from the measurements of income and expenditure methods. Kuklys (2005) points out that despite the differences in results of these two kinds of measurements of welfare, the capability approach has not been a complementary tool in welfare analysis. According to her one of the reasons of this situation is that the selection and measurement of functionings are ad hoc and the capability literature ignored the theoretical multidimensional measurement literature. Kuklys choose the functionings of health and housing standards to test in the United Kingdom. Here, it was found out that an individual's achieved level of functioning depends on the resources the individual has, as well as her personal circumstances, the society and the environment she lives in. In this logic, being well-sheltered depends on income, access to building materials, climate conditions and access to reliable builders (2005:33). On the other hand, Kuklys and Robeyns point out possible measurement errors that can occur in this kind of studies. For example, though individuals are asked about their health status in household surveys, there may be recall errors and relative judgments with respect to a reference group in subjectively reported health statuses. On the other hand, the results of the survey reveal that health indicators are relatively correlated with age as expected, whereas correlation with education is positive. They explain that this positive correlation is probably the result of the tendency that the more educated people have less work related health risks and higher income than blue-collar workers. Similarly, the correlation between work-income and health is positive. They also draw attention that though income affects health status of people, also health problems have a negative impact on employability of people.

Anad et. al (2006) used Nussbaum's capability set and test capability indicators asked in a questionnaire in Britain. They look to the relation between socio-demographic and personality variables and capabilities. They found out that personality variables such as being extravert and emotionally stable are significant variables in terms of supporting capabilities, whereas control variables such as age

and sex, except for income are not significant. They express that especially life satisfaction is closely related to personality.

Anand and Hees (2008) do a postal questionnaire to examine Sen's theory of capability approach and use logistic regression models to evaluate the answers. Their study includes the dimensions of achieved things, health, intellectual stimulation, satisfying social relations, pleasant environments and the development of personal projects. Since they do their study in a developed country-Great Britain, they don't include basic functionings like longevity, nourishment etc. They also ask how happy people are with their capabilities and achievements in these areas. The results reveal that people are most satisfied with health and environment and least satisfied with social relations and personal projects. They explain this situation as that health and environment are to a greater extent determined by factors outside a person's control and more amenable to adaptation, whereas social relations and personal projects have more to do with aspirational and expectational elements and are harder to adapt. They also point out that income does not expand a person's capabilities, indeed higher income levels are associated with lower capability satisfaction.

Papadopoulos and Tsakloglou (2005) examine social exclusion in the EU within the capability framework. They take lack of sufficient income, living conditions (household amenities, problems in the accommodation and lack of durable goods), necessities of life (keep their homes warm, pay for holiday, replace worn-out furniture, buy new cloths, eat meat, chicken or fish every second day, have friends or family for a drink or meal at least once a month) and social relations (talking to neighbours once or twice a month, being members of club or organizations) as deprivation indicators and examine European countries. Their study reveals that the majority of population in all countries cannot be classified as deprived according to any of four indicators. On the other hand, whereas Denmark has to lowest percentage (1.5%) of people being at high risk of social exclusion, Greece has the highest percentage (15.6 %). They note that high educational qualifications are an effective barrier against social exclusion. In almost all cases people in household where the reference person has completed tertiary education have lower risk of exclusion. On the other hand, people who are classified as sick/disabled face a substantially higher risk of social exclusion. Another finding is that people living in households where the reference person is employed full-time, has lower risk of social exclusion than

the national average. They also look at different dimensions of employment status, including discouraged workers, constrained workers and precariously employed. Discouraged workers are those who left the labour market since they believed that there are no proper jobs for them. Constrained workers are mostly females who would like to have job but not searching for one because of duties like taking care of children or their domestic responsibilities. Precariously employed are those who are not employed full-time or part-time. These three groups of people face a higher risk of social exclusion and constrained workers group has relatively high population share in all countries examined.

Sara Lelli (2008) chooses a set of indicators and classifies them to test the capabilities in Belgium using panel study data of Belgian household survey. These indicators include social interactions, cultural activities, economic conditions, health, psychological distress, working conditions and shelter. Social interactions include frequency of contact and meeting with friends and a number of leisure activities. Cultural activities have a broad range and have been evaluated by questions pertaining to memberships to socio-cultural associations and to the regularity of visiting museums, attending conferences, concerts, plays, movies or participating in creative activities. Economic conditions include, regularity in saving money, individual perceptions concerning household's economic conditions and its successfulness in making ends meet, difficulties in facing payments and lack of a number of commodities due to unaffordability. Health also is evaluated on physical and psychological grounds. Work dimension is taken not only in economic terms but non-monetary features like judgment of one's work schedule, working environment etc. have been explored. As it comes to last dimension-shelter, it is evaluated on the basis of household size, possible economies of scale, heating, satisfaction about one's housing situation as well as occurrence of problems related to dwelling and/or location. Accordingly, three unusual outcomes occur in the study. First, it is found that income does not affect health, which is probably related with presence of schooling and age variables. Second, extra household resources tend to worsen one's mental distress and thirdly the irrelevance of additional earnings for one's job satisfaction and indeed greater work satisfaction may derive from a stimulating environment or challenging tasks. When it comes to gender differences it is also noted men are enjoying slightly more social interactions while women seem to be

more subject to psychological distress though they are more involved in cultural activities and enjoying slightly better working and housing conditions. She notes that working conditions functioning should be better seen as a job satisfaction indicator and women's higher job satisfaction is actually as a result of their lower expectations.

There are also some studies done in Turkey related with the capability approach. One of these studies is done by Pinar Uyan Semerci (2007). She does a research on capability approach with women living in squatter areas of İstanbul and experiencing different levels of poverty. She uses in-depth interview method for her research and uses the capability list of Martha Nussbaum. She finds out that the dimension of health is very problematic since in every household people have some diseases and the situation has become a vicious circle. Moreover, for women reproductive health is very important as women face miscarriages frequently during their pregnancies. In addition, bodily integrity of women has been compromised since most of the women face domestic violence. As it comes to senses, imagination and thought, Semerci argues that limited education constitutes an important barrier for the realization of this capability. However, she does not explain adequately the relationship between education and this capability. As a part of senses, imagination and thought, she notes that freedom of religious exercise was realized and indeed religion is effective in the socialization of the urban migrants to be part of their community. With regards to emotions and affiliation capability, she notes that the women interviewed were at ease expressing their emotions especially regarding their parents or children.

It is seen that capability research done mostly on poor women in Turkey. Another example in this framework is the study of Kardam and Yüksel (2004). The reasons for their investigation on the gender dimension of poverty are explained as poor women rates are higher than men and women experience poverty more severe than men and the number of women head of households is rising. They used the capability framework of Robeyns in their study. From the indicators Robeyns developed, they had to exclude religion, time autonomy and political power since sufficient data could not be obtained in the field study. Upon their findings they determine three important points. The first one is that having an internal power and capacity to change their own situation. Second point is making progress to improve their

situation by following some strategies with their efforts. The third point is having minimum material conditions to survive. According to these points, they categorize women into three groups. First group of women has the minimum levels of these three points which makes them highly vulnerable. Second group of women has minimum material conditions and has limited power to transform their capabilities into functionings. This category has the largest share of women and they point out that some of these women can move to third category if some support is given to them and some barriers in front of their capabilities are removed. Third group of women has an internal power to change their living conditions and transform their capabilities into functionings. After these categorizations, they look into the capabilities that should be focused on. These are bodily integrity, education, continuation of an unhappy marriage, domestic responsibilities, living without presence of the spouse, negative environmental and housing conditions, and lastly health problems. Women which belong to the first group face violence, pressure and exclusion, high levels of domestic responsibilities, some health problems, barriers in their education processes, being left alone as the results of divorce or husband's being in prison and have negative environmental and housing conditions. The roots of their present situation lie in their childhood. As a result these women experience problems in their mental health, loose their self-confidence and their ability to stand on their own. Hence, they have no expectations from future. As they have limited financial and emotional support from families, they live dependent on kinds of social assistance as a survival strategy. These women see themselves as one the lowest social classes and envy other women greatly. Between women in these neighbourhoods, there are not such friendly relationships. As means tested social assistance is common, it is possible that people blame each other with showing themselves poorer than the reality.

CHAPTER III

EXAMINING STRUCTURAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPABILITIES OF POOR PEOPLE

In the previous chapters of this thesis we have seen that in recent years, development paradigm has been changed and human development and enhancing capabilities of people started to be taken as important goals of development by the societies. To contribute to a human centric development in Turkey, the findings of the study on capabilities of poor people will be presented here under the two headings of structural capabilities and socio-psychological capabilities.

3.1. Structural Capabilities

Structural capabilities denote the capabilities which stem from the structures and environment surrounding people. These capabilities can be divided into two categories: Physical and material wellbeing and public services and participation. Within the category of physical and material wellbeing, there are employment and paid work, education and knowledge as well as shelter and physical environment. On the other hand, this category also involves accession to public services like education, health, social services as well as recreational and cultural services. Moreover, an environment conducive to participation to civic and political life can be considered as an important part of structural dimension. To test these dimensions various questions have been asked to participants under each capability dimension and here these will be presented.

3.1.1. Physical and Material Wellbeing

Shelter and physical environment

Having a shelter to live in and physical environment suitable for having a healthy life are very vital functionings for survival of individuals. As Rachal Bratt (2002) notes good housing is positively related with good mental and physical health and physically inadequate housing can be problematic and threaten family well-being. To that end the field study included questions regarding the number of household members, the ownership status of their house, how they evaluate their living conditions and the safety situation of their neighbourhood.

Most of the participants of the field study lived in certain neighbourhoods of the city in the districts of Atakum, Canik and İlkadım. These neighbourhoods were areas whose inhabitants are poor. These old settlement areas have buildings, which are more than 25 years old. Most of the participants in the city were living in apartment buildings and an important majority of these participants had houses which were not in good conditions. A married man with children who resides in İlkadım tells that “*our house is so humid, I don’t want to live here, but I don’t have a choice*”. An older woman in the study who lives alone tells that “*I am not satisfied at all with my house, there are many ants around and it is so humid*”. As examples can be multiplied, overall, half of the participants stated that they are not satisfied with their housing conditions.

Remaining participants of the study were living in rural parts of these central districts of Samsun. Though these rural areas are very close to the district centers, they have classical characteristics of Turkish rural areas. There, inhabitants’ main economic revenues come from agriculture and husbandry. However, parallel with the decline of the agriculture, people lost an important share of their income and do not work at the agricultural sector at the moment as intensive as they used to. A married man living in a remote area of Canik tells that “*how can I be satisfied with these conditions, we don’t have a roof, we freeze in winters and burn in summers*”.

On the other hand, 20 of 29 participants were tenants and have a rent expense about 200-400 TL a month. All of the tenants were living in the city center. Though this

amount of rent is low compared to average rents in the city; considering the low income of these households, it constitutes an important share of their monthly expense. These houses, which are old and usually in basement floors were humid and some of the interviewees stated that they cannot prevent insects or mice from entering their houses and this situation greatly affects the quality of their living conditions. Moreover, it could be seen that the ones in the rural areas have their own houses but these houses also need some renovation to have better living spaces. A middle aged man living in a village of Canik with his family tells that *“I am not satisfied at all with the conditions of this house, so I applied for the assistance from the Foundation. Now they are renovating my house”*.

A 42-year-old woman living with her 2 children and husband in İlkadim on the other hand, talks about her concerns about the urban transformation process and says that *‘This neighbourhood is going to tear part, every building will be demolished under the urban transformation’*. In this framework, we should remember that right to adequate housing is an integral part of achieving adequate standards of living. In the field study, it is seen that though some basic infrastructural needs of people like safe and clean water or sanitation are met by public provisions, access to affordable adequate housing is more limited

Safety of neighbourhoods, on the other hand, allows people move freely and be more content of their living conditions. It is also very important for child and youth development. Some research shows that social problems like crime, adolescent delinquency, school dropouts, and social and physical disorders tend to be seen together at the neighbourhood level (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Within this context, questions about safety revealed that 14 participants find their neighbourhoods safe, 10 find unsafe and 5 people are indecisive. Those, who say that their neighbourhoods are not safe, stated that there are many people using drugs in the neighbourhood. Some participants stated that use of a drug called bonzai, which is a dangerous synthetic drug, is common especially among young people. Except use of drugs, theft and use of guns were among mentioned problems in the neighbourhoods. Though the study could not include young people in the sample group, the parents often expressed their concern for their children, especially for boys. Other studies also support the increasing drug use and delinquency trends

among young boys especially in the district of İlkadım (İlkadım Council Youth Workshops, 2015). A married woman 36 years old with a young boy tells her concerns as:

This neighbourhood is not safe at all. There are many city bullies, who drink all day and then shoot guns around. Also, there are many people who smoke cigarettes or weed. They do these in public spaces and schools.

These views like other similar ones show us that usually parents who have young children that go to school are more concerned about the safety of their neighbourhoods. Based on these findings, it can be said that neighbourhoods have important impacts on the capabilities of education and employment of young people. The high number of negative examples and lack of any role models creates an environment conducive to leaving school early and being involved in criminal activities.

On the other hand, the ones in the rural areas haven't stated any complaint about the safety of their neighbourhoods. This is also in parallel with the characteristics of rural areas as in these areas everyone knows each other. The living conditions in these rural areas however, affect especially the capabilities of education and employment. The ones, who live in rural areas or who used to live there, have very low level of education. Though the perception of education's necessity is changing positively in rural areas too, the closing of schools in rural areas and also, the introduction of open education for middle and high school creates difficulties in continuation of education. Together with the lack of education and skills, limited economic opportunities of rural areas oblige people to work in the agriculture or not to work at all. Also, when these older people migrate to cities they are forced to have precarious jobs or being unemployed.

Additionally, though it can be expected living in rural areas has a positive impact on family and friendship, it is seen that in rural areas families have more explicit problems. Among 6 families in rural areas, two had serious problems with their relatives. One participant was prisoned as a result of complaint of his relatives and they were still living next to each other. These findings can be related with the living arrangements in the rural areas, which enforce mutual living, and economic activities on people and these can accelerate creation of problems.

Here, we should note that a very special neighbourhood in Samsun is *200 Evler* in which Roma descendant people live. This area is an urban transformation area built especially for Roma people. However, there are some important social problems of people living there. Some of these prominent problems are unemployment, early dropouts from school, child marriages and social exclusion and stigma (OKA, 2015). Moreover, since urban transformation area made them to live in certain areas, this situation also contributes to their exclusion from society. Also, living in apartment buildings impacts undesirably their traditional living styles since they are used to live in single houses with gardens and spend most of their time together in various social activities. In this context a 41 year old married man with children from this area stated that he is not happy of living there. He states that:

There is no future or peace in this neighbourhood. I don't want to live here. Here, people are ignorant, they don't have any education and there are a lot of drug users. We don't go to the parks or malls. We are here all the time together with our friends.

All of these show us that ethnicity is a determining factor of the people's capabilities. Based on their ethnicity people face discrimination in social and economic life and feel excluded from society. People are even forced to live in certain area of the city in some situations, and this enforces social exclusion. To fight against these, extra actions taken by state to increase capabilities of people by extending their opportunities and taking measures against discrimination.

In summary, the capability of shelter and physical environment is important both in terms of satisfying material needs of people and beyond these; as a space enabling individuals to attain other functionings. However, with the high urbanization in Turkey and ill urban planning practices, low quality housing and high housing prices became pervasive and this situation affect mostly the lower income groups. In addition to material conditions, these neighbourhoods where poor people live have other problems like safety and insufficient social and recreational facilities. The low income of people, are forced in this situation to live in houses with low prices or low rents, which do not provide adequate standards of living. That's being said, in Turkey as well as in Samsun housing should be evaluated in a more holistic way by taking into account housing is a fundamental right.

Income and wealth

Though capability approach does not focus on income and wealth, it considers these dimensions as important tools for well-being of people. Being able to have a minimum income is necessary for living a decent life. In this framework, the total monthly income of the household, sources and distribution of income, whether the participants receive any social assistance and how they perceive the sufficiency of their income are questioned in the survey. By this way it is aimed at determining their well-being and the extent of dependency to others and to state institutions.

As the target group of the research is social assistance takers, it was already known that their income and wealth levels would be very low. The condition of getting qualified for social assistance through SASFs is having a monthly household income per person, which is below one thirds of the current minimum wage declared by the state. In 2015, this corresponded to about 300 TL per person. In this situation, in these households where on average four people lives, the average official income is not higher than 1200 TL for most of the cases.

Parallel to this; the participants mostly stated that their household income was between 400-800 TL monthly and only a few participants stated that they had an income higher than 900 TL per month. It is seen that in the sample group determinants of the capability of income were mainly ***employment and social assistance given*** by the state. All the interviewees were receiving at least one kind of social assistance of SSAF in this study. While some of the participants were receiving regular type of assistance, which provides a stable income for the household, others were receiving irregular assistance as some kinds of social assistance are given only irregularly upon request.

One of these cases had a special situation, since she had a mentally ill child; she was getting home care assistance for disabled people, which is higher than usual monetary assistance of the SSFAs. It is the highest amount of social assistance and it is about 700 TL per month. Other social assistance kinds the interviewees were receiving regularly are conditional cash transfers, disabled person's wages, widow wages, old people wages and orphan wages. Amounts of these assistances vary between 50 TL and 700 TL. However, some people are getting only one time cash

assistance and some people were only getting coal assistance from the foundations. Indeed most common assistance type is coal assistance as 11 people in the study were receiving coal assistance. After this, conditional cash transfers for children's education was common in the study. In addition to the assistance from state and municipalities, some people noted that their neighbours, family or other people were helping them. In total 15 were receiving regular assistance whereas 14 were receiving irregular kinds of assistance.

Other than social assistance from various resources, income resources are wages, payments from selling small amount of goods and money from their small businesses and agriculture. However, as it will be further explained in employment and paid work section, these people have very limited opportunities in the labour market to gain a regular income. As a result of these reasons, people have low levels of income and wealth. In total, only 4 participants told that they are making the ends meet with their current income. All other participants told that they have important amounts of debt. There were various examples of this situation. A woman 71 year old who lives alone tells that:

I have no sources of income other than social assistance and money given by the relatives and neighbours. I have no education or no job and my family does not help me. I am not speaking with my daughters. The municipality cut the water and I have no television or fridge at home. District governorship has given me this bed recently, before that I did not have it.

She was currently taking no regular assistance from the Foundation and was living with the assistances of the neighbours and was one of the most vulnerable participants of the study since she had no possibility of gaining income and was deprived from the social support mechanisms.

Another example of living without any social support was a couple living in a village of Canik. They were living totally dependent on social assistance. They have 3 children, and 2 of them are going to school. They were taking coal assistance from the Foundation and food assistance from the municipality. They note that they cannot receive regular assistances from the Foundation because their older boy works with social security. They tell that:

We cannot do anything, like going anywhere or buying something because we do not have any money. There is no food at home, our water is not

running, we are bringing water from the well. Municipality gives us food. We have two children but I don't know where they are. My older boy works in the city and he comes from time to time to this house and he does not help us.

A middle aged married woman with children is another example. She used to work but now cannot find a job and her husband gains money only through selling some handiwork explains her situation “ *My children want to spend money, they want a TV, new cloths but I have to tell them that we don't have any money*”

Another male participant who is married and has children with no stable jobs explains his situation as:

Municipality gives bread per person every day. However, this month they gave bread for 3 people not 6. We also get conditional cash transfers for our children and SASF assistance between 100-300 TL irregularly. We pay our debts with this assistance. If we don't get any social assistance, and then we are hungry. Sometimes the grocery shop does not give any food on credit.

A woman who cannot work as result of her chronic disease and whose husband works a driver for minimum wage tells that:

We used to get wage for disabled people but when we moved here, we had to apply for the wage again and we could not get it this time. They give it to people who have references. I have a lot of expenses for my health and for the hospitals. Since they cut the wage, we cannot make the ends meet

On the other hand, there were not any observed significant effects *of household ownership* on wealth of the participants in the study and there were also not any mentioned sources of wealth such as ownership of other property and assets. Deprived of other resources of income and wealth, the participants were trying to increase their income through looking for higher paid employment and getting more social assistance from the state and local governments. However, as they were not always successful in achieving these, the low level of this capability was leading other important capability deprivations. First, we see that it affects provision of good shelter and healthy physical environments for people. Almost all of the interviewees had bad living conditions in relatively unpleasant environments. Second, for a few cases it is also seen that income even affects the *daily nutrition* of people. These

people had to live depending on the mercy of their neighbours or the meal assistance of the municipality.

Furthermore, *income and education* is closely related as it will be further explained in the following section. Access to education and especially quality education is heavily dependent on income and wealth among other factors. Though education is free and compulsory in the country, and there are some additional social assistance schemes to facilitate inclusion of poor people in the education system, still there are important differences between education level and success of poor and non-poor people. In return, lack of education greatly limits the employment opportunities of people which lead to low level of wealth. On the other hand, while employment is an important factor in one's wealth, a source of regular income or wealth also affects employment opportunities of people. For example, entrepreneurship is one of the highly promoted strategies of employment by the government recently. However, it is clear that these people could not reach to the necessary resources to be an entrepreneur with their present level of income and wealth.

Another capability, which is highly dependent on income and wealth, is active political participation. None of participants in the study have had involved actively in politics as they lack necessary resources including money and social networks. Also, as expected the capability of income and wealth had an important impact on leisure activities. Lack of a sufficient level income confines people within the boundaries of their houses.

While capability approach provides us a framework of assessing wellbeing beyond looking into monetary measurements, still, income and wealth are important tools for achieving other capabilities clearly as they expand the choices people have. However, usage of income as a tool for enhancing capabilities depend also other conversion factors like education, social capital, gender, disability etc. Especially in contexts like Turkey, where quality provision of public goods is not always sufficient, income plays an important role for wellbeing.

Education and Knowledge

This dimension includes access to formal education, acquiring knowledge and being able to complete studies and obtain degrees. Access to education depends on both availability of educational opportunities provided by state which are free or affordable and also the willingness of families to send their children to school. As mentioned before, education is not only intrinsically important but also has an instrumental value as it facilitates access to employment and income as well as it helps people to have a higher social status in the society. Moreover, being able to use and produce knowledge is an important part of this capability. To test this dimension in the study, questions related to formal educational level of participants, the reasons of any discontinuity in their education, computer literacy, as well as questions about the frequency of their internet use, reading books and newspapers have been asked.

As expected the educational attainment levels of the interviewees was very low. 4 of them had no education at all and were not literate. 17 were primary school graduates, 4 were middle school graduates and only 4 participants were high school graduates. So, the share of the primary school graduates in the sample is higher than the average of the city, which is 30 percent.

In the study, ***age*** comes out as an important factor of level of education. Age is also one of the physical personal heterogeneities Sen mentions, that lead to wellbeing differences between people. Those people, who are illiterate, were above 50 years old. This is also parallel with general profile of the city, as almost all the people who cannot write or read are old people. Together with age the distinction between ***rural and urban settlements*** is important. Rural areas have always been disadvantageous in terms of educational opportunities in Turkey. While there weren't many opportunities to continue school after primary school in the past, with the latest policies also primary schools in villages have been closed and children started to be transported to central schools. Moreover, the perception of education is more negative in rural areas as returns of education is seen lower. A third factor contributing to the lower education levels in rural areas has been the use of children in the agricultural sector. With the influence of these factors all the participants from rural areas stated that there were no schools and their parents did not send them to schools in the city. The oldest woman of the study tells that "We *did not have any*

schools in the village. Instead I went to hocas. To be clearer, they were having only religious education.

Another important factor determining level of education is *gender*. Gender is indeed a very significant determinant of many capabilities in Turkey. Gender discrimination in education has been highly prevalent in Turkey and this creates an important gender gap in all levels of education. Girls are systemically being left out of the education system as a result of prevailing cultural beliefs and practices. The patriarchal structure of Turkish society defines strict gender roles on women and men. Whereas women are responsible for domestic duties, men are responsible for providing for the family as the breadwinner. Within such a structure, investing in girls' education is seen unnecessary for families.

In such a context, women in the study noted that their fathers did not allow them to continue their education. Not only fathers but also husbands have a say in women's education. In some cases in this study, women told that they got married at younger ages and their husbands didn't allow them to continue to school. Girls' roles as help to mothers in carrying out household chores and bringing out their siblings are important barriers. A primary school graduate woman who is 25 years old married with 2 children complained that “*My mother made me get married at the age of 14 and when I was married this time my husband didn't allow me to continue to school*”. Another primary school graduate married woman states the reasons of her not going to school as ‘*My family made me look after my disabled brother. My father never sent me to school. Though my mother's family was modern, my father's was very bigot.*’ So, leaving school early by their own will is not common case for women. Only one participant who is married with children living in İlkadım stated that “*I dropped school because I don't like it. Anyways, I feel superior to university graduates*” This woman who has high self-confidence, on the other hand, does not work since she cannot find any job. Moreover, there is not any other working member in the household.

On the other hand, one of the highest educated people of the study was a woman 36 years old married with 4 children. However, she could not have used her education mainly to open up other capabilities like employment or income. She explains that:

I eloped and I did not go to the university. My education is now only useful for helping my children's homework. I don't use computer and we don't have Internet. Sometimes I read stories to my children.

In general it can be said that women in the study has a double disadvantage in terms of education. Both coming from poor families and gender discrimination of families led women not to continue their education. Confirming this, 58 years old married woman tells:

My parents did not have money to send me to school. I completed the primary school enrolling to the open school. I wish a lot I had studied. But I love reading a lot. I read anything I find. When I used to going to the houses for cleaning, I was reading there'.

While for women's lack of education, gender discrimination based on traditional gender roles stands out as a significant factor; for men *poverty of family* is seen as the main determining factor. Though education is mainly free in Turkey, there are some costs of education like clothing, course materials, meals and transportation. Also, there is the opportunity cost of sending children to school instead of to work. In these situations, where there is no complementary programme to reduce these costs, parents of these poor household could decide not to send their children to school. In the field study also people mentioned that the need for earning money in the family made them to leave school. A middle aged male participant told that "*Our financial situation was not good enough to send me to school. I continued to open school but I regret a lot not going to school.*" Another married middle aged man tells that "*My father was a poor man, our family has no money to send us to school, instead they made us work*"

On the other hand, almost all of the participants acknowledge the importance of education. They emphasized that they want their child to go to university and this was their primary expectation from future. This point was particularly emphasized by women. However, at the same time monetary bottlenecks of these families and the lack of role models in education should be taken into account as important negative factors in their children's education.

Complementary to the formal education levels of participants, computer skills of participants which is one of the most important basic skills of today's society and accession to knowledge have been questioned in the study. Consequently, parallel to the low educational levels of the interviewees, only 6 of them knew how to use computers and none of them stated that they are actively using computers. An important tool for learning new skills is the courses of public training centers. Also, computer using trainings are provided by these centers which can be found in every district of the city as a policy of the Turkish education system. However, only two participants stated that they know using computers since they attended to these trainings. In line with this composition, there were only 3 people who use internet and these were either middle school or high school graduates. On the other hand, a few people stated that they have regular reading habit and all the high school graduates were in this category. The findings suggest that though there are free trainings for adults in many centers, people cannot benefit from these services. While for men this can be related with their working schedules, for women both the responsibility of taking care of children and the perception that these skills are not necessary for women are effective in their choices.

When we look at the impacts of education on other capabilities we see that education indeed is the key to achieve many other capabilities. We can refer capability of education as a fertile capability, that impacts other capabilities positively and have an indirect role of influencing social change and economic production. First, education has great impact on *employment and paid work* and consequently on *income and wealth*. Without the necessary education and skills people have limited options to be employed and these opportunities are usually in the informal sector with low wages and harsh working conditions. Due to the low level of formal education and lack of complementary informal trainings, the participants in the study have very low levels of employability. Also, this dimension has significant impacts on the capability of *achievement*. Achievement has a broad meaning covering achievement in social relations, family and work. Though usually education itself is not seen as an indicator of achievement, it is seen as a tool of achieving other fundamental things in life like employment and wealth. As it will be further explained, many participants told that the greatest reason of their failures in work is lack of education. And the awareness of education's importance is reflected on their efforts to improve the access of their

children to education. Other than these capabilities, education has some known impacts on capabilities to *accession to public services* and *political participation*, which are also in the capability category of public services and participation together with education. However, due to the limits of study sample with regards to the educational level variety, these impacts cannot be presented in this study.

Employment and Paid Work

Employment and paid work is important for getting adequate income for living and also has intrinsic value as a significant tool of self-realization and socialization. Depending on these, not being employed or not having a decent job has many repercussions in people's lives. In addition to importance of being employed, other aspects of employment are very important too, since employment has various forms. Paid work, unpaid work and self-employment are among these forms of employment. Moreover, social security, working hours and working conditions are important parts of employment affecting one's physical and mental well-being. Additionally, work satisfaction and success at work are important dimensions of employment, too. Based on this ground, questions related to these aspects of employment have been asked to participants. The interview started with questions of whether the participants are working at the moment or have been worked at any time of their lives; what job they have/have had. If they have a job at the moment, the duration of working, registration status to Social Security Institution, the type of employment (self-employment, paid employment, unpaid family labourer), for how many hours a day they work, whether they are satisfied with the working conditions have been asked. Also, their evaluation of success and happiness at work tried to be grasped in the study. On the other hand, for the people who were not working at that time, reasons of this situation have been questioned.

The answers show that 16 out of 29 participants of the study stated that they were not working at that time being. 12 of these participants were women. Among the married people of these 16 people, 7 of them stated that their spouses were not working either. Only 2 participants had regular paid jobs in the services sector. The jobs of the spouses who are working were very similar. Only, 3 of the spouses had regular jobs.

This negative picture in terms of employment seen in the study is also in line with the general profile of the region. Informal employment is a countrywide problem for unqualified labour force. For unemployment of both men and women or employment in the form of precarious jobs; *lack of education, skills and the bad working conditions in the labour market* are the main factors. To explain these further, actually a very important factor affecting employability is the changing economic structure of country and as well as the city. The diminishing agricultural value in the rural areas created a labour surplus. Both personal factors like age, lack of skills and lack of economic diversity in rural areas lead to unemployment. In line of these, the participants of this study who live in rural areas stated that though they used to work in agriculture, now they are not working actively. In this situation, they are not looking for jobs and younger people prefer to migrate to urban areas where there are more employment opportunities. An older man living in Atakum explains this situation as *“We used to have work in the farm when we work young. But I have never had a regular work since I came to the city”*

On the other hand, as the people in the study are mainly primary school graduates, they do not have any particular skill helping them get jobs in the labour market. Moreover, they have not used the informal learning channels to gain some vocational skills. As a result, they have been forced to do certain kind of jobs, which are usually, low paid and informal. Mainly examples of these jobs were apartment cleaning for women, construction foremen and porter for men as well as thrash/waste collecting, scrap-iron business etc. for both men and women. In some situations, the structural factors of the market like low wages, unwillingness of employers to employ people formally, short vacation days, long working hours can have a deterrent effect for working. A middle aged primary school graduate man tells that:

I am not working right now. I work in the constructions. Other than this, I have not come through a good job; I don't have education, because I lived in the village with my parents and so I have never had a regular job in my life. Now, my son is working in the hairdresser, he cannot be successful at school, so he quitted.

While not having a certain education and vocation, he has done jobs like construction worker and does not take any regular social assistance. Another 40 year old primary school graduate man tells that

My father did not have money, so I didn't continue to school. Now I am work as a carrier, when there is a job, I paint. I have never applied to ISKUR or had a vocational training. I couldn't achieve many things in life. It can be my mistake, a basic mistake and I am sorry for it.

Now he receives coal assistance and conditional cash transfers regularly for his 2 children.

However, there were also examples of people who could not have used their education for gaining skills and having a vocation One of highest educated participant of the study, a high school graduate man also does not have a regular job and says, '*I am a paint master but I can't find a job for a month*'. A 36-year-old woman with high school education has had also never a formal job when she can use her education:

I used to clean the stairs in apartments. But now I cannot gain from this job as much as I used to since I have bronchitis and hernia. I go once a week to cleaning and gain 50 TL a month. I have been working for a year, before that I cannot work since my children were young. I don't want go to working everyday unless I have a public job. My husband sells simit but when it rains, he cannot go to the streets to sell. I believe that if I can have such a job, my children would be happier and our quality of life would increase.

On the other hand, opportunity cost of women's working is seen as higher as women perform reproductive roles within the family. This is an example of interdependency of capabilities. As Basu and Lopez-Calva (2011) point out people's opportunity sets depend on other people's choices; and the decision of joining to the labour market can be taken at the household level and needs of family determine the capabilities. A 31 year old primary school graduate woman gives an example of this situation:

I am not working right now. I gave birth to many children with short times apart, so that they grow up altogether. Now they are all small children. When I was a girl, I used to work in textile. I quit this job when I got married, when the children start to school, I can start working again. When I have a job, I can contribute to my children's future.

Distinctively, the most stated individual reason of not working for women was *health* problems. As it has been explained in the life and health capability section, health problems were important barriers to having work, which requires physical effort. A 38-year-old divorced woman with children woman tells that:

I used to work as a cleaning lady going to the houses. But now I have hernia and a slipped disk and I cannot work anymore as a cleaning lady. But I would like to work if I can find a suitable job. Now I am also finishing middle school at the open school and I want continue to open high school.

Gender is clearly one of the important determinants of employment. For women in addition to other reasons, traditional gender roles and norms are important obstacles in front of working. Women are considered as responsible for doing the household chores and taking care of children. When asked why they are not working, taking care of children has been the most pronounced reason by the working age women. Like the rest of the Turkey, there are very few opportunities for families to send their children to affordable childcare centers in their neighbourhoods. And when there is no one else in the family to take care the children, women have to carry out this responsibility. Also, the patriarchal structure of the society gives men say in every critical choice of women in life. Husbands can be unwilling that their wives work or only jobs considered as women's jobs traditionally can be seen acceptable. A middle aged married woman's experiences show many aspects of hardship before women's employment as she explains her situation as:

I am not working, but I would like to work. However, my children still need care. Moreover, my husband does not allow me to work. I used to work in textile sector in İstanbul. Here, I applied for jobs in markets, too but they did not take me as I am a middle school graduate.

Another woman tells that:

I am looking for jobs. I have babysat for 8 years; I would like to this job again but I don't want to work as a nurse. I am now just going to daily jobs. I applied to Job Employment Office. They sent me to factories, which is not suitable for me. I would like to have a job and earn money for my girls. I want them to continue their education.

Age is also another factor in the employment status of people. While with age both educational status of the interviewees and their physical strength is decreasing, the chances of being employed decreases, too. Also, a few middle age women stated that

they applied for jobs in grocery markets, but they could not get even a reply from this kind of jobs. Though these women seemed to have necessary qualifications for the job, both availability of more qualified candidates and tendency of employers to hire younger people hinder these people's employment in these posts. An old man married with children living tells his story:

My wife, and I we are collecting thrash in the streets. I served time in prison and I am old. I cannot do any job in industry since I don't have strength. And other than this, nobody hires me. Even İŞKUR does not accept me since I am old.

As it can be seen in this situation, one of the other factors affecting employability is *being imprisoned before*. In this respect, this participant has a special situation. Besides having only primary school education and being old, he served time in prison. Another example comes from a 50 year old divorced man who is primary school graduate tells that *"I used to work as a driver. Then I had a surgery. After the surgery I cannot work as a driver. I want to work if I can find a desk job"*.

Disability is another determinant of capability of employment. Though the study included only one disabled person, it is known that in Turkey opportunities of employment for disabled people are very limited and mainly there are only cases of sporadic efforts through some projects but sustainability of these projects is hard to achieve. A disabled middle age man in the focus group explains his situation:

They are telling us to go to the vocational courses. But have can I move in this city with my wheelchair. I want the administrators of the city to move with wheelchair for one day, and then they can understand. Even public institutions do not have lifts or ramps and when they have usually it does not fit.

A young blind man on the other says that, *'let alone having o job, I can't even go on a taxi. The taxi drivers don't want to take us here'*. As explained before, disabled people face multiple disadvantages and capability failures. Besides lack of physical or mental fitness to work, low educational status, low mobility capability for physically disabled people, as well as ableism in the labour market are important factors in low employment capability of disabled people.

As most of the interviewees were not working regularly, they are also not registered to Social Security Institution and they have worked informally in their previous jobs, too. Social Security Institution is important in terms of coverage of expenses of health and retirement pensions. For the health expenses, state provides premium coverage for poor people when they prove that their income is below a certain limit. However, though their health insurance has been covered by state, lack of social security means that they would not have any retirement pensions. On the other hand, the ones working as paid employees without any formal registration as workers are also vulnerable to arbitrary behaviour of their employers. This means longer working hours or the possibility of being laid out easily.

With the aim of increasing employment of people, active labour market policies in Turkey are being implemented by the Turkish Employment Office (İŞKUR). However, almost all of the participants told that they do not have much information about the Employment Office and are not registered as unemployed in this institution. One of the exceptions was a woman who worked as cleaning lady at a private education institution but had to leave due to the health problems. She explains that *'I applied many times to İŞKUR but they have never returned'*. Another primary school graduate married woman with children tells that though İŞKUR has offered a few jobs to her, all these jobs were at factories, which were not suitable for her. This kind of complaints, that İŞKUR do not guide people into suitable jobs, are indeed are voiced by different groups.

After reviewing these points, it can be seen there are variety of factors affecting the capability of employment and paid work. Health status, age, education and skill levels, rural or urban settlements and gender are among the main determinants of employment and returns from employment. The interviewees who suffer from various capability deprivations are in a very disadvantageous position in the labour market. Unemployment and precarious employment without any social security are the norms among these people. In return this situation affects people's wellbeing further negatively. First, it can create sometimes some physical health problems. Second, employment is important for income generation which is an important tool in achievement of many other capabilities. Paid regular employment provides a stable income and helps people to live in better environments, with better living

conditions. It is also important to have access to education as employment helps to acknowledge the necessity of education. Moreover, it has a role in creating social relations and information networks. Relatedly, it increases the capability of achievement significantly. In this framework, to prevent these capability failures capability approach makes us think about various reasons of variations in the capability of employment. In the case of Turkey, it is seen that there are many factors limiting the freedom of people in the labour market which create important consequences in many realms of life.

3.1.2 Public Services and Participation

Accession to Public Services

Many public services like health, education as well as existence of recreational areas are important aspects of living a decent life. The accessibility and quality of these services affect one's life's quality substantially. These services are provided by both local governments and central governmental bodies. In this framework, questions related to satisfaction from health, education, housing and social assistance systems have been directed to participants. Related to this capability, also the frequency of visits to public spaces such as mosques, cafes, malls and parks have been asked.

Accordingly, the participants have not mentioned any particular negative aspects with regard to health services. In Turkey, health coverage of the social security system is recently changed and universal health coverage became compulsory. This universal health coverage programme allows poor people to use health services without paying regular health premiums. It is a means tested programme based on the income poverty level of people and since the sample of our group is social assistance takers, they all can benefit from this programme. Though it is known that there is a high intensity of patients in hospitals and long waiting times for certain procedures like MRIs, the participants are still satisfied with the services due to the free health coverage and shorter waiting times for routine examinations in hospitals.

Nearly all the participants (23) stated that they are satisfied with the health services provided by the state. Mainly the relatively easy accessibility of health institutions such as hospitals and family health centers and health coverage of poor people

provided under the universal health security programme are the reasons of this satisfaction with the health services. A woman with a chronic disease explains that *‘ I have kidney failure and I go to the hospital regularly for dialysis and so far, I have not experienced anything bad and I am highly satisfied with the treatment I am getting there.’* A married man with children says that *‘I have a sick son 11 years old, and we have to go the hospital frequently. And I am happy with the health services.’*

The second public service in this framework is education. Our sample in the study has very low educational status and almost all left their education at an early age. However, they all give importance to the education of their children. Except 4 interviewees all of the participants have children and answered the questions with regard to education based on their experiences with their children. All of the interviewees are sending their children to public schools in their neighbourhoods. The children are studying mainly in primary, middle and high schools. There were diverse thoughts of the participants about the quality of educational services. Mainly, negative points were about the social environment of schools.

A 33 year old married woman with primary school education and 2 children going to the school stated that *‘I am not satisfied with educational services here at all. The neighbourhood of the school, the children going there, they are all bad influence to my children.’* A middle school graduate married man with a 9-year-old son tells that *‘ I don’t feel comfortable when sending my son to school, the roads are not safe and the environment is not good.’* So participants were mainly complaining about the neighbourhood of schools as well as other students in the school are bad influence for his children and led them to have bad habits like skipping the classes, using drugs etc. There were other interviewees who complained about the unsafe environment of the schools. One middle age woman with children who came from İstanbul highlighted that İstanbul has much better education services.

On the other hand, accession to university education is more difficult in Turkey because of the central examination system, though the education system is free. Moreover, according to the results of this exam, children can go to the universities in other cities, which creates additional burdens for families. In addition, there are university programmes, which has more expensive fees with lower entry grades.

These programmes are called second education programmes. A man with a 20 year old daughter whose daughter is enrolled in a second university programme in another city and stated that the costs of university under the programme of second education is high for them and expressed his wish of lifting these fees as it has been done for other university programmes. Except from these views, other participants stated their satisfaction with the educational services provided by the state. Main reasons for this satisfaction are related to the fact that obligatory education of 12 years is free and there are some social assistance programmes for poor families so that they can send their children to school as we have mentioned.

As it comes to recreational areas, green areas and the cleanliness of their neighbourhoods, the participants made clear that this is not a priority subject for them. All of the participants of the study have been living in the central districts of Samsun, which are also most developed districts in terms of socio-economic dimensions. Indeed Atakum is the newest area of the city with the most city attractions as well as natural beauties. The other districts have also some big recreational and green areas. However, the neighbourhoods of the interviewees were not very close to these big recreation areas. This makes them to use transportation to go to these areas. The participants who reside in İlkadım and Canik districts stated that they go mainly to the East Park, or some nearby parks because of the proximity. Most of the interviewees made clear that the public transportation fees are high for them and taking into account that they have more than one child, using public transportation often is not an option for them. A male middle aged interviewee with child emphasized this point as “*Without money you cannot do anything, we cannot even afford the money for dolmuş to go anywhere*”. As a consequence of this situation they prefer going places to which they can go by walking. Some participants on the other hand were more mobile. A 25 year old married woman middle school graduate who is not working at the moment tells that ‘*I am happy to live here in Samsun. We go to Doğupark and visiting our friends’ homes*’. A 42 year old married woman who cannot work as a result of her health problems tells that ‘*I go to the fairs and lunapark with my children, but I have never been to a movie.*’ So, in benefiting from recreational areas or public places the possibility of going by walking and the age of children are determining factors. On the other hand, the Roma descendent male participant of the study explains that ‘*We don’t go the malls or café*

never, we seat here in this site with our friends'. His statement indeed shows an example of cultural attitudes and preferences of Roma people to spend time in their close circles rather than mingling with other people.

As it comes to the existence of green areas near their living spaces or the cleanness of their neighbourhoods, the interviewees were mainly indifferent to the issue. A 33 year old married woman with 2 children even stated that *'all I want is to get food, the rest is not important.'* In a similar way of thinking, most of the participants simply said that they are satisfied with the conditions and did not make any comments on the issue. Only two participants stated that their neighbourhood is not clean, a 40 year old married man with 4 children said *'I have never seen a cleaner of municipality entering to this street'*.

Some of the interviews on the other hand had very limited mobility and cannot express their thoughts on public services and social activities. One older man with income only through collecting trash and getting social assistance says that *' I don't go anywhere, only to district governorship and I have no idea about any public services'* And he goes the district governorship to ask for social assistance from the Foundation. A 48 year old male married with one child living in a village of Canik tells that *'I never go outside this village.* A 58 year old married woman living with one of her children tells that *' I am sick and my son is sick, too, he has also psychological problems and I cannot go anywhere'*. In summary, we see that as another important freedom mobility depends on many factors like income, transportation facilities.

One of the other main public services for the interviewees is the social assistance system. All of the participants have been receiving at least one kind of social assistance form the SASFs. State, municipalities and the CSOs are providers of the various social assistances to poor people. In the study, as people who take the assistance through SASF's are chosen, the answers are reflecting views on state's social assistance. In the study, 11 interviewees benefited from coal assistance, 5 from monetary assistance, 11 from conditional cash transfer, 6 from assistance from neighbours or philanthropists, 3 from furniture assistance, 2 from housing assistance,

8 from food assistance, 7 were receiving disabled or survival wages under the Law 2022.1 was receiving disability care assistance among these schemes.

There were important concerns about the sufficiency of the social assistance by the participants. A 36 year old married woman with 4 children who is getting monetary assistance from the Foundation and does not have anyone in the household having a regular job, tells that:

The Foundation gives us between 100 and 300 TL whenever they want. This helps us to pay our debts to some extent. Also, municipality gives us bread every day for each person but this month they did not give us bread for 6 people but gave for 3 people. If we don't get assistance, then we are hungry. Sometimes *bakkal* does not give money on credit. The only time we see a good bash of food is *Ramazan*. They should give this assistance every month, this way it is not enough for us.

A 58-year-old primary school graduate male who collects trash with his mentally disabled son tells that:

We are getting disability wage for my son and bread assistance from the municipality. The foundation gives 100 TL every 3 months. With this money I pay my debts. I always get loans from the grocery stores. I have no way to support my family. 3 months is a long period. They should give this money every month.

A 44 year old woman with no one in the family working and taking survival wage says that '*The assistances should be regular, so that our children won't be hungry.*' She has 4 children and lives dependent on the survival wage and 150 TL three monthly cash assistance from the Foundation.

In this framework, some participants expressed that they are not pleased with the social assistance system since they think that the system is not just and some people get social assistance through nepotistic practices. A married man 42 year old tells that '*I know that my neighbour has an automobile and has good money. But he knows how to get assistance and does not tell everything he has to officers. They don't have certificates of ownerships*'. They emphasize that people are benefiting from loopholes in the system, since the inquiries about meeting the requirements of the social assistance programmes are made by looking into legal ownership status of property/estate or legal income of people and because of that they can benefit from these programmes though their wealth level is above the limits set. On the other

hand, not receiving the social assistance every month is one of the other reasons for complaints about the system. One of the participants, who was fully satisfied with the social assistance, was the receiver of the home care assistance for disabled people, which, as mentioned before was higher than average monetary assistance of the state. For some cases, it can also be inferred that the satisfaction with the social assistance is related with the opinion that the assistance is a favour of the state to them and not a right provided by the state.

The interviews done by the researcher with the social workers of SASF show also contradictory views of the workers on social assistance schemes. Some social workers believe that the assistance given to the poor are encouraging them staying out of the labour market, while others oppose this idea based on the fact that most of the assistance is given irregularly in small amounts. The ones who are more negative about the social assistance emphasize that the assistance recipients have got used to living with limited material assets and the income they get through SASFs is sufficient for them. These arguments are also in line with the arguments of the dependency culture. The second issue emphasized by the workers is that people tend to hide their income and assets to get this assistance and even the home visits done to test their income status are not effective means since they prefer to live with very limited resources though they have money.

In general, it can be said that accession to the public services affects many important capabilities of people. As explained before, education and health are key capabilities that have both intrinsic value and also affect other capabilities importantly. Especially since the participants have low economic status, services provided free of charge by state is important for them. It can be seen that all participants benefit from these services and are more pleased from health services rather than education services of state. Social assistance on the other hand, is important as a source of income for the participants. However, the low levels of assistance and its non-regularity decrease their importance as a source of income.

Participation

Participation has different forms. Political participation can be realized at local, regional and national levels and it includes both being involved in politics actively or

only in election processes as voter. Other than political participation, civil society organizations and city councils offer opportunities to be involved in community problems and local decision-making. To that end questions like whether the interviewees vote in national and local elections and whether they have membership in any civil society organization have been asked.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in Turkey consist mainly from associations and foundations. Despite high number, in practice there are a limited number of active CSOs in the country. Most of the associations are mosque building associations and solidarity organizations. Other CSOs which are rights based are mainly situated in big cities like İstanbul and Ankara. In this framework, in Samsun among 1800 associations there are nearly 50 active associations. However, still their membership base is not so varied. On the other hand, city councils of municipalities have been established in recent years. In Samsun, İlkadım and Canik have active city councils. But still certain sections of society, which are usually more educated and well-off, participate to these institutions. As a result, there are also no community-based organizations in the neighbourhoods of the participants that the participants are aware of and none of the participants, men or women declared that they have a membership to any civil society organisations. Associations are indeed not even familiar structures for most of the interviewees. A 28 year old man work as a construction worker told that *'I don't know what an association is and I have never heard of the city council.'* When asked about any membership to civil society organization, 58 year old primary school graduate man answers that *"I vote in the elections but I am not member of any organization, since I do not have any knowledge about"*. A 33 year old primary school graduate woman on the other says that *"Why would I be a member to any organization, they won't do anything good for me"*.

The ones who have some information knew only associations which make financial assistance to poor people. This situation is also related with the fact that CSOs that came out from grassroots movements in community based areas are not common in Samsun. Mainly, the existing CSOs target middle and upper class people living in the cities as their member and poor people as the beneficiaries of their activities. The 70 year old widow women replies the question of membership as *' I was getting*

assistance from the Kimse Yok Mu (a charity organization), but they don't give assistance anymore'

It can be inferred from the answers of the interviewees that being actively involved in politics by being a candidate for any kind of election is not seen as an option. It is mainly related with the lack of financial and social capital of the interviewees in the study. On the other hand, there were some interviewees in the study who were members of the political parties in Samsun. Indeed, being a member of political party was the only kind of civil society participation. However, this was mainly related with policies of Justice and Development Party (AKP), the ruling party in Turkey for 14 years. Party has wide local and rural membership structure and people see the party as a means to get jobs and social assistance. Based on this ground, most people associated the question of whether they have any membership in any CSO, with membership to AKP and said they are not members or that they are members of the party. In total there were 8 members of AKP Samsun branch. 42-year-old women with 2 children and no regular job told that *' I joined to AKP since I thought I would get a job but so far I did not'*. A 44 year old primary school graduate man with no job at the moment tells that *' I became a member of the Party. So far, I have not seen a contribution of it to me, they help us as much as they do it for anyone'*. The 49 year old man with no job tells that *' I became a member so that I can get some food, some help'*. There was only one active member of the Party in the group. 24 years old married woman without any children and middle school diploma tells that *' I am a member of the Party and I participate to meetings of the women's committee.'*

In general, party membership had not a gender, age or education differentiation in this respect. However, the expected results in terms of getting better jobs have not been realized for most of the participants in the study. The findings of this study also supports the argument of Murakami (2014) that *'the problem is, poor people are often deprived not only of economic and time capital but also discursive capital that is needed to participate actively in politics'* (p.181). This shortcoming indeed hinders systematic demands from poor people for formation of better functioning poverty reduction programmes. Also as Evans (2012) points out grounds of coming together like civil society organizations, unions, political parties or women's groups facilitate collective action and nourish collective capabilities for acting together for common

good. So, weakness in this capability affects other areas of importance. Being not part any civil society organization and not participating to decision making process decrease the social capital of people, their chances to impact their environment and act together for improving their well-being as well as advocating for their rights. Awareness about participation and its positive impacts on their lives should be raised and people should be encouraged to be organized in various groups to have a say in their localities.

3.2 Social and Psychological Wellbeing and Social Networks

Within the realm of social and psychological wellbeing, there are capability dimensions of life and health, social relations and information network, leisure activities autonomy and self-initiative, respect and achievement. In this realm, we also notice the effects of social institutions such as social norms, customs, and traditions along with the individual factors. As referred by Nussbaum internal capabilities of people such as personality traits, intellectual and emotional capacities, skills of perception or internalized learning skills play important role for the capabilities in this category. Also, these capabilities are closely related with structural capabilities and these relationships will be closely looked to while explaining of each capability dimension in the following section.

Life and health

The dimension of life and health includes being able to be born and then to live a normal length of life in good health (Robeyns, 2003). This dimension is indeed essential for acquiring other capabilities and can be classified as a basic capability. The chances of living a healthy and long life are affected by various factors like gender, age, or availability of health services. Also bodily integrity is an important part of this dimension and being exposed to violence such as assault, domestic violence or rape is an important impediment before bodily integrity. Moreover, health also covers mental dimensions. Not being able to sleep, feeling depressed or lonely are some examples of negative mental state.

In this study, the dimension of life and health has been questioned by directly asking whether the respondent has been experiencing any physical or mental illness and if

so how this illness affects them or whether it limits their daily lives. Accordingly, the field study reveals that in most of the households there is at least one person who suffers from a chronic illness. A very important share of the participants (23) stated that they have at least one health problem for a long time. Common examples of diseases they have are hernia, high blood pressure, diabetes and bronchitis. Health problems affect the quality of their lives importantly. It is also seen that women expressed more health problems than men.

The two-way relationship between *employment and health* is especially important with regards to health and quality of life. Health and physical wellbeing is precondition of being employed and having a regular job. Especially, like many poor people in Turkey, the sample in the study has limited opportunities for being formally employed in the labour market. The insufficient level of education combined with lack of skills and competencies required to have certain jobs, led poor people have jobs where they have to use mainly their physical strength. At the same time these jobs are precarious jobs where they have to work for long hours. As a result, this situation leads to important health problems. And also when they have health problems, this prevents them to be employed for many jobs. Accordingly, in the field study especially women stated that they have diseases like bronchitis and hernia which prevent them from working since they usually work at jobs which require physical effort such as cleaning. A 42 year old married woman tells that “*I have bronchitis and hernia and because of these I could not do stair cleaning in apartments as I used to do and so I don’t earn enough money*”. 50 year old divorced man who is primary school graduate tells that “*I used to work as a driver. Then I had a surgery. After the surgery I cannot work as a driver*”. A 38 years old married woman with children tells that ‘*I have hyper blood pressure, it affects me a lot, I cannot work at every job.*’ Another 55 year old woman married says that ‘*I have diabetics and hyper blood pressure. Let alone working, I cannot even clean my own house*’.

Lack of employment or irregular employment has on the other hand some effects on the *psychological well-being of people*. Studies show that unemployed people have more psychological distress and lower self-esteem compared to employed people (Waters and Moore, 2002). In addition to unemployment, people in the study had

poor living conditions which can aggravate their psychological problems. However, it can be seen from the study that there were not many participants who stated suffering from psychological problems. Low number of people with psychological problems can be explained with low awareness about psychological problems and inclination to avoid expressing their problems to strangers. Also, there is variation between responses according to gender in that respect. As men consider themselves responsible for providing livelihood of their families, being not able to fulfill this task can have some negative psychological impacts on them. In this parallel, 41 year old man tells that ‘ *I have some psychological problems, I am very angry all the time and I use drugs for that reason. My wife is hearing impaired. I am the only one I can work in this family.* Women, on the other hand, consider being employed as a tool of helping their families along their duties of home and child care and in this situation rather than status of employment the harsh living conditions can have negative impacts on their psychological well-being.

The distribution of diseases also shows a positive correlation between *age and number of health problems experienced*. It can be seen that people above 30 years old had usually had some diseases. With age, number of health problems increases and people have usually more than one disease after the age of 50. This is a point emphasized by Sen (1992,1999), too. He explains:

An old person has much a harder time in being free from disease, in leading a healthy life, in achieving mobility, in taking part in the life of community, in seeing friends, so on. And these income-using disadvantageous can tremendously compound the feature of learning power. (1992:113)

Further he notes that older people or people more prone to diseases can be in a more disadvantaged position even if they had a large basket of primary goods. On the other hand, within the realm of life and health an important issue is *disability*. It is one of the examples of personal heterogeneities that lead to different capabilities as referred by Sen. Due to disability; people’s needs for converting their resources to capabilities increase and also differentiate. As a result, disabled people are more likely to find health care provider’s skills and facilities inadequate, to be denied health care or be treated badly in the health care system (World Report on Disability, 2011).

In the context of Turkey, disability creates important capability failures. Since there were not any physically disabled people interviewed apart from the chronically ill people, summary of findings of a focus group meeting with representatives of disabled people's NGOs will be presented here. Accordingly, first of all we should emphasize that accession to public services like education, health and transportation of disabled people is limited in Turkey as well as in Samsun. Apart from these known facts, the meeting revealed that disabled people face serious discrimination in society. This discrimination hinders their participation to economic and social life importantly. Some interesting examples of discrimination, that disabled people exposed to were mentioned. A blind young man tells that '*When they go the restaurants the waiters came and say that they don't want us inside*'. He emphasizes that people act like they came for begging and refuse to let them in.

On the other hand, physically handicapped people's greatest problem was accessibility. They noted that apart from the pavements in the streets even the public institutions do not have proper lifts or platforms for disabled people. Hearing impaired people also stated that they have many difficulties in participating to social and economic life. An important reason of this situation is lack of a universal sign language that is taught in schools and this has important impacts on learning abilities of disabled people. Also, lack of interpreters of sign language makes the communication between hearing and non-hearing people very difficult.

In the light of these findings we can say that capability failures necessitate comprehensive public policies of infrastructure, education and raising awareness of people to eliminate social exclusion and discrimination as well. Various social protection mechanisms are in force in the country to improve this situation. However, all the problems voiced by the disabled people and inferred from the studies clearly show the need of improving the services provided to disabled people. There are among the most disadvantaged groups to convert the resources into capabilities and their freedoms are restricted in great extent.

Another very important part of well-being is mental well-being and disability. One of the participants had a serious mental illness and also some physical illnesses, which

prevent him from working and even from maintaining his daily activities. However, his brother told that;

My brother is not well. He has some mental problems. I tried to explain these to officers. We went to hospital a few times to get a doctor's report stating he has a serious mental illness, but they have not given this. They give this to people who are not even disabled but we could not get it.

This report is very important, since with this they will be entitled to get social assistance from state given to the disabled people. Lack of this report and financial assistance made him live totally depending on his brother without any social security. Indeed, this brings forward an important problematic issue with regards to disability assistance. The social assistance and some other aspects of the social security system like early retirement depend on the disability reports given by the hospitals to disabled people. And like this case, there are cases people complain about that not always deserved individuals can get this reports at hospitals and this is clearly one of the issues that should be further investigated to have a well-functioning social security system in the country.

On the other hand, for the treatment and prevention of health problems *accession to public health services and their quality is very important*. The universal health coverage programme in Turkey allows poor people to use health services without paying regular health premiums. It is a means tested programme based on the income poverty level of people and since our sample group is social assistance takers, they all can benefit from this programme. Nevertheless, the answers of participant who have diseases, show that they all are satisfied with the health services they get. They noted that they have no problems about accession to these services and the quality of treatment is satisfactory for them.

In summary, it can be inferred from the study that health is an important capability, which is invaluable for the wellbeing of people and affects other capabilities significantly. The chances of living a healthy and long life are affected by various factors like gender, age, or availability of health services as well as employment status and conditions. In return, health has very important repercussions on capabilities like income, wealth, employment and paid work as well as leisure

activities. In order to contribute to wellbeing of people and minimizing the negative impacts of health problems on other capability measures certain measures should be taken.

Achievement

Achievement can be defined as personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (Schwartz, 2012). Achievement in many areas of life including at work and in social relations is needed for self-realization of people. In this respect, the survey included questions about success at work, perception of success, whether the participants think that they know any successful people around them, whether they have accomplishments in their lives, as well as the facilitators of their success if any and what they think about the reasons of things they wanted to accomplish but could not.

Success at work was not easy to realize for most of the interviewees since they were not able to work or do only have precarious jobs. Many participants told that the reason of their not being successful is their low level of education as a result of early dropout from school. A 36 year old high school graduate married woman who does cleaning for living and takes cash assistance, bread assistance and assistance from people tells that: *'If I had a skill and vocation I could define myself as successful. And the reason of this situation is me not going to school'*. The low education levels leads to decreased chances of being employed and also even when they are employed these are only low paid irregular jobs for most of the time. Also, sometimes-bad conditions of labour market are mentioned as the reason of their unemployment or poverty. A 42 year married woman participant with children tells that:

I couldn't be successful; I would like to work so do my husband. He worked for 4 years but they did not make social security. But I am a fighter. If I wouldn't be, I could not make my children continue to school.

Another 38 year old primary school graduate man tells that:

I am working as construction worker and I am looking for jobs. I could not be successful in life. I wanted to study but I couldn't. I want a house, a job with social security. I don't know why things have happened this way.

In general, bad circumstances of their life whether these are poverty, not being sent to school or the bad conditions of labour market, were seen as effective elements in

their failures. Also, personal failures were mentioned by some interviewees. A 41 years old construction worker male participant of the study clearly blamed himself and said that *'I couldn't realize my dreams. This may be my fault, a fundamental one. I have no hope to change anything now'*. Another 49-year-old man who collects trash says that *'I couldn't achieved anything in life since I was sentenced to prison'*

On the other hand, a 49-year-old married man without any job or income explains that:

I am not successful. I do not have a good life or future. My parents were old and were living in the village, so I stayed with them. Both the circumstances and myself are to blame in this situation. That's to say not everybody can be successful in life.

It can also be inferred that limited education and impact of religious beliefs, which impose being thankful for life, in every situation decreases the chances for looking for alternative ways of living and give more satisfaction with life. On the other hand, some of the interviewees considered themselves successful. The perceptions of success of women were mainly related with motherhood. A young married woman with two children stated that *'Being a mother is being successful'*, another middle aged married woman with three children tells that *'I consider myself successful I saved myself and my children from misery'*. In this situation indicators of success are taken as being able to take care of children, doing household chores and making possible meeting the ends. Some, on the other hand, consider providing their children more opportunities of wealth, education or employment are the responsibility of the men. These are also in line with the Semerci's (2007) findings. As Semerci finds out in her study of women and capabilities, women's self-actualization and life-satisfaction took place mostly through their children. Also, it can be seen that for a woman it is more desirable to stay at home and look after children rather than working for a job at best with minimum income. Also, answers of other women show the impacts of gender inequality prevalent in the society. A 25-year-old married woman with 2 children who studied until high school tells that:

I did not have the opportunity to dream about my life since I got married so young. I would like to go to high school and at the first day of the school, my wedding happened. My mother forced me to marry. Because of this I could not achieved anything in life. Now my husband even does not let me to work.

Now we are dependent on assistance of coal, cash and money from people around us.

This point reminds us that in evaluation of each capability, taking into account impacts of personal heterogeneities are very important and to enhance many capabilities of women in Turkey we should first change the perception of gender roles and gender based discrimination in the society.

Some of the participants, on the other hand, had not a particular perception of success and could not answer questions related to success. Some of these people tell that when their biggest problem is poverty, they do not consider success as an issue in their lives. In general when it comes to the issue of whether they know any successful people, most of the interviewees said that there are not many successful people around them.

Happiness is also an important part of someone's wellbeing. Happiness is affected by many factors including socioeconomic status, income, housing conditions, better physical environment etc. In return it is expected that it positively affects areas like work, family, friendship, achievement. As happiness is a subjective issue, the respondents are simply asked whether they feel themselves happy. Accordingly, more than half of the participants stated that they are happy with their lives generally. However, it is important to note here that Sen reminds us also a person can learn to be happy as she adapts to deprived circumstances of her life. When it comes to expectations from life, most of the participants expressed that their greatest expectation is a job for themselves or for their husbands or children for some women. A 44 year old married woman tells that "*I am not happy; the state should help us finding jobs. I am writing letter to Ministries to get my husband a job, but they always turn me down*" Moreover, some of the interviewees emphasized their tiredness with the precarious jobs and voiced their desire to have decent jobs with social security. There were also some participants who told that they are happy with their lives and would not like to change things in their lives. A 58 year old married woman with 4 children who has some important diseases and who collects thrashes tells that "*I am happy. If I weren't I couldn't live. My only expectation is my children*

to be happy too.” 1 40 year old married man with two children says that “I am happy but I want my standards of living to be raised.”

Family and Friendship

Family is an integral part of people’s life and the relationship between family members can have important positive impacts on individuals as a support mechanism or oppositely, it may have some detrimental role in the lives of people. Friendship also provides a social support system for individuals. Friendship is defined by Grizes et al. (1987) as harmony between individuals and groups of people living at peace with others. This dimension is also close to the affiliation dimension of Nussbaum since it includes showing concern for other human beings and engaging in social interaction. In the survey, this dimension is looked into by asking questions related to intrafamily relationships, family decision-making process on important matters, the division of labour, whether they feel respected in the family, how their relationship with their neighbours and friends is and the frequency they see their friends.

A great majority of interviewees declared that they have good relations with their immediate families. Mainly the spouses have good relations with each other. A few participants told that they have some problems with their children because of their financial hardships. A 36 years old primary school graduate married woman with 4 children tells that:

I have problems with my children. Children look down on the conditions of our home. They are angry and aggressive towards us. They say that our friends have their own rooms why don’t we have.

One of the negative examples is the oldest interviewee of the study who lived alone. She told that she had no support from their family and has to live absolutely dependent on help of others. She tells “*I have two daughters. Both of them are married. Now, the elder’s husband got a second wife. I am not speaking with them. They blamed my husband for our situation*”

On the other hand, the division of labour within household members is in line with the classical division of labour is seen within the families where women are responsible for child and household care and men work outside. For poorer families

women are more likely than average to work or to look for work. In both circumstances, women do not see this division of labour as a hardship for them. Similarly, relations with friends and neighbours were defined positively mostly by the participants. It is often mentioned that neighbours were helping each other when needed. A 40 year old married man with 4 children tells that “*I have some good friends. They are good to me and I can consult them whenever I need*” On the other hand, some participants told that they do not have many friends and they lack this kind of support mechanism in their lives. A 31 year old married woman with a child tells that *‘I don’t have a good relationship with my neighbours and friends. Sometimes I feel bad around rich people. There are not many people I can trust, so I am alone for most of the time’*. Since the study could investigate this dimension very limitedly, the relationship of this capability with other capabilities could not be revealed in extent. However, in general it can be said that family and friendship as a part of the social capital people have helps them in terms of finding jobs, getting monetary assistance when needed and provides a psychological support affecting subjective wellbeing of people, too and there are no noticeable capability deprivation in this area stemming from factors like income and employment.

Social Relations, Information Network and Respect

This dimension denotes relations with wider society. Social relations and the information networks provide social support and this support can be helpful in personal life as well as in working life. As explored in the social capital literature links people have with family and friends, as well as people they share a common identity form the social capital of individuals (OECD, n.d). Together with this information network people are able to access valuable information in terms of reaching economic resources. To that end, questions related with being respected in the society, the relationship between friends and whether they have experienced any discrimination in the society have been asked.

It is seen that the interviewees has limited social relations, in general only with their relatives and neighbours. These kinds of relationships are mentioned as important support mechanisms for most of the participants in terms of psychological and economic support.

On the other hand, low income status of people led to living a more limited life socially and economically. The findings hint that lack of regular employment and so a working environment hinders their participation to social networks beyond their present networks. There is also no community based organizations in their neighbourhoods that the participants are aware of and none of the participants, men or women declared that they have a membership to any civil society organisations which could have increased their social capital.

This kind of limited social relations also provides limited information networks that the participants can use. On the other hand, as a tool for social capital they are willing to use the channels of political parties, by becoming members of the ruling JDP. Indeed, JDP has wide networks throughout the Turkey and the provincial administrations of the Party work even at the level of villages to reach through the people. The wide membership at the province level also serves as an important base for social capital. The membership is perceived as a necessary tool for getting social assistance and being employed at a public institution. However, in the case of this study, the participants noted that the returns of membership have not been as productive as they desired since they were not placed to any jobs with the help of the Party. A 44 year old primary school graduate man with no job at the moment tells that *'I became a member of the Party. So far, I have not seen a contribution of it to me, they help us as much as they do it for anyone'*.

Being respected and treated with respect is another important part of social relations. This dimension is tested based on questions whether the respondents think they have a respectful place in the society and whether they have experienced any discrimination in the society. Accordingly, almost all of the participants stated that they feel respectful and being respected in the society especially among their closer social circle.

Similarly, most of the participants stated they have not been exposed to any kind of discrimination in the society and that mainly they had a reputable place in society. There were also some negative examples. A 38 year old single parent of 3 children noted the pejorative perception of divorced women among men and complained about this kind of discrimination in the society:

I don't go to her neighbours frequently since I am divorced. Their husbands may be at home. The view of men for divorced women is very discriminatory. I had only one friend in this process, and she has been a great help to me.

On the other hand, a potential group for facing discrimination is Roma people. However, the only Roma people of the study stated that he has never been exposed to discrimination. This is also a contradictory example to studies that based on their identity of Roma people face discrimination in social and economic life and feel excluded from society. However, when asked about any discrimination they faced, a 44 year old married woman living in the district of İlkadım tells that: "*I think I have a respectful place in society. But sometimes people think that we are Roman people since we have a dark skin colour.*" However, she did not give any other information whether this led to any discrimination for her in her community.

Whereas the answers of the participants show homogeneity in general, we should note in general that gender is a factor in the level of integration into the networks. Parallel to the Turkish society men tend to have more networks in political and economic areas, whereas women are more part of informal networks and receive support from their friends and family. However, in the context of the field research it is seen that men also lack in great deal political and economic networks. In general we can conclude that poor people have limited social relations, which are usually with their close relatives and friends. In addition to factors like class we see that gender is also a determinant of social relations and information networks capability. Whereas women have more diverse relations with their relatives and friends, men, though still limited, have more access to political and economic arenas. With regards to respect and discrimination, on the other hand, we see that participants have higher level of capabilities.

Autonomy and Self-initiative

Autonomy, independence and self-direction in relations with other individuals and institutions is another capability dimension taken into account in this study. This dimension was tried to be tested by asking some questions related to reactions of interviewees in some situations. These were what they would do in situations of domestic violence (this question was asked only to women), when they are not

pleased with their children's teachers at school; when they are not pleased with the services provided by the municipality; when they are treated unjustly at work and when they need urgent money.

As mentioned before, education of children was one of the important subjects for the participants. Their reactions also in the situation of being not pleased with the teachers of their children were in this parallel. Most of the participants told that they would go to school and try to solve this problem by talking with the teachers and administrators. A 44-year-old man dropped out from middle school and lives by selling in bazaars tells that:

My child was complaining about the class and was not very successful at school. I went to school to talk with the teacher. He said 'what can I do for this'. We came together with other parents and complaint about the teacher to principal.

A 44-year-old married woman with 2 children answers that '*If I had a problem with teacher, I would change this teacher*'. The answers reveal that both men and women would be active in this area, though women are more willing to take action. And there is no difference according to the education level of participants.

When it comes to problems with the municipality, participants seem to react less. This tendency is also related with the pessimistic view that their efforts towards improving services of municipalities would not yield any result. That's being said, women tend to be more passive and expressed they would not do anything particular to solve the problem. Moreover, parallel to the low participation to the local decision making processes, people seem to be more reserved in these situations.

A 44 year old middle school graduate man tells that '*I won't go to municipality to tell anything. There are people here smoking pot. But neither police nor the municipality does anything about this.*' A 31 year old primary school graduate married woman tells that '*I go to municipality to talk about the situation but I won't push for it. They give us coal before the elections*'. She explains that the assistance coming from the municipality hinders their actions towards any dissatisfaction from the services of the municipality.

On the other hand, when they need to ask for social assistance, the participants are more courageous to speak with officials. In these situations it is noted that women of the family is usually chosen to ask for assistance since this situation is perceived as derogatory for men as they are seen the breadwinners of the family and they feel like that they are failed in their responsibility. The social assistance workers tell too, women are more frequently coming for asking for social assistance.

In the situation of needing money urgently, people seem to take action immediately. The most common reaction was asking money from close relatives and from neighbours in some situations. Here, this situation can be related with the fact that they are used to living in poverty and this situation makes them ask for money frequently from state institutions or from their relatives. A 42 year old married woman who has irregular jobs tells that:

Our financial situation is not good. We are taking conditional cash transfers and coal assistance and we have credit card debts. We need money. When we need urgent money, I will ask from my brother.

A 38 year old male married with 3 children who works irregularly tells that '*I don't like asking for money but I have to. We have children and I cannot find a good job. I go to Foundation and ask their help.*'

The question about their reactions in the situation of an unjust treatment at the workplace could not be answered by many participants since they had limited experience in the work life. A 35 year old male participant married with three children who receives conditional cash transfer for his children and coal assistance tells that:

I am an electrician. I worked for a few months in a shop but they did not pay my social security premiums. They were always giving my wage late. Consequently I quitted this job for this reason and I am unemployed right now.

His example shows that it is very difficult for these vulnerable sections of society to take action for preventing this kind of treatment or trying to make the employer punished legally for their acts. The story of another participant who is 42-year-old married with 2 children was very similar:

I was working as a cleaning lady at an educational institution. I was earning 600 TL a month because they were showing me as a part time employee. I tried to make my employer to pay me the full wage and social security premiums, but I could not be successful and I cried and quitted.

In total, there were only 5 participants who told that they would fight against the unjust treatments in the work place. Sex, age and education seem not to be important variables explaining the differences between the positive and negative answers and mainly personal traits seem to be effective in difference of reactions.

Women were also asked what they would do if they were exposed to domestic violence. More than half of the women (10) told that they would take some action to prevent this situation either by making official complaints to police or by leaving their husbands. On the other hand, the question about domestic violence indeed revealed that there are some women among the interviewees who have been exposed to violence by their husbands. A woman told that though she was exposed to violence by her husband, she did not do anything about it and had not considered to get some help for preventing this situation happening again. Another 25 year old married woman with middle school education and no work tells that:

My husband used to beat me. I had started the legal procedures and made my husband have one month suspension from me but eventually we started to live together again. I have children to think about.

A divorced woman 38 years old with 3 children tells that:

My husband always beats me. His psychology is not good. When I was exposed to violence I went to police station. And I got a restraining order. The officers put me in this house. But the apartment is in the second floor and sometimes he tries to climb to come in and attack me. So, I have to move apartments frequently.

Though her situation is very vulnerable, the home nursing assistance for disability care provides her some freedom to a degree and the new laws and regulations about domestic violence provides her the help of the officers. A group of women on the other hand, said that they would do nothing to prevent their exposure to domestic violence. 58 year old woman married with 7 children living dependent on social assistance of disabled wage and assistance from municipality and from her previous employer says that '*I won't complaint about my husband, he should be ashamed himself.*'

Though in general factors like education, age, gender, marital status can be considered as determinants of autonomy, the limits with regard to variety of sample makes testing of these factors difficult. As a result, the answers do not vary according to variables like age or education, which brings forward the effects of personal characteristics on these capabilities. And at this point we should remind the internal capabilities conceptualization of Nussbaum (1988). Accordingly, traits of intellect and character and body developed by education that constitute internal capabilities should be nourished and when these will interact with external conditions they will result in increases combined capabilities of people.

Leisure Activities

Leisure activities are important activities done for relaxation, creativity and pleasure. Leisure activities can be done individually or socially. Examples of individual leisure activities are reading, watching television, going to holiday and examples for social leisure activities are going to cultural events, doing team sports etc. Some aspects of this capability are closely related with material affluence of people while some are related with the mobility capability, too. On the other hand, some other leisure activities like reading books and watching TV are relatively less dependent on other capabilities. In order to test the extent of leisure activities the participants are doing, questions related whether they have any free time for leisure activities, if so what they do in their free times and whether they think it is important to have some free time for their own.

The results of the study show that there are important differences between men and women in their leisure times. First, gender norms can limit the areas and frequency of places women go or secondly, when people have small children mobility is more difficult. Women with the children that they take care off stated that they do not have free time to do any leisure activities as looking after children takes all their time and at the same time even they have free times, mobility with children is more difficult. First, it creates a physical difficulty as the city is not a woman/child friendly city with pavements and transportation suitable for child carriers nor there are many opportunities for breastfeeding in the public spaces. A 25 year old married woman with three little children who is high school graduate tells that *“I have to take care of my smallest child; she does not stay with anyone, but me. So, I never have free time*

to do anything for myself. Sometimes, I go to the park for the children". Another woman who is 3 children who go to school explains that "*Sometimes I meet with my friends and family. But for a year I only go outside to take the children to park. Without a car we cannot go anywhere with children*". As we can see transportation costs are mentioned by interviewers as a deterrent factor before their mobility.

At the same time, many activities like going to malls, cinemas or eating outside that are frequently done by middle class people as leisure activities cannot be realized by these people as a result of their low income status. Accession and use of recreational areas is also related with the capability of leisure activities as accession to recreational areas and green areas offers a good opportunity for leisure activities. For the ones, who need to use transportation to reach these areas, it is seen that the capability is very limited. In addition to the recreational activities in the city, the malls have become common places to spend time in the city in recent years. Though there is a mall very close to the ones living in Canik area, only two participants stated that they go the mall, which was newly opened in the city and became a vast attraction center for the people. The divorced mom with 3 children and who is not working tells that:

Even though we can find some money for transportation to go to the malls, it is not meaningful for us to go since when we go, children would like them to buy things but I cannot afford.

A 48 year old man living in a village very near to center of Canik, without a regular job and married with one child tells that "*I am not working right now, but I don't go to malls or bazaar. We always stay in the village*". For men, going to the teashops can be a social activity, sometimes. A 41 year old married man with two children and no regular job tells that "*I go to the teashop and talk with friends there. I don't have a job and so I have time.*"

Lastly, older people and people with health problems cannot enjoy easily a leisure activity that requires mobility. As a result only five of the participants stated that they go out in their free times. Others noted that they are doing some leisure activities in their homes as watching films or doing handiwork.

In general we can conclude that all the participants has lower level of the leisure capability limited to the activities that can be done without spending money and these are usually individual activities or family activities. On the other hand, factors like gender, number of children and health limit realization of different leisure activities. Also, we should note that enhancement of this capability is related closely with other capabilities like income and wealth, mobility, social relations and information networks.

3.3 Summary of the Findings

The interviews made with the social assistance takers reveal important findings with regard to capabilities of poor people in Samsun which present the urgent necessity of taking actions and implementing public programmes to enhance their capabilities. It is clear that poor people experience important capability deprivations and there are various factors leading to these deprivations. Under the structural capabilities, in the category of physical and material wellbeing, there are mainly capabilities which can be categorised as basic capabilities and these capabilities provide freedom to achieve other capabilities. Shelter and physical environment, income and wealth as well as employment and paid work are necessary for survival and escaping from poverty. The capabilities in this category have also important effects especially on capabilities like education, accession to public services, participation, leisure activities and achievement. However, it is seen that the participants have very low levels of capabilities with regard to the physical and material wellbeing dimension. Especially, income and wealth levels of the interviewees are distinctively low. The interviewees mainly have a monthly household income per person, which is below of one thirds of the current minimum income. Determinants of the capability of income mainly come forward as employment and social assistance given by the state, as they have no other sources of revenue. That's being said, participants were trying to increase their income through looking for higher paid employment and getting more social assistance from the state and local governments. However, as a result of capability deprivations in the areas of education, and health as well as personal factors like gender and age, interviewees were either unemployed or have precarious and irregular jobs without social security which result in important capability deprivations in return.

Second, under the structural capabilities in the category of public services and participation we see that there are important services that improve one's quality of life substantially. Whereas services like health, education can be classified as necessary basic services for everyone, social assistance services have a vital place in lives of poor people. Mainly, it can be said that the interviewees have adequate access to services like education and health, though with different satisfaction levels. Whereas health services comes forward one of the highest capability dimensions, education services were regarded more negatively by the participants. Social assistance, on the other hand is a more problematic issue since every participant gets a different kind of assistance. However, in general it is seen that the most of the social assistance schemes are far from providing a regular source of income for these people. When it comes to recreational areas, green areas and cleanness of neighbourhoods, the participants were in a disadvantaged position. Though there were some recreational areas in the cities for reasons like transportation costs, financial difficulties or household responsibilities, their access to these places were very limited. Moreover, this dimension is not seen as priority issue for the participants. Participation, on the other hand should be positioned differently. It is one of the lowest capability areas among the interviewees as interviewees participate to local and national politics only as voters and do not state any concern about effectiveness of policies to improve their conditions. Also, they were unaware of the civil society organizations generally. The low level of social and participation in general, indicates actually ignorance about these institutions and disbelief that they would be able to change their circumstance by collective action.

In the last category of social and psychological wellbeing and social networks, almost all of the participants experience some health problems, though these are manageable with the help of health services provided by the state. Moreover, we see that the interviewees have moderate levels of capabilities with regards to family and friendship, social relations, respect as well as autonomy and self-initiative. The social relations and the information networks they have, are limited to these groups of family, friends and neighbours since they are not employed regularly for most of the time and lack financial resources to engage in different social activities. Within these circumstances, almost all of the participants stated that they feel respectful and being

respected in the society especially among their closer social circle and they do not experienced any serious discrimination in the society. When it comes to capability of achievement, we see that deprived of any decent employment opportunities and social participation channels, achievement notion of the participants is very weak. In general, it is seen that there is an acceptance about their low socio-economic status and consequently more than half of the participants' state they are happy with their lives. This attitude can be considered as an example of adjusting aspirations downwards which also prevent taking advantages of new opportunities beyond a certain extent. Leisure on the other hand, is also a low capability area since most of the interviewees are confined within the limits of their houses. Financial difficulties, limitation in mobility for women with children as well as health problems also restrains their leisure times and activities.

CHAPTER IV

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

As this thesis has elaborated on, capability approach offers us a framework to better understand wellbeing of people and the determinants of wellbeing in order to create better policies targeting ending poverty and achieving human development. Whereas Sen presents us a new philosophical framework with the capability approach, the issue of looking beyond monetary indicators to assess wellbeing has been on the development agenda for a while, as different theories like basic needs or primary goods have been also put forward.

As we have seen capability approach has been widely discussed and also adopted by scholars to apply it to their empirical work and by this way it contributed to a shift of emphasis from economic growth to human wellbeing. Maybe, the most well-known policy impact of the approach is the human development framework of UNDP. The conceptualization of development as expanding capabilities and freedoms of people here is indeed a very important influence of the capability approach. UNDP, as well as the World Bank elaborated on the different aspects of development with their human development and world development reports. By the Human Development Index, in addition to classical GDP based rankings of countries started to be ranked according to their success in health and education. In spite of its limitations, today HDI is an important tool for raising awareness on human development and human capabilities and pushing countries for progressing in the area of human development by affecting their national policy choices.

Based on this understanding, this thesis aimed at identifying and evaluating capabilities of people for the purpose of contributing to the development practice in Turkey. Accordingly, we should note that policies regarding poverty in Turkey should be formed on a theoretical basis that poverty is indeed a capability failure, not

simply a shortage of income. First, we should acknowledge that increases per capita income in a country would not automatically result in enhancement in capabilities and state should take primary responsibility for acknowledging development enhancement of capabilities as a multidimensional phenomenon

That's being said while developing policies, our first step should be asking 'what are people able to do and to be'. Taking each person as an end in development and focusing on choices, freedoms and agency of people are distinguishing features of the capability approach. A dynamic clustering analysis looking into "where a person accumulates disadvantages over time and the reproduction of disadvantage over generations " (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2007: 120) should be done. After finding clustering of disadvantages, causal relationships can be investigated. Causalities of problems will guide right policy formations for each cause. As the approach shows, there are strong links between social and economic policy dimensions in this regard. Resources and social arrangements gave rise to various capabilities. Sen (1999) also reminds us our freedom and agency are constrained by the social, political and economic structures and opportunities offered to us. He explains that "*our opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function*" (p.42). Among these key institutions there are public structures, market, political parties, judicial system and so on.

Moreover, people's abilities to convert income into capabilities change according to the personal heterogeneities like gender, age, health, disability or being exposed to discrimination etc. over which people has no control. A prominent personal heterogeneity in this framework is gender. Capability approach shows us that gender issue should be looked at considering the preference formation mechanisms among women in society. This includes adaptive preferences and other influences on decision making process like social pressures and expectations from family or friends (Robeyns, 2008). These factors indeed lead to socially conditioned capabilities (Deneulin, 2008) and cannot be transformed to functionings in certain areas. In the framework of Turkey, this situation can be seen clearer. Gendered division of labour, male and female stereotypes and social values affect various capabilities beginning from education and knowledge, income and wealth, to employment and paid work as well as achievement and leisure. As a result men's capability sets are larger than

women (Robeyns, 2008). Within these circumstances we can say that our goal cannot be set as equalizing the capability sets of men and women considering the interdependent capabilities of people and women's reproductive roles. This goal can be reached through gender mainstreaming policies and differentiating policies for women and men. Disability, on the other hand is another important personal heterogeneity that creates capability differences. By focusing ends rather than means the capability approach uses an objective merit in terms of justice, too which provides a better ground for handling discrimination against groups like disabled people. It is clear that social assistance policies providing income to disabled people are not sufficient to help disabled people be independent and free unless other policies of rehabilitation or employment incorporated to the system.

Taking these personal heterogeneities like gender and disability and others into account, we should develop policies to increase capabilities of people in the framework of human development and remember that increasing solely income of these people would not lead automatically to capability increases. The findings of the study in this respect present us some fertile capabilities that open up other options in the lives of people. Among these, 3 important capabilities come forth to have eminent instrumental roles in improving other capabilities of people and thus act as a leverage to diminish capability deprivations. First, education stands out as a very important capability for the achievement of other capabilities and the very low level of education among the participants of this study stands as barrier before enjoyment of these other important capabilities. Education is a capability both intrinsically and instrumentally important. As Sen (1999) puts it to live a worthwhile and free life, one's education and knowledge has a key role and it enables pursuing goals that one values. Also, it has a positive impact on employability and income of people, as it increases people's knowledge and enhances their qualification and skills. In order to increase the education level of people and the returns of education, the capability of education should be improved in two levels: One is the accessibility of education; in terms of whether people have equal opportunities to benefit from educational opportunities. The second point is quality of the education since it affects importantly future prospects of children to be successful in life. Considering these impacts, education is considered as a core public service that should be accessible to all. To overcome barriers and increase the access of poor children to quality education, there

should be certain improvements in the education system. Children coming from families with lower capabilities should be guided and counselled more systematically and options for adult education for people with different capability levels should be enhanced through better design and implementation. Education and complementary services by all means, should aim at developing people's cognitive, behavioural and emotional skills which have vital importance for their personal development and for prospects of success in education and employment. Education should be designed beyond focusing on capabilities of basic literacy, numeracy but also enrich children's options and opportunities in life and should encourage integration to social networks or develop capabilities like respect, autonomy, analytical thinking. On that Saito puts (2003) "*We need to develop the judgement of the person to be able to value in which way it is appropriate to use capabilities through education*" (p. 29).

Following education, *employment* can be considered as a second policy field, which is a core element in acquirement and improvement of other capabilities. Similarly, employment has a productive role in the wellbeing of people and factors like low education, gender, health seem to very important in achievement of this capability. Active labour market policies like vocational trainings and guidance of people are the main tools to increase employability of people. However, the findings in this study support the idea that firstly, public services of employment are not widely known by all sections of society and second the effectiveness of the courses is in question. To that end, certain measures should be taken to yield more results from these programmes. To have an efficiently working system, first it is important to strengthen the institutional capacity and counselling role of the İŞKUR. And there should be a differentiation of policies according to people with different capability levels. Clearly, those who have important capability deprivations cannot benefit from these services sufficiently. The rareness of people benefiting from these services in their social circles reinforces their negative beliefs about these courses. To that end, counselling services and vocational courses should be tailored according to the characteristics and needs of these people with lower capabilities. Moreover, for increasing the quality of the training programmes, putting more emphasis on behavioural skills can be an option since in addition to vocational skills, cognitive and non-cognitive skills are very important to be successful in the labour market and

disadvantaged groups like long term unemployed people and first time job seekers have low cognitive skills.

Finally, as a supplementary field to other public policies, social protection programmes are vital in order to cease capability deprivations. In poverty literature we have seen that personal traits like lack of ambition has been also situated as culturally transmitted traits which constitute barriers before escaping poverty. Though this study cannot provide a full evaluation about personal ambition, which is stated as the main reason of poverty by Murray, we can still argue that the transfer of poverty from generations to generations and unsuccessful attempts for breaking the vicious circle of poverty can create some disappointments that hinder future attempts. However, this does not mean denial of the fact that these people are not surrounded by encouraging structures for getting out of poverty and do not have necessary tools for enhancing their capabilities by themselves. We can note in this context, cultural explanations of poverty can be related more with the argument of Lewis that personal traits of people can be shaped by the unserved needs by institutions and agencies of the societies. These personal traits also are part of combined capabilities as referred by Nussbaum. However, as Pfister (2012) points out we should be careful about judging someone's functionings based on resources they have, as it may mislead us to focus on individual intermittent variables such as lack of ambition or personal choice and ignore the impacts of structures. To that end we should focus on improving the system of the social assistance programmes. Determination of exact criteria for each assistance, the procedures of cutting of the assistance and appropriate monitoring and auditing tools are necessary. Strengthening the institutional capacity of the SASFs is crucial for the better policy implementation and for new policy recommendations.

After presenting this framework with regard to individual and fertile capabilities, another point we should keep in mind, supporting Evan's argument, is that individual capabilities depend on the collective capabilities. Collective capabilities mean both individuals ability to act together as agents of change and enjoy the capabilities resulted from actions of collectivities. Increases in these capabilities will strengthen the bargaining power of poor and their self-esteem that will increase their participation to local decision-making (Thorp, Stewart, and Heyer, 2005). In this

framework, people should be encouraged to act as groups and participate to the local decision making processes.

Lastly, as a complementary mechanism that will ensure a better delivery of the aforementioned policy fields and eventually create individual opportunities to empower people's capabilities, the institutional redesign of the service architecture can fill in critical intervention areas. In that, specifically interface-like organizations which should be positioned in the alternative networks in the state structure can provide the value adding contributions to the system. Such new designs those are vertically mobile institutional interfaces can additionally greatly increase the possibilities of horizontal coordination among the three different policy action areas. What is basically meant by that is; major institutions in each field, is organized in alternative segments of the state territory, scaling down to even neighbourhood from top of the centre, provide an important level of penetration to society which at the same time limit their possibilities of internal coordination among each other. Alternatively to that, new formations those are intermediary both in the sense of geographical location and organizational responsibilities and/or duties can be built upon these incapacities of the contemporary institutional design. Presence of the new intermediary structures shall add the ability to act like a platform among the major state organizations on the one hand, and on the other maintain the possibilities of creating new policy solutions through contingent relations. In an alternative saying, incapacities of the institutions stemming from their organizational morphology provide opportunities for alternative solutions which in that case can be the instalment of intermediary institutional formation. Conclusively, thorough the operational functioning of new policy tools, design of these three distinct and yet highly integral policy domains can yield up to more concrete and promising solutions.

To sum up as it is known poverty is one of the longstanding problems of Turkey and so far policies fighting against poverty focused on social assistance system and encouragement of employment in line with the neo-liberal thinking. In the light of these discussions, we should remember that poverty is indeed an issue of unequal distribution and access to resources. Trying to integrate poor people with low educational and social capabilities into the labour market without taking any

additional measures to increase their capabilities would not yield any effective results. After this stage of identification of capabilities and reasons for capability failures, roles and responsibilities of each body, public or civil society should be identified and agreed upon. The weak coordination between the bodies and deficiencies in monitoring and impact analysis of development plans and programmes should be eliminated and necessary steps for implementation of relevant projects and programmes should be identified based on the local needs and conditions. Impact analysis of present programmes, especially on the issues of education, employment and social assistance programmes are very important sources for the future actions. In addition to these, needs and voices of themselves should be integrated to the design of the programmes. In this respect, development agencies can act as an interface body between key institutions that govern important capability areas. With a collective work of public agencies and civil society institutions, as well as scholars a new development paradigm for Turkey can be put in place that aim at enhancing capabilities of each individual in society.

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APPENDICES

A.THE SURVEY FORM FOR THE RESEARCH OF INCREASING THE CAPABILITIES OF THE POOR

City/Town/Disrict:

Name of the Interviewee:

Survey Date:

No:

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1- Gender: Female

Male

2- How old are you?

3- What is your marital status? :

4- If married: a) Do you have any children?

If the answer to question 4a is yes

b) How many children do you have? How old are they?

c) Are your children studying or working?

5- How many people do live in your household? With whom are you living?

6- Do you have any physical or mental health condition? How does your condition affect your life? Does it limit you?

B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFORMATION

Education

- 7- What is your education level?
- 8- Why did you not continue your education? (If not have university degree)
- 9- Do you know how to use a computer?
- 10- Do you use internet? If yes, how often do you use internet?
- 11- Do you read books/newspapers? How often do you read?

Financial Status and Employment

- 12- How much is the total income of your household?
- 13- What are the forms of your financial income? (state benefit, neighbour/relative cash/in kind support, salary, income from own job) Which one is the greatest income item?
- 14- Who is working in your household? What is he/she doing?
- 15- Are you working?

If yes:

- a) For how long have you been working?
- b) Are you registered to the Social Security Institution?
- c) What do you do?
- d) Are you employed or do you do your own work?
- e) How many hours do you work each day?
- f) Are you satisfied with your working conditions?
- g) Are you successful at your job?
- h) Are you happy to work? Would you like to work at another job?

If no:

- a) Have you ever worked before?
 - b) If you have worked before, what did you do? Why did you quit?
 - c) For how long have you been not working?
 - d) Why don't you work at the moment?
 - I am not looking for a job.
 - I am unable to work because of health issues.
 - Employment opportunities towards women are limited (F)
 - Employers have prejudice against women (F)
 - My husband/family doesn't let me work (F)
 - House work and child care responsibilities (F)
 - Local employment opportunities are insufficient
 - My vocational skills are insufficient
 - My education level is insufficient
 - Available jobs are low wage jobs
 - Working conditions of available jobs are not good
 - Conditions for entrepreneurship is not good
 - e) What kind of job would you like to work?
 - f) Have you ever attended any vocational courses until now? Are you aware of the courses and services provided by institutions as İŞKUR, Public Education Center, Development Agency
 - g) Are you registered to İŞKUR?
- 16- Does your house belong to you or is it rental?

Social Assistance

- 17- Are you taking any social assistance
- 18- If yes, from where?
- 19- Which kind of social assistance are you taking, for how long ? What is the frequency of receiving assistance?
- 20- Can you make the ends meet? Can you cover the expenses of your basic needs? (Housing, food, clothes etc)

21- How can you cover your expenses if you don't take any social assistance?

C. Family

22- How are your relations with your family?

23- Who takes the decisions about important subjects?

24- Do you think that your family respects you?

25- How is the division of labour in your family? Who takes the responsibility for child care and domestic chores?

D. Leisure

26- Do you have time for rest or do something for yourself?

27- What do you do in your leisure time?

28- Is it important for you to have some time for yourself?

E. Relations with Society

29- Do you think that you have a respectful place in the society? Why?

30- How is your relationships with your neighbours and friends?

31- Do you have many friends? How frequent are you seeing them?

32- Do you think that you are exposed to any kind of discrimination based on your gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs? If so, can you explain?

F. Social Services

33- Are you happy living in Samsun? What are the advantages of living here?

a) What are you doing socially?

b) Do you think that social services are sufficient? (parks, sports and cultural centers)

34- Are you satisfied from health services? Is there anything you are not satisfied from?

35- Are you satisfied from education services? Is there anything you are not satisfied from?

36- Are you satisfied from social services? Is there anything you are not satisfied from?

37- How do you evaluate the housing facilities?

38- What are the places you go most in the city? Do you go to the mosques, cafes, malls? How are the transportation facilities?

39- Do you think the city and your neighbourhood is safe?

40- What do you think about the green areas, cleanliness of streets and air?

G. Reactions

41- What would be your reactions in the situations of;

- a) If you are exposed to domestic violence?
- b) If you are not satisfied from the teacher of your child at school?
- c) If you are not satisfied from the services of municipality?
- d) If you are treated unjustly at the workplace?
- e) If you need urgent money?

H. Participation

42- Do you vote in local and national elections?

43- Do you have any membership of any party, NGO or city council?

44- If you are, are you in the administrative board?

45- Do you participate to the activities of it?

46- If not, why?

I. Success

47- What does success mean for you? Do you have any successful people around you?

48- Do you think that you have achieved your desired in your life?

49- What factors do you think have been driven forces behind your failures?

50- Have your personal characteristics been important in your success?

J. Happiness and Expectations

51- Do you feel happy?

52- What kind of chance in your life will make you happier?

53- Is being happy important for you?

54- What are your expectations from your future?

B. TURKISH SUMMARY

YOKSULLUK VE YAPABİLİRLİKLER: SAMSUN ÖRNEĞİ

Yoksulluğun çok boyutlu bir kavram olduğunun kabul edilmesi, kalkınma alanında yeni yaklaşımların doğmasını sağlamıştır. Bu çerçevede Amartya Sen'in (1989) Yapabilirlik Yaklaşımı da insanların başarıları, yapabilirlikleri ve özgürlüklerine odaklanarak kalkınmada yeni bir çağın başlangıcını işaret etmektedir. Bu yaklaşım ile yeni bir kavramsal çerçevede kimin yoksul olduğu, standart gelire dayalı yoksulluk hesaplamalarının dışında tekrar tanımlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, tez kapsamında yoksul insanların yapabilirlikleri ve bu yapabilirlikleri etkileyen bireysel ve yapısal etkenler Samsun örneği çerçevesinde incelenmektedir. Bu yolla, Türkiye'de insanların yapabilirliklerini artıracak etkili bir kalkınma politikasının oluşturulmasına katkı verilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Yoksulluk milyonlarca insanın yaşamını etkileyen kalkınma alanındaki önemli problemlerden bir tanesidir. Tarih boyunca insanların yaşam standartlarında önemli gelişmeler olsa da, günümüzde hala dünya nüfusunun yüzde 21'inin günde 1.25 dolardan daha az bir gelire sahip olduğunu görülmektedir. Yoksulluğun birçok tanımı olmakla beraber temel anlamda Lister (2004) tarafından insanların yaşam koşullarını, refahlarını ve sosyal hayata katılımlarını etkileyen gelir yoksunluğu olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bunun dışında mutlak ve göreceli yoksulluk, yoksulluk tanımlamalarında önemli bir ayrımdır. Mutlak yoksulluk, insanların gıda su, barınma gibi temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılama için gerekli olan gelirden yoksunluğu belirtilmektedir. 19.yy'da başlayan mutlak yoksulluk ölçümlerine zamanla gelen eleştiriler ise göreceli yoksulluk tanımlamalarının yapılmasını sağlamıştır. Bu çerçevede de, yoksulluğun kültürel olarak tanımlanabilecek bir kavram olduğu ve insanların ihtiyaçlarının toplumdan topluma değişeceği görüşü kabul görmüştür. Türkiye'de ise 1990'lı yıllarla birlikte yoksulluk bir politika sorunu olarak ele alınmaya başlamıştır. Köyden kente göçün artışı ve göç eden insanların kentte iş

bulamayışlarının da etkisiyle yoksulluk daha görünür bir problem olmaya başlamıştır. Bu kapsamda Türkiye İstatistik Enstitüsü (TÜİK) gibi kamu kurumları da istatistikler üretmeye başlamıştır. Bu istatistiklere göre 2015 yılında, medyan gelirin yüzde 60'ına bakılarak hesaplanan yoksulluk verilerine göre Türkiye'deki nüfusun yüzde 21,9'u yoksul kategorisine girmektedir. Gelirin toplum içerisindeki dağılımını incelendiğinde de en zengin yüzde 20'nin toplam gelirin yüzde 45,9'una sahip olduğu görülmektedir.

Bu çerçevede Amartya Sen yoksulluğun tanımlanması ve değerlendirilmesi için önemli olan yapabilirlik yaklaşımını geliştirmiştir. Çalışmanın teorik kökenleri, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith ve Karl Marx gibi düşünürlerle dayanmaktadır. Bu yaklaşıma göre kalkınma, toplum refahını topyekûn olarak hedeflememek yerine her bir bireyin refahın artırılmasını hedeflemelidir. Bu nedenle ülkelerin gelirlerinin sıralanmasına yerine, kalkınma çerçevesinde insanların sahip oldukları özgürlüklerin değerlendirilmesini Sen önermektedir. Bu bakımdan, Sen hem gelire dayalı hem de refaha dayalı yaklaşımları eleştirmektedir. Sen gelirin insanların hayatında önemli bir yeri olmasıyla birlikte, yapabilirlikler için sadece bir gösterge olabileceğini belirtmektedir. Bu bakımdan gelir ve diğer kaynaklar insanların refahları için araçlar olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Sen, refaha dayalı yaklaşımların fayda temelli oldukları ve insanlar arasındaki fiziksel farklılıkları ve sosyal ve etik konuları da yeterince dikkate almadıkları noktalarında eleştirmektedir. Bu noktada özellikle insanların tercihlerinin koşullara uyum sağladığı ve bu nedenle her zaman gerçek tercihler olmadığı konusunu vurgulamaktadır. Sen'in bu yaklaşımı feminist iktisatçıların görüşlerine de paraleldir. Bu iktisatçıların arasında Robeyns (2005) de özellikle yapabilirlik yaklaşımı üzerine çeşitli çalışmalar yapmaktadır. Robeyns gelire ve kaynaklara dayalı yaklaşımları bakım emeği, ev işi, aile içi şiddete maruz kalmama gibi refahın önemli parçalarını içermediği için eleştirmektedir. Sen ise pazar dışı ürün ve hizmetlerin de refah değerlendirmesi için alarak bir fark yaratmaktadır.

Sen gelire dayalı yaklaşımların en büyük eksikliklerinin insanlar arasındaki farklılıkları dikkate almama olduğu söylemektedir. Buna göre Sen beş temel farklılığı işaret etmektedir. Bunlardan ilki yaş, cinsiyet, engellilik gibi kişisel heterojenliklerdir. Örneğin hasta bir insan sağlıklı bir insanla aynı yaşam standardını yakalamak için daha fazla gelire ihtiyaç duyacak, bunu geliri elde ettiğinde bile aynı

hayat standardına erişemeyecektir. İkinci farklılık türü ise çevresel farklılıklardır. İklim değişiklikleri, hastalıklar, kirlilik gibi çevresel birçok unsur insanların gelirleri ile refahları arasındaki ilişkiyi etkilemektedir. Diğer taraftan eğitim olanakları, toplumda suçun yaygın olup olmadığı ya da sosyal sermaye gibi unsurlar da sosyal farklılıklar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bunlarla beraber, dördüncü olarak göreceli farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. Buna örnek olarak gelişmiş ve gelişmemiş bir ülkede yoksul olma durumu verilebilir. Gelişmiş ülkedeki yoksul insanın yapabilirlikleri kısıtlı olurken, geliri; gelişmemiş ülkedeki yoksul insana kıyasla daha yüksek olacaktır. Son farklılık kategorisi olarak aile içindeki dağılım vardır. Aile içerisinde gelirin dağılımı da yaş, cinsiyet gibi farklı unsurlara bağlı olarak değişebilmektedir. Bu yaklaşımlara bir alternatif olan yapabilirlik yaklaşımında iki temel kavram vardır. Bunlar yapabilirlikler ve işlevselliklerdir. İşlevsellikler, insanların yaptıkları ve oldukları şeylerin temel kombinasyonlarıdır. Bunların içerisinde iyi beslenmek, güvenli barınma olanaklarına sahip olmak gibi temel işlevsellikler olduğu gibi, kendine saygı, itibar, politika süreçlerine katılma gibi daha kompleks işlevsellikler de vardır. Yapabilirlikler ise, insanların işlevsellikleri arasından seçebilecekleri farklı kombinasyonları göstermektedir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, yapabilirlikler bir kişinin kaynaklarını nasıl işlevselliklere dönüştürdüğünü ifade etmektedir. Yapabilirlikler ve işlevsellikler arasındaki farklılıkları Sen şöyle açıklamaktadır: “*İşlevsellik bir başarı iken, yapabilirlikle başarma yeteneğini göstermektedir.*” (Sen, 1987:36) Bu bağlamda önemli bir kavram da temel yapabilirliklerdir. Bunlar arasında öz itibariyle önemli olan mutlu olmak, özgürce hareket etmek, kendine saygı duymak gibi işlevsellikler de vardır.

Yapabilirlik yaklaşımı alanında önemli akademisyenlerden bir diğeri de Martha Nussbaum'dur. Nussbaum (2011) yapabilirliklerin sadece insanların içinde olan yetenekler değil, kişisel yetenekler ve politik, sosyal ve ekonomik çevreden kaynaklanan özgürlük ve fırsatlar olarak ele almaktadır. Nussbaum on yapabilirlik boyutu belirleyerek önemli bir çalışma yapmıştır. Bu boyutlar yaşam, sağlık, vücut bütünlüğü, duygular, hayal gücü ve düşünce, duyular, duygular, pratik mantık, ilişkiler, diğer türler, oyun ve çevreyi kontrol edebilmedir. Nussbaum bu yapabilirliklerin sosyal adalet için gerekli olduğunu savunmaktadır. Nussbaum tarafından bu yapabilirliklerden bazılarının ise üretken yapabilirlikler olarak öne çıkması gerektiği vurgulanmaktadır. Üretken yapabilirlikler diğer yapabilirliklerin

oluşmasını sağlayan yapabilirliklerdir. Örneğin, eğitim istihdamı kolaylaştırmakta ve gelir elde edilmesini sağlamaktadır. Bu nedenle eğitimi üretken bir yapabilirlik olarak sınıflandırabiliriz

Bazı akademisyenler de sadece kişiler tarafından sahip olunan yapabilirliklerin değil, topluluklar tarafından sahip olunan yapabilirliklerin önemli olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu isimlerden biri de kolektif ve grup yapabilirlikleri üzerinde çalışan Alkire'dir (2008). Aynı şekilde Stewart (2005) da grup yapabilirliklerinin insan refahı üzerinde pozitif etkileri olduğunu savunmaktadır. Comim (2007) bu çerçevede sosyal yapabilirlik kavramını kullanmaktadır. Buna göre sosyal yapabilirlikler sadece toplumsal etkileşimler sonucunda ortaya çıkabilen yapabilirliklerdir. Diğer tarafta Basu ve Lopez-Cavla (2011) kişiler arasındaki özgürlüklerin çatışmasına dikkat çekmektedir. Çünkü kişilerin fırsat setleri diğer kişileri tercihlerine bağlı olarak değişmektedir. Örneğin, bir kadın hafta sonunu evde dinlenerek geçirmek isterken kocası da bunu istiyorsa ve evde bakmak zorunda oldukları çocukları varsa ikisinden biri bu isteğini gerçekleştiremeyecektir.

Yapabilirlikler konusunda önemli kavramları inceledikten sonra bir diğer önemli konu da yapabilirliklerin nasıl artırılacağıdır. Öncelikle mal ve eşyaların kişilerin işlevselliklerini artırdığı bilinmektedir. Ancak gelir ve eşyalar yapabilirliklerin artırımında daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi yeterli araçlar değildir. Gelir ile yapabilirlikler arasındaki ilişki topluluklar, aileler ve bireyler arasında farklılık göstermektedir. Bu ilişkinin belirleyicileri arasında yaş, cinsiyet, sosyal roller, yerleşim yeri gibi bir kişinin üzerinde kontrolünün olmadığı ya da sınırlı olduğu etmenler vardır.

Bütün bunları göz önüne alarak yapabilirlik yaklaşımının hayata geçirilmesi için çeşitli çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Bu kavramsal çerçevede bu çalışmada Samsun örneğindeki yapabilirlikler incelenmektedir. Yapabilirliklerin ölçülmesi için bu tezde 12 temel yapabilirlik boyutu belirlenmiştir. Bunlar, yaşam ve sağlık; barınma ve fiziksel çevre, eğitim ve bilgi, gelir ve refah, kamu hizmetlerine erişim, başarı, aile ve arkadaşlık, sosyal ilişkiler ve enformasyon ağı, otonomi ve inisiyatif gösterme, katılım ve son olarak da boş zamandır. Bu yapabilirlikler, yapısal ile sosyal ve psikolojik yapabilirlikler temel başlıkları içerisinde incelenmiştir. Tezin saha çalışması, Temmuz-Eylül 2014 tarihleri arasında Samsun'un İlkadım, Canik ve

Atakum ilçelerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Toplamda bu ilçelerde ikamet eden ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıflarından yardım alan 29 kişi ile derinlemesine görüşme gerçekleştirilmiş ve ayrıca 5 engelli kişi ile bir odak grup toplantısı gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Bu kapsamda yoksullarla yapılan yüz yüze görüşmeler yoksulların yapabilirliklerine ilişkin önemli ipuçları vermektedir. On iki yapabilirlik boyutu yapısal ve sosyal ve psikolojik yapabilirlikler olmak üzere iki ana başlıkta incelenmiştir. Yapısal yapabilirlikler başlığı ise fiziksel ve maddi refah ve kamu hizmetlerine erişim olmak üzere ikiye ayrılmıştır. Fiziksel ve maddi refah başlığı altında ele alınan ilk yapabilirlik boyutu barınma ve fiziksel çevredir. Bu çerçevede katılımcılara sorulan sorulara verilen cevaplar göstermektedir ki katılımcıların hepsi bina yaşlarının yirmi beşten fazla, nem, rutubet gibi sorunları yaygın görüldüğü şehrin eski yerleşim bölgelerinde yaşamaktadır. Mahallelerin güvenliği de sorgulanan bir diğer nokta olmuştur. Bu çerçevede katılımcıların bir kısmı uyuşturucu kullanımı ve silah kullanımı gibi nedenlerle mahallelerini güvenli bulmamaktadır. Bu noktada değinmemiz gereken önemli bir mahalle de Roman kökenli kişilerin yaşadığı 200 evler mahallesidir. Burada yaşayan kişiler işsizlik, erken okul terki, çocuk evlilikleri ve sosyal dışlanma gibi önemli sorunlarla yüzleşmektedir. Bu problemlerin oluşumunda etnik kökenin de önemli bir belirleyici faktör olduğu görülmektedir.

Bu başlıkta ele alınan ikinci yapabilirlik boyutu ise gelir ve refaktır. Çalışmadaki çoğu hane halkının geliri aylık olarak 400 – 800 TL arasında değişmektedir. Sadece birkaç katılımcı aylık gelirin 900 liradan daha yüksek olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bu katılımcılar ise düzenli işi olan ya da daha yüksek miktarlarda sosyal yardım alan katılımcılardır. Katılımcıların hepsi sosyal yardımlaşma ve dayanışma vakfından en az bir çeşit yardım almaktadır. Bu yardımlar ise 50 TL ile 700 TL arasında değişmektedir. Bunun dışında ise kömür yardımı en çok görülen sosyal yardım türüdür. Yardımların yarısının düzenli olarak verildiği görülürken, katılımcıların yarısı ise düzensiz olarak yardım alabilmektedir.

Çok önemli bir diğer yapabilirlik boyutu ise eğitim ve bilgidir. Katılımcıların çok düşük eğitim seviyesine sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu ilkokul ve altı eğitime sahipken sadece dört kişinin lise eğitimi almış olduğu görülmektedir. Düşük eğitim seviyesinin belirleyicileri arasında yaş, cinsiyet,

kırsal yerleşim ve aile yoksulluğu öne çıkmaktadır. Bu noktada özellikle tüm Türkiye’de olduğu gibi toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığının çok yaygın olduğu görülmektedir. Ataerkil yapı içerisinde birçok kadın katılımcı, babalarının eğitimlerine devam etmelerine izin vermediğini belirtmiştir. Erken yaşta evlenen kadınlar arasında kocaları tarafından eğitimlerine devam etmelerine izin verilmediğini söyleyen kişiler de bulunmaktadır. Erkeklerin eğitimlerine devam etmemelerinin arkasındaki ana etken ise ailelerinin yoksulluğudur. Formal eğitim seviyelerinin düşük olmasının yanı sıra bilgisayar becerileri gibi günümüz toplumları için çok önemli olan ve bilgiye erişimi etkileyen yeterliliklerin de düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan formal eğitim seviyeleri düşük olan katılımcılar becerilerini geliştirmek için yaygın eğitim kanallarını da kullanmamaktadırlar. Bununla birlikte üretken bir yeterlilik olan eğitim diğer birçok yeterliliğin oluşumunda anahtar bir role sahip olduğu da unutulmamalıdır. Öncelikle eğitim, istihdamı ve bu yolla gelir ve refahı önemli derecede etkilemektedir. Eğitim ve beceri seviyeleri düşük olan katılımcılar bu nedenle düşük maaşlı işlerde ve kötü çalışma koşullarında çalışabilmektedirler ya da işgücü piyasasının tamamen dışında kalmaktadırlar. Bu da elbette başarı yeterliliği boyutunu etkilemektedir. Katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu hayattaki başarısızlıklarının ana sebebi olarak eğitim seviyelerinin düşüklüğünü göstermektedir. Bu farkındalığa sahip olan katılımcılar için çocuklarının eğitimi en çok önem verdikleri konulardan biri olmaktadır.

İstihdam boyutuna daha yakından bakıldığında ise yirmi dokuz katılımcıdan on altısının işsiz olduğu, işsiz katılımcılardan da on ikisinin de kadın olduğu görülmektedir. Düzenli bir işe ve gelire sahip olan katılımcı sayısı ise ikidir. En çok görülen işler ise kadınlar için temizlikçilik, erkekler için kapıcılık ve hamallık, hem kadın hem erkekler için ise çöp toplayıcılığıdır. Ekonomideki düşük iş yaratma potansiyeli, katılımcıların eğitim seviyesinin düşüklüğü ve çalışma koşullarının kötü olması bu tablonun arkasındaki nedenlerdir. Bu noktada yine toplumsal cinsiyet özellikle vurgulanmalıdır. Sayılan nedenlere ek olarak geleneksel toplumsal roller ve normlar kadınların çalışmasının önündeki önemli engellerdir. Ev işleri ve çocuk bakım sorumluluğunu üstlenen kadınlar işgücü piyasasının da dışına çıkmaktadırlar. Diğer önemli bir belirleyici ise engelliliktir. Sağlık sorunlarının yanı sıra engelli bireylerin düşük eğitim seviyesine sahip olmaları, fiziki engelli bireyler için

şehirlerde erişilebilirliğin düşük olması ve sosyal dışlanma bu gruptaki istihdam yapabilirliğini de önemli derecede olumsuz olarak etkilemektedir.

Katılımcılar istihdam yapabilirliklerini artırmak için önemli olan mesleki eğitim kursları hakkında da yeterli bilgiye sahip değildirler. Aktif işgücü politikalarının uygulayıcısı olan Türkiye İş Kurumu'nun (İŞKUR) faaliyetleri katılımcılar tarafından yeterince bilinmemektedir. İŞKUR'u bilen ve iş bulmak için daha önceden başvurmuş olan birkaç katılımcı ise İŞKUR'dan kendilerine bir dönüş olmadığını belirtmişlerdir.

Yapısal yapabilirlikler altında incelenen ikinci yapabilirlik başlığı ise kamusal hizmetler ve katılımdır. Öncelikle kamusal hizmetler eğitim, sağlık, sosyal yardımlar gibi yaşam standartlarını önemli derecede etkileyen hizmetleri içermektedir. Bu hizmetler hem yerel yönetimler hem de merkezi yönetim tarafından sunulmaktadır. Sağlık hizmetlerine ilişkin bu çerçevede katılımcıların görüşlerinin genellikle olumlu olduğu fark edilmektedir. Devlet tarafından yoksul kişilerin sağlık primlerinin ödenmesi bu olumlu görüşün önemli bir nedenidir. Eğitim alanında ise görüşler çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Eğitimin kalitesi ve okulların çevresi konusunda olumsuz görüşler belirten katılımcılar olmuştur. Yeşil alanlar ve rekreasyon alanları ve mahallelerin temizliği konusunda ise katılımcılar bu konuların kendileri için öncelikli olmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Ancak, genel olarak kamusal ve sosyal alanlara erişim maddi durum nedeniyle de kısıtlı olmaktadır. Son olarak katılımcılar için çok önemli olan bir kamusal hizmet sosyal yardım sistemidir. Bu noktada sosyal yardımların yeterliliği konusunda çeşitli şüpheler bulunmaktadır. Yardımların düzensiz olması ve genellikle 100 TL ve 300 TL arasında değişen düşük miktarlar olması nedeniyle bu yardımların diğer yapabilirlikleri olumlu etkileyecek yönde kullanılmadığı, sadece temel ihtiyaçların giderilmesinde kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan bazı katılımcıların yardımların hak etmeyen insanlara da verildiği konusunda şikayetleri olmuştur. Yardımların düzenli olarak verilmesi de bu konuda en çok dile getirilen talep olmuştur. Bu noktada sosyal yardım – istihdam ilişkisine de dikkat çekmek gerekmektedir. Vakıflarda çalışan sosyal inceleme görevlilerinin de paylaştığı ve toplumda da yaygın olan bir görüş verilen sosyal yardımların kişileri istihdam piyasasının dışına çıkardığıdır. Ancak yardımlarda verilen miktarların düşüklüğü ve

düzensizliği göz önüne alındığında bu görüşlerin temelini sağlam olmadığı iddia edilebilir.

Önemli bir diğer yapabilirlik boyutu da katılımıdır. Politik katılım yerel ve ulusal düzeyde aktif olarak politikaya katılımı ya da seçmen olarak pasif bir katılımı içermektedir. Aktif olarak politika süreçlerine katılmayan katılımcılardan bazıları diğer taraftan AKP'nin il örgütlenmesine üyedirler. Katılımcıların verdikleri cevaplar doğrultusunda bunun en büyük nedeninin ise bu şekilde yardım almalarının ve iş bulmalarının kolaylaşacağına inanmaları olduğu söylenebilir. Politik katılım dışında ise sivil toplum örgütleri ve kent konseyleri gibi toplumsal katılımın çeşitli mekanizmaları bulunmaktadır. Samsun'da da iki bine yakın sivil toplum örgütü bulunmasıyla beraber katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğunun sivil toplum örgütleri konusunda hiçbir bilgilerinin olmadığı görülmektedir. Katılımcılardan, birkaçı ise sivil topluma katılımlarıyla ilgili soru sorulduğunda çeşitli yardım derneklerinden yardım aldıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Genel olarak incelediğimizde yapısal yapabilirlikler altında fiziksel ve maddi refaha ilişkin yapabilirliklerin seviyesinin oldukça düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Barınma, gelir, istihdam gibi yapabilirlikler yoksulluktan kaçınılması için çok önemli olduğu gibi eğitim, kamu hizmetlerine erişim, katılım ve başarı gibi diğer yapabilirlikleri de önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Katılımcıların sosyal yardım alan kişilerden seçilmesiyle beraber aylık kişi başı gelirlerinin asgari ücretin 1/3ünden az olduğu görülmektedir. Gelirin temel belirleyicileri ise istihdam ve devlet tarafından verilen sosyal yardımlardır. Ancak eğitim ve sağlık alanındaki yapabilirlik yoksunlukları ve toplumsal cinsiyet ve yaş gibi kişisel faktörler katılımcıların istihdam durumunu önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Bu nedenle katılımcılar ya işsizdirler ya da güvencesiz olarak kötü şartlarda çalıştıkları işlere sahiptirler.

İkinci ana yapabilirlik başlığı ise sosyal ve psikolojik refah ve sosyal ağlardır. Bu başlık altındaki ilk yapabilirlik boyutu yaşam ve sağlıktır. Sağlıklı ve uzun bir yaşama sahip olmada cinsiyet, yaş, sağlık hizmetlerine erişim, gibi belirleyici etmenler vardır. Vücut bütünlüğünü sağlanması ve şiddetle maruz kalmama da bu boyut içinde yer almaktadır. Aynı zamanda uyuyamamak, kendini kötü hissetmek gibi psikolojik unsurlar da sağlık ve yaşam boyutunda ele alınmaktadır. Çalışma

göstermektedir ki katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu en az bir hastalığa sahiptir. Sahip olunan hastalıklar arasında bel fıtığı, yüksek tansiyon, şeker hastalığı ve bronşit en çok görülen hastalıklardır. Bunlarla beraber, istihdam ve sağlık arasında iki yönlü bir ilişki olduğu fark edilmektedir. Sağlıklı olmak düzenli bir işe sahip olmanın önemli bir koşuludur. İnsana yakışır iş tanımına girmeyen işlerde çalışan katılımcılar, genellikle fiziksel güçlerini kullandıkları işlere sahiptirler. Bunun sonucunda ise sağlık problemleri yaşayabilmektedirler. Diğer taraftan yaşanan sağlık problemleri iş bulmalarının önünde de önemli bir engeldir. Özellikle kadın katılımcılar bel fıtığı ve bronşit gibi hastalıklar yüzünden temizlikçilik gibi işleri artık yapamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Hastalıkların dağılımı aynı zamanda yaş ve sahip olunan hastalık arasında pozitif bir korelasyon olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu konudaki önemli bir nokta da engelliliktir. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi engelli insanlar birçok yapabilirlik yoksunluğu yaşamaktadırlar. Bu nedenle kaynaklarını yapabilirliklere dönüştürme yetenekleri daha sınırlıdır. Engelli bireyler yapılan odak grup görüşmesinde görülmüştür ki engelli bireyler eğitim sağlık ulaşım gibi kamusal hizmetleri sınırlı olarak erişebilmektedirler. Özellikle bedensel engelli bireyler büyük bir erişilebilirlik sorununa sahiptirler. Bununla beraber engelli bireyler toplumda ayrımcılığa da maruz kalmaktadırlar. Bu ayrımcılık, ekonomik ve sosyal hayatta katılımlarını da olumsuz etkilemektedir. Çalışma aynı zamanda zihinsel engelli bir katılımcıyı içermektedir. Katılımcı ve ailesiyle yapılan görüşme engelli olmanın yanı sıra oldukça yoksul olan katılımcının, sosyal yardım alması için gerekli olan ve hastaneler tarafından verilen engellilik raporuna sahip olmadığını göstermiştir. Bu nedenle de yaşamını tamamen ailesinin gönderdiği yardımlar ile sürdürebilmektedir. İşsizlik psikolojik sağlığı da olumsuz olarak etkilemektedir. Yapılan çalışmalar işsiz insanların daha fazla psikolojik stres altında olduklarını ve kendilerine güvenliğinin daha düşük olduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışmada ele alınan diğer bir yapabilirlik boyutu ise başarıdır. Sosyal ilişkilerde ve iş yaşamında başarı kendini gerçekleştirebilme için önemlidir. Ancak, eğitimlerini yarıda bırakmış olan ve düzenli bir işi olmayan katılımcıların kendilerini çoğunlukla başarılı bulmadıkları görülmektedir. Birçok katılımcı eğitimlerine devam edebilmiş olsalar ve bir beceri sahibi olsalar ancak o zaman kendilerini başarılı görebileceklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bununla beraber, özellikle kadın katılımcılar başarıyı annelik üzerinden tanımlamaktadırlar. Başarılı olup olmadıkları

sorulduğunda birçok kadın çocukların sağlıklı bir şekilde yetiştirdikleri ve onların ihtiyaçlarını karşıladıkları için kendilerini başarılı gördüğünü söylemiştir. Diğer taraftan birçok katılımcı büyük bir yoksulluk problemi içerisinde oldukları için başarı konusunun onlar için önemli olmadığını söylemiştir.

Olumsuz koşullara rağmen katılımcılar genellikle hayatlarından memnun olduklarını ve kendilerini mutlu hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu noktada belirtmeliyiz ki Sen'in hatırlattığı gibi insanlar olumsuz koşullara adapte olabilmeyi öğrenmektedir ve bu şekilde beklentilerini de düşürmektedirler. Diğer taraftan bazı katılımcılar da gelecekte beklentileri sorulduğunda iş sahip olabilmeyi ve çocuklarının eğitimini dile getirmişlerdir.

Aile ve arkadaşlıkta önemli bir diğer yapabilirlik boyutudur. Kişinin ailesi ve arkadaşlarıyla olan ilişkisi önemli bir maddi ve sosyal destek mekanizması oluşturmaktadır. Katılımcıların büyük bir çoğunluğu aileleriyle iyi bir ilişkisi olduğunu söylemiştir. Bununla beraber sadece birkaç katılımcı yaşadıkları maddi zorluklar nedeniyle çocuklarıyla çatışmalar yaşadıklarını belirtmiştir. Aile içi iş bölümünün ise toplumsal cinsiyet normlarına uygun olarak yapıldığı görülmektedir. Bu iş bölümü içerisinde kadınlar ev işlerinden ve çocuk bakımından sorumludurlar. Ailenin maddi durumunu kötüleşmesiyle paralel olarak kadınların da iş arayışına girdikleri görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan komşularla ilişkiler de genel olarak olumlu olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Maddi ve psikolojik zorluklara mücadelede komşularla dayanışma içinde bulunduğu belirtilmektedir. Ancak sosyal ilişkiler ve enformasyon ağı yakın çevreyle olan bu ilişkilerle sınırlıdır. Bu nedenle de katılımcıların sosyal sermayeleri genel olarak düşüktür. Ekonomik hayata sınırlı olarak katılabilen katılımcılar sosyal hayatta da yeterince yer alamamaktadırlar. Buna karşın katılımcılar toplum içerisinde saygı gördüklerini ve herhangi bir ayrımcılığa maruz kalmadıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Bu başlık altında ele alınan bir diğer konu da otonomi ve inisiyatif alma olmuştur. Bu konudaki yapabilirliklerin test edilmesi için katılımcılara bazı durumlarda tepkilerinin ne olacağı sorulmuştur. Verilen cevaplar göstermektedir ki yaş, cinsiyet eğitim durumu gibi faktörlerden ziyade kişisel özellikler bu konuda yapabilirlik farklılıklarına neden olmaktadır. Çalışmada son olarak boş zaman boyutu

sorgulanmıştır. Bu konuda özellikle kadınlar erkekler arasında önemli farklılıkların olduğu görülmektedir. Kadınlar için hem toplumsal cinsiyet normları, hem de çocuk bakımı sorumluluğu, hareketliliklerini ve boş zamanlarını kısıtlamaktadır. Diğer taraftan katılımcılar arasında sinemaya gitme, alışveriş merkezlerine gitme, dışarda yemek yeme gibi para harcamaya gerektiren aktivitelerin yapılamadığı görülmektedir. Öncelikle bu alanlara gitmek için gerekli olan dolmuş ya da otobüs parasının olmadığı katılımcılar tarafından söylenmektedir. Bu durumda katılımcılar boş zamanlarını genellikle ev içerisinde yaptıkları aktiviteler ile geçirmektedirler.

Çalışmanın sonuçları özetlendiğinde, Türkiye’de yoksul insanların, maddi gelir yoksunluğunun yanı sıra, önemli yapabilirlik eksiklikleri olduğu öncelikle görülmektedir. İnsanların gelirlerini yapabilirliklere çevirme yetileri cinsiyet, yaş, engellilik gibi birçok kişisel heterojenliğe bağlı olarak değişmektedir. Bu nedenle de Sen tarafından belirtildiği gibi ülkede gelirin artması otomatik olarak yoksulluğun azalmasını sağlamayacaktır. Bu bağlamda, temel ve üretken yapabilirliklerle beraber kümelenmiş dezavantajların ve yapabilirliklerin önündeki engellerin belirlenmesi yoksulluğun azaltılması için çok önemlidir. Bu çerçevede bu tezde eğitim, istihdam ve sosyal yardıma ulaşım olmak üzere 3 temel ve üretken yapabilirliğin desteklenmesi yoluyla insani kalkınma amacına ulaşabilmenin mümkün olacağını savunulmaktadır. Bu kapsamda öncelikle eğitimin ulaşılabilirliğinin artırılması ve eğitim kalitesinin yükseltilmesi gerekmektedir. Sen’in de vurguladığı gibi eğitim bir çok özgürlüğe ulaşmakta anahtar bir rol almaktadır. Aynı şekilde büyük bir öneme sahip olan ikinci yapabilirlik alanı ise istihdamdır. İstihdamın geliştirebilmesi için ise mesleki eğitim ve rehberlik hizmetleri büyük bir öneme sahiptir. Ancak bu hizmetlerin düşük yapabilirlik düzeyine sahip olan kişiler için yeniden dizayn edilmesi gerekmektedir. İki yapabilirlik boyutuna tamamlayıcı olarak ise sosyal koruma programları ve sosyal yardım hizmetleri düzenlenmelidir. Kişilerin yapabilirlik kapasitelerinin artırılması için hedefler belirlenmeli bu hedefler doğrultusunda sosyal yardımlar çeşitlendirilmeli ve takibi sosyal çalışmacılar tarafından yapılmalıdır. Bu alanlardaki gelişmelerle beraber insani kalkınma alanında da ilerleme kaydedilebilecektir.

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